

THE MODERN AGE

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MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

PART II

THE MODERN AGE

BY

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PREFACE

I here give to teachers and students, as a companion volume to my *Middle Ages*, the promised revision and expansion of the latter part of my *Mediæval and Modern History*.

Among the new features of the work are the annotated reference lists of primary and secondary authorities appended to the different chapters. It is my hope that these may prove, to those using the book as a school text, suggestive and helpful in some degree commensurate with the time and labor which their preparation has involved.

For several of the maps illustrating the text I am indebted to the courtesy of the editor, Dr. Reginald Lane Poole, and the publishers of the *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*. Maps Nos. 1, 2, 3, 10, and 13, as named in the list on page ix, are based on maps from this admirable work. It should be stated, however, that in adapting these maps to our text much detail, in the case of several of them, has been omitted, and that the chart entitled "The Expansion of Europe" is practically a new map drawn expressly for the present work. The map named "The Partition of Africa" is based, in the main, on charts in Keltie's excellent work bearing that title; while the sketch map of Europe during the Napoleonic epoch is taken, by kind permission, from Montgomery's *Leading Facts of French History*. The remainder of the series comprises maps, carefully revised and reëngraved, which appeared in our earlier work as reproductions of charts accompanying Freeman's *Historical Geography of Europe*.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance I have received from friends and scholars in the preparation of the

text. I am under renewed and deep obligation to Professor George Lincoln Burr, of Cornell University, for kindly reading the proofs of the chapters covering the sixteenth century, and for suggestions which have been of the greatest service to me. To Professor H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, I am also indebted for reading the greater part of the proof-sheets and giving me the benefit of his opinion on various points. I wish also to express my gratitude to Professor George M. Dutcher, of the Department of History of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, for scholarly and zealous assistance rendered me in the work of reading and revising the proofs. I am further indebted to Professor Dutcher for the preparation of the full and exact Index appended to the volume.

For favors received and for facilities most courteously accorded me in the use of the collections of books in their charge, I wish to acknowledge my special obligations to N. D. C. Hodges, Librarian, and W. E. Barnwell, Assistant Librarian, of the Public Library of Cincinnati; to Frederick H. Hild, Librarian of the Public Library of Chicago; to Charles B. Galbreath, Librarian of the Ohio State Library, Columbus; and to the officials of the Boston Public Library.

Finally, to my friend William Holden, Librarian of the Lloyd Library, Cincinnati, I would express my thanks for valuable aid given me in my work.

P. V. N. M.

COLLEGE HILL, OHIO,
August, 1903.

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PART II — THE MODERN AGE

(From the Discovery of America to the Present Time)

INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN COLONIZATION

1. Transition from the Mediæval to the Modern Age. — The discovery of America by Columbus, in 1492, is often used to mark the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times ; and this was an event of such transcendent importance, the effect upon civilization of the opening up of fresh continents was so great, that we may very properly accord to the achievement of the Genoese the honor proposed. Yet we must bear in mind that no single circumstance or event actually marks the end of the old order of things and the beginning of the new. The finding of the New World did not make the new age ; the new age discovered the New World. The undertaking of Columbus was the natural outcome of that spirit of commercial enterprise and scientific curiosity which for centuries — ever since the Crusades — had been gradually expanding the scope of mercantile adventure and broadening the horizon of the European world. His fortunate expedition was only one of several brilliant nautical exploits which distinguished the close of the fifteenth and the opening of the sixteenth century.

This same period was also marked by significant intellectual, political, and religious movements, which indicated that

civilization was about to enter — indeed, had already entered — upon a new phase of its development.

In the intellectual world, as we have seen, was going on the wonderful Revival of Learning, producing everywhere unwonted thought, stir, and enterprise.¹ This intellectual movement alone would suffice to mark the period of which we speak as the beginning of a new historical era ; for the opening and the closing of the great epochs of history, such as the Age of Christianity, the Age of the Protestant Reformation, and the Age of the Political Revolution, are determined, not by events or happenings in the outer world, but by movements within the soul of humanity.

In the political world the tendency to centralization which had long been at work in different countries of Europe, gathering up the little feudal units into larger aggregates, was culminating in the formation of great independent nations with strong monarchical governments. The Age of the Empire and the Papacy² was passing ; the Age of the Nations was opening. This movement was one of vast significance in European history and might in itself very well be regarded as forming a division line between two great epochs.

In the religious world there were unrest, dissatisfaction, inquiry, complaint, — premonitory symptoms of the tremendous

¹ The truest representative of the intellectual revival on its scientific side was Nicholas Copernicus (1473-1543), who, while Columbus and others were exploring the earth's unknown seas and opening up a new hemisphere for civilization, was exploring the heavens and discovering the true system of the universe. He had quite fully matured his theory by the year 1507, but fearing the charge of heresy he did not publish the great work embodying his views until thirty-six years later (in 1543). It should be carefully noted, however, that the Copernican theory had little influence on the thought of the sixteenth century. It was denounced as contrary to Scripture by both Catholics and Protestants, and was almost universally rejected for more than a hundred years after its first publication. Even after the revelations made by the telescope of Galileo (1564-1642) the acceptance of the truth was so hindered by theological opposition that the complete triumph of the doctrine was delayed until the eighteenth century. See Andrew D. White, *The Warfare of Science with Theology*, vol. i, chap. iii.

² As powers theoretically or actually supreme, the one in the secular, the other in the religious, domain.

revolution that was destined to render the sixteenth century memorable in the religious records of mankind. This upheaval also constitutes a sort of continental divide in history.

Closely connected with these movements were three great inventions which, like the inventions of our own time, were also signs of a new age, and which powerfully helped on the mental and social revolutions.

Thus the intellectual revival and the religious reform were greatly promoted by the new art of printing;³ the kings in their struggle with the nobles were materially aided by the use of gunpowder, which rendered useless costly armor and fortified castle and helped to replace the feudal levy by a regular standing army, the prop and bulwark of the royal power; while the great ocean voyages of the times were rendered possible only by the improvement of the mariner's compass,⁴ whose trusty guidance emboldened the navigator to quit the shore and push out upon hitherto untraversed seas.

2. The Two Epochs: the Era of the Reformation and of the Political Revolution. — Standing at the opening of the new age and casting a glance over the broadening field of history, we are bewildered by the infinite number and variety of circumstances which rise to view and make up the quickly shifting scenes of the deepening plot. We shall avoid utter confusion amidst the multitude of details that crowd upon us only by fixing our attention upon the chief characteristics of the age, — by noting what are the leading ideas and principles at work. These we have already indicated in our general introduction, where we divided modern history into two periods,⁵ — the Era of the Protestant Reformation and the

³ Compare *The Middle Ages*, par. 299.

⁴ It is a disputed question as to what people should be given the credit of the discovery or invention of the magnetic needle. The instrument was certainly known in Europe among the Mediterranean navigators as early as the thirteenth century; but it does not appear to have been much used by them until they sailed beyond the Pillars of Hercules, in the fourteenth century, and opened trade with the countries of the Baltic.

⁵ See *The Middle Ages*, par. 2.

Era of the Political Revolution, — and so it is not necessary that we should dwell upon them here.

We need simply to remind the reader that the first period, extending from the opening of the sixteenth century to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, is characterized by the secession from the ecclesiastical empire of Rome of the nations of Northern Europe and the great combat between Protestantism and Catholicism; and that the second period, running from the Peace of Westphalia to our own day, is marked by the growth of despotic monarchy and the tremendous struggle between kings claiming to rule by divine right and their subjects claiming the right to govern themselves, — a struggle resulting in the final triumph of the principles of self-government.

There was a vast difference between these two periods, as we shall see. During the period of the religious revolution, individuals, parties, and states, in their activities, policies, and alliances, were moved largely by religious convictions and motives, while during the period of the political revolution they were primarily actuated by political and social ideals, hopes, and aims. The wars of the first period were in large part religious wars; those of the second, dynastic and political ones.

But there is need of caution here. In adopting this general formula for our guidance in the study of the period yet before us, we must be careful not to overlook the fact of the great complexity of history, and particularly of the history of the last four centuries. We must not ignore the composite character of the motives under which men act. We must bear in mind that every age is many-sided. We must notice — we cannot fail to notice — that the main current of events is interrupted and cut across by innumerable eddies and counter-currents; but if there were no main current it would be no less hopeless than useless to attempt to trace at all the stream of history through the ages.

3. Relation of the Great Geographical Discoveries to the New Age. — At the outset of our study of the Modern Age let us look briefly at the great geographical discoveries of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan, and at the beginnings of European conquests and settlements in the larger world thus opened up to European enterprise, since these great events lie at the opening of the era and form the prelude of its story.

These matters, though seemingly disconnected from the general course of events in Europe, were in fact most significantly related to European history. These discoveries, widening and liberalizing men's thoughts, helped on greatly the mental and religious revolution of the times; the finding of new pathways for commerce promoted vastly the commercial enterprise of the European peoples, and changed entirely the relations and the relative importance of the Mediterranean countries and those on the Atlantic seaboard; while the opening up in the Western Hemisphere of virgin continents for the development of new social and political institutions — above all as an arena for the trying of the great experiment of government by the people where the success of the undertaking should not be endangered by the presence of old dynasties and aristocracies with their traditions, prejudices, and vested interests — had a most profound influence upon the Old-World conflicts of creeds and theories of government.

4. The Terrors of the Ocean. — To appreciate the greatness of the achievements of the navigators and explorers of the age of geographical discovery, we need to bear in mind with what terrors the mediæval imagination had invested the unknown regions of the earth. In the popular conception these parts were haunted by demons and dragons and monsters of every kind. The lands were shrouded in eternal mists and darkness. The seas were filled with awful whirlpools and treacherous currents, and shallowed into vast marshes. Out in the Atlantic, so a popular superstition taught, was the mouth of hell; the red glow cast upon the sun at its

setting was held to be positive evidence of this. Away to the south, under the equator, there was believed to be an impassable belt of fire. This was a very persistent idea, and was not dispelled until men had actually sailed beyond the equatorial regions.

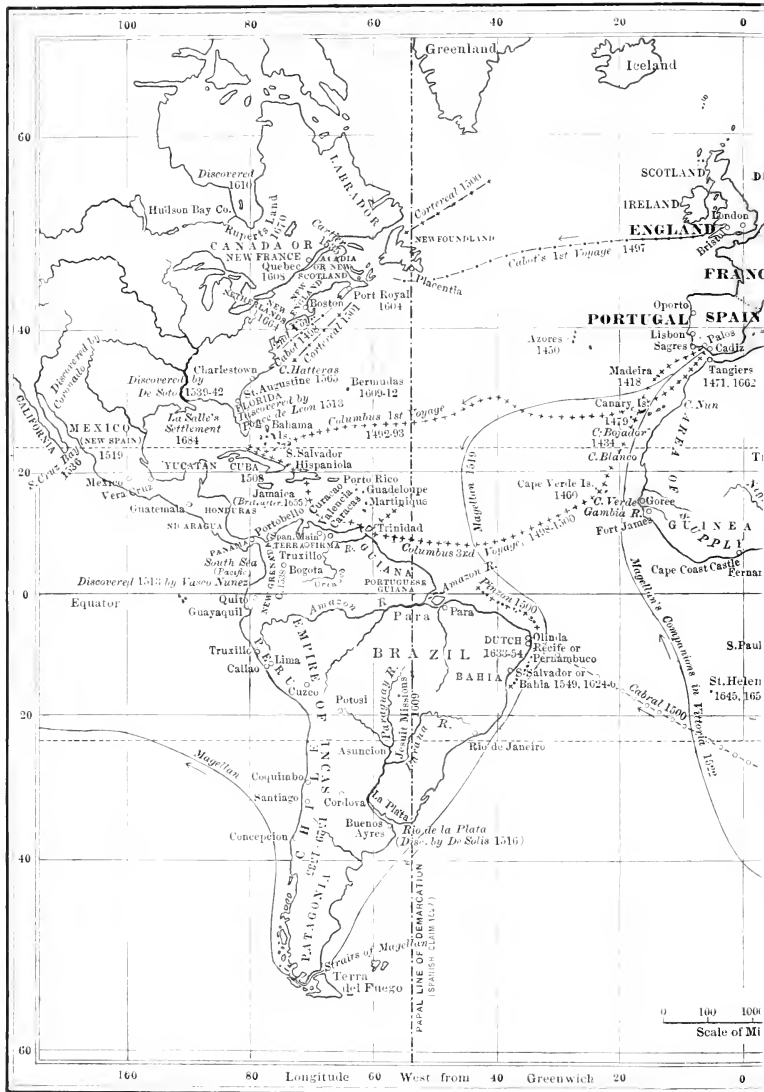
5. Portuguese Explorations: Prince Henry the Navigator.

—Many incentives concurred to urge daring navigators in the later mediæval time to undertake voyages of discovery, but a chief motive was a desire to find a water way that should serve as a new trade route between Europe and the Indies.

The first attempts to reach these lands by an all sea route were made by sailors feeling their way down the western coast of the African continent. The favorable situation of Portugal upon the Atlantic seaboard caused her to become foremost in these enterprises. Throughout the fifteenth century Portuguese sailors were year after year penetrating a little farther into the mysterious tropical seas and uncovering new islands and new reaches of the western coast of Africa.

The soul and inspiration of all this maritime enterprise was Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460). The prince's chief objects, besides the gratification of scientific curiosity, in fitting out these expeditions, were to get beyond and in the rear of the Moslems, against whom the Portuguese were at this time crusading in North Africa, and to find and secure as an ally in these holy wars the Christian king, Prester John⁶; to carry the Gospel to the heathen, — a pious motive seldom lacking from among the motives of the explorers and adventurers of this period; and to find an ocean route to India which would enable Portugal to compete with the Italian cities for the trade, particularly the lucrative spice trade, of the Far East.

⁶ The legend of Prester John holds a unique place among such creations of the mediæval imagination. It possesses interest for the historian for the reason that it incited men to undertakings that had historical significance. In the later mediæval time the legend identified the dominions of the mysterious prince with the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia.





In the year 1442 the Portuguese mariners reached the Gulf of Guinea, and here discovered the home of the true negro. Some of the ebony-skinned natives were carried to Portugal as slaves. This was the beginning of the modern African slave trade, which was destined to shape such large sections of the history of the centuries with which we have to do. The traffic was at first approved by even the most philanthropic persons, on the ground that the certain conversion of the slaves under Christian masters would more than compensate them for their loss of freedom.

Finally, in 1486, Bartholomew Dias succeeded in reaching the most southern point of the continent, which, as the possibility of reaching India by sea now seemed assured, was later given the name Cape of Good Hope.

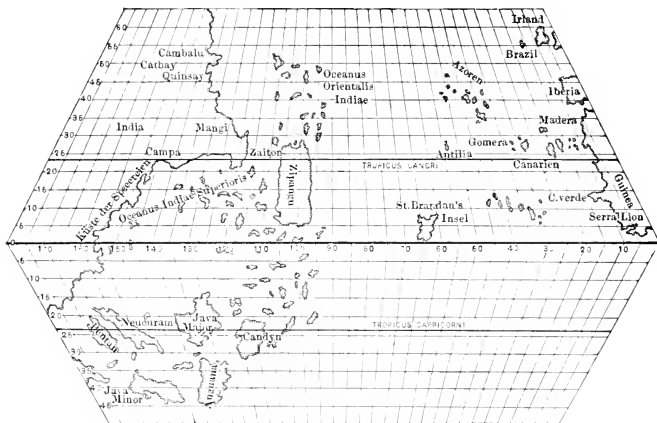
But at the same time it was a disappointment to the Portuguese to find that Africa extended so far to the south. Even should India be reached, the way, it was now known, would be long and dangerous. This knowledge stimulated efforts to reach the Indies and the "place of spices" by a different and a shorter route.

6. Columbus in Search of a Westward Route to the Indies finds the New World (1492). — It was Christopher Columbus, a Genoese by birth, who now proposed the bold plan of reaching these eastern lands by sailing westward.

The sphericity of the earth was a doctrine held by all the really learned men of this time. This notion was also familiar to many at least of the common people; but they, while vaguely accepting the view that the earth is round, thought that the habitable part was a comparatively flat, shieldlike plain on the top of it. All the rest of the earth they thought to be covered by the waters of a great ocean.

While agreed as to the globular form of the earth and of the curvature of the land as well as of the water surface, scholars differed as to the proportions of land and water. The common opinion among them was that the greater part of the

earth's surface was water. Some, however, believed that three-fourths or more of its surface was land, and that only a narrow ocean separated the western shores of Europe from the eastern shores of Asia. Columbus held this latter view, and also shared with others a misconception as to the size of the earth, supposing it to be much smaller than it really is. Consequently he felt sure that a westward sail of three or four thousand miles



TOSCANELLI'S MAP, 1474

(Based on the restoration in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. ii, p. 103. This map was used by Columbus as a sailing chart on his first voyage.)

would bring him to the Indies. Thus his very misconceptions fed his hopes and drew him on to his great discovery.

Everybody knows how Columbus in his endeavors to secure a patron for his enterprise met at first with repeated repulse and disappointment; how at last he gained the ear of Queen Isabella of Castile; how a fleet of three small vessels was fitted out for the explorer; and how the New World was discovered—or rediscovered.⁷

⁷ It is certain that some portion of the North American continent was visited by the Northmen as early as the eleventh century, and was given by them the name of Vinland. For an account of these pre-Columbian voyages, see Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. i, chap. ii.

The return of Columbus to Spain with his vessels loaded with the strange animal and vegetable products of the new lands he had found, together with several specimens of the inhabitants, — a race of men new to Europeans, — produced the profoundest sensation among all classes. Curiosity was unbounded. The spirit of adventure awakened among Spanish navigators and knights by the surprising discovery led to those subsequent undertakings by Castilian adventurers which make up the most thrilling pages of Spanish history.

Columbus made altogether four voyages to the new lands, and although on his third voyage he discovered the mouth of the Orinoco and on his fourth explored some portions of the continental coast, still he died in ignorance of the fact that he had really discovered a new world. He supposed the land he had found to be some part of the Indies, whence the name "West Indies" which still clings to the islands between North and South America, and the term "Indians" applied to the aborigines.

It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that it became fully established that a great new double continent, separated from Asia by an ocean wider than the Atlantic, had been found.

Columbus never received during his lifetime a fitting recognition of the unparalleled service he had rendered Spain and the world. Jealousy pursued him, and from his third voyage he was sent home loaded with chains. Even the continent he had discovered, instead of being called after him as a perpetual memorial, was named from a Florentine navigator, Amerigo Vespucci, whose chief claim to this distinction was his having written the first widely-published account of the new lands.⁸

7. The Voyage of Vasco da Gama (1497-1498). — We have seen that by the year 1486 the Portuguese navigators, in their search for an ocean route to the Indies, had reached the

⁸ For an interesting account of the naming of America, see Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. ii, chap. vii.

southern cape of Africa. A little later, six years after the first voyage of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese admiral, doubled the Cape, crossed the Indian Ocean, and landed on the coast of Malabar (1498).⁹

The discovery of an unbroken water path to India effected most important changes in the trade routes and the traffic of the world. It made the port of Lisbon the depot of the Eastern trade. The merchants of Venice were ruined. The great warehouses of Alexandria were left empty. The old route to the Indies by way of the Red Sea, which had been from time immemorial a main line of communication between the Far East and the Mediterranean lands, now fell into disuse, not to be reopened until the construction of the Suez Canal in our own day.

Portugal dotted the coasts of Africa and Asia, the Moluccas and other islands of the Pacific archipelago, with fortresses and factories, and built up in these parts a great commercial empire, — the predecessor of the vast empire that England is maintaining in those same regions to-day, — and, through the extraordinary impulse thus given to the enterprise and ambition of her citizens, now entered upon the most splendid era of her history.¹⁰

Goa, still a Portuguese possession, on the west coast of India, was the Calcutta of this earlier colonial empire. In the home land Lisbon, usurping the place that had been held for so many centuries by Venice, became the great receiving depot and distributing station for the costly fabrics, precious spices, and other products of the Indies.

8. The Papal Line of Demarcation. — Remarkable and bold as were the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, these were now to be eclipsed by the still more adventurous enterprise

⁹ It is this expedition which forms the theme of the great poem entitled the *Lusiads*, by the Portuguese poet Camoëns (1524?–1580).

¹⁰ Among the makers of the Portuguese colonial empire Albuquerque (1452?–1515) stands preëminent. The story of his career possesses many elements of romance.

of the circumnavigation of the globe by Ferdinand Magellan, a navigator of Portuguese birth, but in the service of Spain. But in order to make intelligible the object and aim of this expedition there is needed a word of explanation concerning what is known as the "Papal Line of Demarcation."

Upon the return of Columbus from his successful expedition, Pope Alexander VI, with a view to adjusting the conflicting claims of Spain and Portugal, issued a bull wherein he drew from pole to pole a line of demarcation through the Atlantic one hundred leagues west of the Azores¹¹ (the line was afterwards moved two hundred and seventy leagues farther west),¹² and gave to the Spanish sovereigns all pagan lands not already in possession of Christian princes that their subjects might find west of this line, and to the Portuguese kings all unclaimed pagan lands discovered by Portuguese navigators east of the designated meridian.¹³ By treaty arrangements as well as by papal edicts, — which were based on the theory of that time that the ocean like the land might be appropriated by any power and absolute control over it asserted,¹⁴ — the Portuguese were prohibited

¹¹ The indefiniteness of the language of the bull made no end of trouble, for it was impossible for the surveyors or geometers to fix upon the right starting-point. See Bourne's *Essays in Historical Criticism*, Essay vii.

¹² One result of this change was to throw the eastward projecting part of South America to the east of the demarcation line, and thus to make it a Portuguese instead of a Spanish possession. In 1500 Alvarez de Cabral on his way from Lisbon to the East Indies, being thrown out of his course, probably by winds and currents, came upon the coast of Brazil. Believing that the land before him lay to the east of the papal line of division, he took possession of the country for the Portuguese crown.

¹³ The claim of the Popes to the right thus to dispose of pagan lands was believed to be supported by such Scripture texts as this: "Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession" (Ps. ii, 8). The Catholic sovereigns, in general, recognized the claim only in so far as it coincided with their interests to do so (see par. 50). After the Lutheran revolt the rulers of the Protestant states gave no heed to it.

¹⁴ Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), the eminent Dutch jurist, in a treatise entitled *Mare Liberum*, refuted this theory and in opposition to it maintained that the ocean should be free to all, — a far-reaching doctrine which finally became a part of the common law of nations.

from sailing without permission any of the seas thus placed under the dominion of Spain or from visiting as traders any of her lands, and the Spaniards from trespassing upon the waters or the lands granted to the Portuguese.

Spain was thus shut out from the use of the Cape route to the Indies which had been opened up by Vasco da Gama, and consequently from participation in the coveted spice trade, unless perchance a way to the region of spices could be found through some opening in the new lands discovered by Columbus.

9. The Circumnavigation of the Globe by Magellan (1519-1522). —Such was the situation of things when Magellan laid before the young Emperor Charles V, the grandson of the Isabella who had given Columbus his commission, his plan of reaching the Moluccas, the "Spice Islands," which he contended were in Spanish waters,¹⁵ by a westward voyage. The young king looked with favor upon the navigator's plans, and placed under his command a fleet of five small vessels manned by between two and three hundred men.

Magellan directed his fleet in a southwesterly course across the Atlantic, hoping to find towards the south a break in the new-found lands through which he could force his ships into the waters beyond. Near the most southern point of South America he found the narrow strait that now bears his name. Through this channel the bold sailor pushed his vessels and found himself upon a great sea with a blank horizon to the west. From the calm, unruffled face of the new ocean, so different from the stormy Atlantic, he gave to it the name "Pacific."

The voyage of these first intruders¹⁶ from the Old World upon the unknown sea, beneath the strange constellations of the southern skies, was one of almost incredible sufferings, endured

¹⁵ There was difficulty in determining just where among the islands lying southeast of Asia the papal line of demarcation, when carried around the globe, should run.

¹⁶ The Pacific had several years before this been seen at the Isthmus of Darien. See par. 12, note 23.

with the bravest fortitude. Finally, on March 16, 1521, Magellan reached the group of islands now known as the Philippines, having been so named in honor of Philip II, Charles's son and his successor on the Spanish throne. On one of these islands Magellan was killed in a fight with the natives.

The year following the discovery of the Philippines a single battered ship of the fleet, the *Victoria*,—which had loaded with spices at the Moluccas and had fortunately eluded Portuguese pursuers,—with eighteen men out of the original crews of two hundred and fifty-four sailors, entered the Spanish port of Seville. The globe had for the first time been circumnavigated.¹⁷ The most adventurous enterprise of which record has been preserved had been successfully accomplished. "In the whole history of human undertakings," says Draper, "there is nothing that exceeds, if, indeed, there is anything that equals, this voyage of Magellan's. That of Columbus dwindles away in comparison." And the historian John Fiske declares, "Nothing can be imagined that would surpass it except a journey to some other planet."

Equally does the exploit seem to have impressed the imagination of Magellan's own age. The old writer Richard Eden (b. about 1521) refers to it as "a thing doubtless so strange and marvelous that, as the like was never done before, so is it perhaps never like to be done again: so far have the navigations of the Spaniards excelled the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts to the region of Colchis, or all that ever were before"¹⁸; and a Spanish contemporary declares, "Nothing more notable in navigation has ever been heard or described since the voyage of the patriarch Noah."¹⁹

¹⁷ To the lieutenant of the unfortunate Magellan, who had conducted the *Victoria* home, was presented by the Spanish sovereign a medal, in the form of a globe, fitly encircled with this legend: *Primus circumdedisti me* (You first went around me).

¹⁸ *The First Three English Books on America* (ed. by Edward Arber), p. 15.

¹⁹ Oviedo, quoted by Guillemard, *The Life of Ferdinand Magellan*, p. 310.

The results of the achievement were greater in the intellectual realm than in the commercial or the political domain.²⁰ It revolutionized whole systems of mediæval theory and belief; it pushed aside old narrow geographical ideas; it settled forever and for all men the question as to the shape and size of the earth. It brought to an end the scholastic controversy concerning the antipodes,—that is, whether there were men living on the “under” side of the earth. The state of most men’s minds in regard to this matter had till then been just about the same as is ours to-day on the question whether or not the planets are inhabited.

10. These Voyages and Geographical Discoveries ushered in a New Epoch.—By some geographers civilization is conceived as having passed through three stages,—the potamic or river stage, the thalassic or inland sea stage, and the oceanic stage. In the case of our own civilization, whose beginnings we seek in Egypt and Babylonia, these steps or stages seem fairly well defined and mark off historical times into three great periods, which may be named the River Epoch, the Sea Epoch, and the Ocean Epoch.

The River Epoch was that during which civilization was confined to river valleys, like those of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. The chief cities of this period, as, for instance, Memphis and Thebes in Egypt, Nineveh and Babylon in Mesopotamia, arose on the banks of great streams. Rivers were the pathway of commerce. Boats were small and the art of sea navigation was practically unknown.

The Sea Epoch was that during which the Mediterranean was the theater of civilization. It was ushered in by the Phœnicians, the first skillful sea navigators, in the second millennium before our era. From the river banks the seats of

²⁰ And yet if Magellan had never made this voyage it is not likely that the Philippines would ever have become a Spanish possession. Then we should not now be in the islands, and there would be in our politics no “Philippine question.” It may here be noted that after a dispute of some years Spain relinquished in favor of Portugal her claims to the Spice Islands.

trade and population were transferred to the shores of the Mediterranean, and Tyre and Sidon and Carthage and Ephesus and Miletus and Byzantium and Corinth and Athens and Massilia and Rome arose and played their parts in the transactions of the thalassic age. So entirely did the events of this age center in and about the Mediterranean that this sea has been aptly called the "Forum" of the ancient world. It may well be that the opportunity for growth and culture which, through mutual material and intellectual exchanges, it afforded the races on its shores, was an important factor in classical civilization. As has been said, were there an Asian Mediterranean stretching from Chaldea to China, it is possible that there might have arisen upon its shores a Chaldeo-Chinese civilization like the Græco-Roman, and that the destinies of the Asiatic peoples would have been wholly changed.

The Ocean Epoch was opened up by the voyages and geographical discoveries of which we have just been speaking. In this period the great oceans have ceased to be barriers between the nations, and have become instead the natural highways of the world's intercourse and commerce.²¹

II. The Five Early Colonial Empires. — One of the most important phases of the earlier history of this ocean epoch was the expansion of the five states on the Atlantic seaboard of Europe — namely, Portugal, Spain, France, the Netherlands, and England — each into a great empire, embracing colonies and dependencies in two hemispheres. This expansion of Europe into greater Europe holds somewhat such a place in modern history as the expansion of Hellas into Greater Hellas and of Rome into Greater Rome holds in ancient history.

²¹ The Ocean Epoch may be conceived as embracing two periods, — the Atlantic and the Pacific period. The latter is just opening. See last chapter, on the expansion of Europe. But here a word of caution. This subject of the relation of physical environment to the progress of civilization should not be presented to the pupil in such a way as to make history appear to be a mere product of geography. It is certain that race counts for more than geographical environment. Yet the generalizations of the geographers cannot be ignored.

In the mutual jealousies and the conflicting interests of these growing colonial empires is to be found the ground and cause of many of the great wars of modern times since the close of the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For this reason, although it is our special task to trace the lines of the historic development in Europe, we shall from time to time call the reader's attention to these European interests outside of the European continent. In the present connection a few words in regard to Spanish conquests and the beginnings of Spanish colonization in the New World will suffice.

12. The Conquest of Mexico (1519-1521). — The accounts of Spanish explorations and conquests in the lands opened up by the fortunate voyage of Columbus read more like a romance than any other chapter in history. They tell of men growing old while hunting through strange lands for the Fountain of Youth; of expeditions lost for years to the knowledge of men, while searching beneath gloomy forests for El Dorado,²² the "Golden Land"; of explorations upon seas and amidst mountains never before looked upon by men of the Old World; of voyages on ocean-like rivers which led no one knew where; and of ancient states conquered and their enormous accumulations of gold and silver seized by a few score of adventurous knights.²³

Perhaps the most brilliant exploit in which the Spanish cavaliers engaged during this period of daring and romantic adventure was the conquest of Mexico.

Reports of a rich and powerful "Empire" upon the mainland to the west were constantly spread among the Spanish colonists who very soon after the discovery of the New World settled the islands in the Gulf of Mexico. These stories

²² Literally, "the gilded."

²³ Juan Ponce de Leon started on his romantic expedition in search of the fabled spring in 1512; Vasco de Balboa discovered the Pacific in 1513; Hernando de Soto, while searching for a rich Indian kingdom, found the Mississippi, in 1541; and in the same year Francisco de Orellana descended the eastern slope of the Andes to the Napo, floated down that stream to the Amazon, and then drifted on down to the sea.

inflamed the imagination of adventurous spirits among the settlers, and an expedition, consisting of five or six hundred foot-soldiers and sixteen horsemen, was organized and placed under the command of Hernando Cortes for the conquest and "conversion" of the heathen nation. The expedition was successful, and soon the Spaniards were masters of the greater part of what now constitutes the republic of Mexico.

The state that the conquerors destroyed was not an "Empire" as termed by the contemporary Spanish chroniclers, but rather a sort of league or confederacy, — something like the Iroquois confederacy in the North, — formed of three Indian tribes.²⁴ Of these the Aztecs were the leading tribe and gave name to the confederacy. At the head of the league stood a sachem, or war-chief, who bore the name of Montezuma.

The Aztecs, at the time of the discovery of America, had reached what is called the "middle status of barbarism," — a stage of culture which the Mediterranean races had reached and passed probably two thousand years before Christ.²⁵ They employed a system of picture-writing somewhat like the hieroglyphical system of the Iroquois and of other North-American Indian tribes. Their religion was a sort of sun worship. They were cannibals and offered human victims in their sacrifices. They had no knowledge of the horse or the ox, or of any other useful domesticated animal except the dog.²⁶ They cultivated

²⁴ Prescott's description of the Mexican state, especially as to its political organization, is misleading. For later authorities see bibliography at end of the chapter.

²⁵ As John Fiske says reflectively, "There is something solemn and impressive in the spectacle of human life thus going on for countless ages in the eastern and western halves of our planet, each all unknown to the other and uninfluenced by it." — *The Discovery of America*, vol. i, p. 148.

²⁶ It has been conjectured that the backwardness in civilization of the native races of the Americas is to be attributed in part to their lack of useful tame animals. (See Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. i, p. 27.) The native fauna of the New World as compared with that of the Old is singularly poor in tamable species. Aside from the llama, the alpaca, and the turkey, the New World has contributed nothing of essential value to the great store of domesticated stocks which constitute the basis of so large a part of modern industry.

maize, but were without wheat, oats, or barley. They held their lands in common, and lived in communal or joint-tenement houses, which were large enough to accommodate from ten to one hundred families. It was these immense structures which the Spanish writers described as "palaces" and "public edifices." These buildings were, doubtless, the same in plan as those to be seen at the present day among the Pueblo Indians of the southwestern part of the United States.

13. The Conquest of Peru (1532-1536). — Shortly after the conquest of the Indians of Mexico the subjugation of the Indians of Peru was effected. The civilization of the Peruvians was superior to that of the Mexicans. It has been compared, as to several of its elements, to that of ancient Assyria. Not only were the great cities of the empire filled with splendid temples and palaces, but throughout the country were to be seen magnificent works of public utility, such as roads,²⁷ bridges, and aqueducts.²⁸ The government of the Incas, the royal or ruling race, was a mild, paternal autocracy.

Glowing reports of the enormous wealth of the Incas, the commonest articles in whose palaces, it was asserted, were of solid gold, reached the Spaniards by way of the Isthmus of Darien, and it was not long before an expedition, consisting

²⁷ There were two roads running from Quito to Cuzco, the two chief cities of the empire, one leading along the Andean plateau and the other conducting the traveler over the lowlands of the coast. Each was from fifteen hundred to two thousand miles in length. The average width was twenty feet. The more difficult sections were paved with enormous blocks of stone, or were coated with a bituminous cement. The roadways were carried across rivers and torrents by means of suspension bridges supported by ropes of twisted *lianes*, or vines. Respecting these great highways Humboldt the traveler declares that "they are among the most stupendous works ever executed by man." Like the similar roads of the Romans, these highways have fallen into decay, and at the present time only sections here and there bear evidence of the labor and care involved in their construction.

²⁸ The populousness of the empire led to the careful cultivation of every patch of the mountain soil, the steep flanks of the hills in places being terraced as high up as vegetation flourishes. Irrigation was secured by means of an extensive system of aqueducts and canals.

of less than two hundred men, was organized for the conquest of the country. The leader of the band was Francisco Pizarro, an iron-hearted, cruel, unscrupulous, perfidious, and illiterate adventurer.

Through treachery Pizarro made a prisoner of the Inca, Atahualpa. The captive offered, as a ransom for his release, to fill the room in which he was confined "as high as he could reach" with vessels of gold. Pizarro accepted the offer, and the palaces and temples throughout the empire were stripped of their golden vessels, and the apartment was filled with the precious relics. The value of the treasure is estimated at over \$15,000,000. When this vast wealth was once under the control of the Spaniards, they seized it all, and then treacherously put the Inca to death (1533).

With the death of Atahualpa the power of the Inca dynasty passed away forever; and within a few years after the Spaniards had first set foot upon the continent all the extensive realms once embraced within the limits of the Peruvian monarchy had become a part of the domains of the Spanish king.²⁹

14. Beginnings of Spanish Colonization in the New World.

—Not until more than one hundred years after the discovery of the Western Hemisphere by Columbus was there established a single permanent English settlement within the limits of what is now the United States, the portion of the New World destined to be taken possession of by the peoples of Northern Europe and to become the home of civil and religious freedom.

But into those parts of the new lands opened up by Spanish exploration and conquest there began to pour at once a tremendous stream of Spanish adventurers and colonists in search

²⁹ For years, however, the empire was the scene of the most bitter rivalries and contentions among the adventurers who had conquered it, and others who, attracted by the stories of the wealth that had been found, crowded into the country to share the spoils. In a quarrel of this sort which arose between Pizarro and some of his officers, he was killed at Lima (which city he had founded), in the seventieth year of his age (1541).

of fortune and fame. It was a sort of Spanish migration. What took place was something like the inrush of a Greek population into Western Asia after the Macedonian conquests, or like the influx of Roman traders and colonists into Gaul, Spain, and other countries opened up by the arms of Rome.

Upon the West India Islands, in Mexico, in Central America, all along the Pacific slope of the Andes, and everywhere upon the lofty and pleasant table-lands that had formed the heart of the empire of the Incas, there sprang up rapidly cities as centers of mining and agricultural industries, of commerce and of trade. Often, as in the case of Mexico, Quito, and Cuzco, these new cities were simply the renovated, enlarged, and rebuilt towns of the conquered natives; while in other instances, as in the case of Panama, Guayaquil, and Santiago, the Spanish cities were laid upon entirely new foundations.

Thus did a Greater Spain grow up in the New World. Before the close of the sixteenth century the dominions of the Spanish monarch in the Western Hemisphere formed of themselves a magnificent empire, and were the source, chiefly through the wealth of their gold and silver mines, of a large revenue to the royal exchequer.³⁰ It was, in part, the treasures derived from these new possessions that enabled the sovereigns of Spain to play the important part they did in the affairs of Europe during the century following the discovery of America.³¹

³⁰ The social and economic effects of the inflow into Europe of this stream of the precious metals were far-reaching. Luxury increased, and prices were disturbed in some such way as they were unsettled three centuries later by the discovery of the vast gold deposits of California and Australia. Industry in some fields was revolutionized: "After the discovery of the mines of Potosi the silver mines of Europe were for the most part abandoned." — PAYNE, *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America*, p. xxiv.

³¹ After having robbed the Indians of their wealth in gold and silver, the slow accumulations of centuries, the Spaniards further enriched themselves by the enforced labor of the unfortunate natives. Unused to such toil as was exacted of them under the lash of worse than Egyptian taskmasters, the Indians wasted

Having thus indicated one source of Spanish greatness and reputation, it will be one of our aims in a following chapter to give some idea of the way in which this power and prestige were used by the Spanish sovereigns in maintaining the supremacy of the Catholic Church in the interests of Spain.

SUGGESTION TO TEACHERS—COMPARATIVE STUDY

In no way, we think, will the teacher be able to give his pupils so clear an idea of the character of the sixteenth century as by having them make a comparative study of that century and the nineteenth. The striking parallels which they will discover between the two periods will be sure to suggest to them that "the wonderful nineteenth century," as it is called by Alfred Russel Wallace, like the sixteenth, may be a transition period, a period which will be regarded by the future historian as we regard the sixteenth,—as the beginning of a new age in history. Having gained this viewpoint, they will see all the events, movements, and enterprises of the earlier period under a familiar light.

away by millions in the mines of Mexico and Peru, and upon the sugar plantations of the West Indies. More than half of the native population of Peru is thought to have been consumed in the Peruvian mines. "During fifty years," says a recent writer, "the Spaniards uniformly conquered and enslaved [the natives]; put them to forced labour, to which they were physically unequal; and on the least resistance or other provocation, massacred them in great numbers. One estimate says, that in these years 40,000,000 of the native Americans perished by violence: the lowest makes the number 10,000,000; and it is to be feared that the former is nearer the truth. It is certain that the islands of the West Indies once contained nearly 6,000,000 of a race now quite extinct; and that in Hayti alone they sank, in fifteen years, from 1,000,000 to 60,000, and, in fifty years, to 200. To supply this waste, the Spanish colonists kidnapped the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, especially of the Bahamas. Jamaica, which the Spanish historians declare to have been conquered without any shedding of blood, contained not a single native when the English captured it" (Payne, *European Colonies*, pp. 89, 90). As a substitute for native labor, negroes were introduced. This was the beginning of the African slave trade in the New World. At the outset the traffic was approved by a benevolent bishop named Las Casas (1474-1566), known as the "Apostle of the Indians." Before his death, however, Las Casas came to recognize the wickedness of negro as well as of Indian slavery, and to regret that he had ever expressed approval of the plan of substituting the one for the other. See Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. ii, pp. 454-458.

The following will suggest in what realms parallels may be sought:

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- a.* The New Learning. Great intellectual activity.
- b.* The Reformation. Revision of creeds. Relation of the religious movement to the Renaissance.
- c.* The unification of great nations, — England, France, Spain.
- d.* The expansion of Europe; the partition of the New World and of Southern Asia. The formation of colonial empires, — Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and English.
- e.* Great geographical and astronomical discoveries (Columbus, Copernicus), which reveal the universe as infinite in *space*. Man's conceptions concerning the earth and its place in the universe revolutionized.
- f.* Great inventions, now first hit upon or brought into general use, — printing, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass. Political, social, and economic revolutions caused or promoted by them.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- a.* The New Sciences. Great intellectual activity.
- b.* The New Theology. Revision of creeds. Relation of this movement to the birth of the new scientific spirit.
- c.* The unification of great nations, — Germany, Italy.
- d.* The expansion of Europe; the partition of Africa and of Oceania. The formation of new colonial empires, — English, French, German, Belgian, and American.
- e.* Great geological and biological discoveries (*Evolution* — Lyell, Darwin), which reveal the universe as infinite in *time*. Man's conceptions as to his origin and his place in the plan of creation revolutionized.
- f.* Great inventions, — the steam railway, the ocean steamship, the electric telegraph, electric motor, etc. Political, social, and economic revolutions caused or furthered by their introduction.

Sources and Source Material. — A study of the sources bearing on the geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries should begin with *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 2 vols., translated and edited by Henry Yule (2d ed., London, 1875). For a brief appreciation of this work see *The Middle Ages*, p. 255. *Cathay and the Way Thither*, also edited by Colonel Yule, should be read in connection with Marco Polo. The student here learns with what knowledge of Eastern Asia Columbus and the others set out, and what they expected to find. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, edited by C. R. Markham; *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus*, edited by R. H. Major; and *First Voyage*

of *Vasco da Gama*, edited by E. G. Ravenstein (Hakluyt Society publications). Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, vol. i, chap. iii, "Norse and Spanish Discoveries." *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 29, 31-36, 39, 71, 89, 90, 102. *American History Leaflets* (ed. by Bushnell and Channing), Nos. 1, 3, 13. *The First Three English Books on America* (1511?-1555). These texts consist of translations and selections by Richard Eden from the works of Spanish, Italian, German, and English writers of his time. They are here edited by Edward Arber (Birmingham, England, 1885). This work possesses a special fascination. "One is able therein," as says the editor, "to look out on the New World as its discoverers and first explorers looked upon it." Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vols. i and ii. A treasury of exact information concerning all our sources of knowledge of American discoveries, explorations, and colonizations during the period under review. For selections from Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, see bibliography for Chapter III. This great collection of narratives is in the main a source of information for the Elizabethan period only. For further study of the age of discovery and exploration, a great variety of material, besides the volumes particularly mentioned above, can be found in the Hakluyt Society publications.

Secondary Works. — KEANE (J.), *The Evolution of Geography* (London, 1899), chaps. v-viii. Has a short bibliography. MAJOR (R. H.), ***The Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator* (London, 1868). BEAZLEY (C. R.), *Prince Henry the Navigator* (Heroes of the Nations). Mr. Beazley's third volume of his notable work entitled *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, which will cover the period from 1260 to the end of the Middle Ages, is now (1902) in course of preparation. There are numerous lives of Columbus: Winsor's, Irving's, C. K. Adams's, and Markham's can be recommended. The last is in "The World's Great Explorers" series. RAVENSTEIN (E. G.), *Vasco da Gama and the Ocean Highway to India*; and GUILLEMARD (F. H. H.), *The Life of Ferdinand Magellan* (both in *The World's Great Explorers*). FISKE (J.), ***The Discovery of America*, 2 vols. There is not a chapter in these volumes that will fail to interest and charm young readers. See vol. ii, chap. xi, for Las Casas and the treatment of the natives by the Spaniards. On this subject and the American slave trade, see also INGRAM (J. K.), *A History of Slavery and Serfdom*, chap. vi. WINSOR (J.), ***Narrative and Critical History of America*, vols. i and ii. This work is invaluable to the teacher and advanced student. Chaps. iii and iv of vol. i give interesting accounts of the Mexican and the Inca civilization. ***The Cambridge Modern History* (1902), vol. i, chap. i, "The Age of Discovery"; and chap. ii,

"The New World." BOURNE (E. G.), ***Essays in Historical Criticism*, Essay No. 6, "Prince Henry the Navigator," and Essay No. 7, "The Demarcation Line of Pope Alexander VI." Scholarly and interesting studies. MORGAN (L. H.), *Ancient Society* (1877), Part II, chap. vii. PRESCOTT (W. H.), *Conquest of Mexico* and *Conquest of Peru*. Should be read in connection with later works. STEPHENS (H. MORSE), *Portugal* (Story of the Nations), chaps. vii, ix, and x; and the same author's *Albuquerque* (Rulers of India). PAYNE (E. J.), *History of the New World called America*, vol. i, pp. 303-364, for the relation of the aboriginal civilizations of the Americans to their animal and plant life. If time for collateral reading be very limited, the young student may be referred to the opening chapter or chapters on explorations and settlements to be found in any one of the many approved text-books on United States history.

FIRST PERIOD—THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION

(From the Discovery of America, in 1492, to the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648)

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION

15. Introductory Statement. — When the Modern Age opened the European peoples were on the eve of a great religious revolution. This was a dual movement. It was an insurrection against the Papacy, resulting in the severance by half the nations of Europe of the bonds which throughout the mediæval time had united them to the ecclesiastical empire of the Roman pontiffs. Since the secession movement was successful, it is rightly called a revolution, — the *Protestant Revolution*.

But the movement was something more than a successful rebellion against ecclesiastical authority. It was, as we shall learn, caused in large part by the existence of certain evils and abuses in the Church, and resulted in a great renovation of the religious and moral life of Western Christendom. Hence it is properly spoken of as a reform, — as the *Reformation*.

That the movement was a dual one should be carefully noted, for it is only when regarded from both the indicated points of view that its complex phenomena can be intelligently observed and rightly interpreted.

In the present chapter we shall speak of the causes and the beginnings of the revolution ; in succeeding chapters we shall

follow the vicissitudes of its fortunes in the principal countries of Northern Europe.

16. Causes of the Reformation. — Our first endeavor must be to get some sort of comprehension of what caused the Northern nations of Europe first to become dissatisfied with the state of things ecclesiastical and religious, and then to secede from the ancient Church. There were various causes.

One cause was the Renaissance, that great intellectual awakening which marked the close of the mediæval and the opening of the modern epoch. As we have already learned, the revival of the liberal culture of classical antiquity evoked a critical, independent, self-reliant spirit which was profoundly antagonistic to the whole mediæval system of ideas, beliefs, and practices. We shall see in a moment how it was the antagonism which developed between the promoters of the New Learning and the upholders of the scholastic theology that helped to prepare the way for the great schism.

A second cause of the revolution was the existence in the Church of most serious scandals and abuses. In the fifteenth century the spiritual life of the Church had sunk to a lower ebb probably than at any other period in its history. Religion instead of being a thing of the heart had become, in a lamentable degree, merely a matter of ceremonies and outer observances. In practice, if not in theory, with the great multitude, religion was regarded as one thing and morality as quite another. The necessity of the amendment of this state of things was recognized by all earnest and spiritually-minded men. The only difference of opinion among such was as to the manner in which the work of renovation should be effected, whether from within or from without, by reform or by revolution.

A third cause was jealousy of the Papacy on the part of the temporal princes, and the clash of papal claims with the rising sentiment of national patriotism.

In order to understand this matter we must recall that throughout mediæval times the states of Western Europe

formed a sort of Christian commonwealth, with the Pope as its spiritual head.

It is true that the claims put forward to temporal supremacy by some of the mediæval Popes were no longer maintained ; still there remained a very large field embracing matters such as appointment or nomination to church offices, the taxation of the clergy and of church property, questions of personal orthodoxy, marriages, wills, and so on, which the Popes as the guardians of religion claimed the right to regulate or to review.

Thus the nations were really very far from being independent. As respects many matters which we now regard as attaching to national sovereignty, they were virtually provinces of an ecclesiastical world empire having its seat and center at Rome. And this was a relation which concerned king and subject alike.

The situation might be illustrated by a comparison with that in a federal commonwealth like our own. Just as in our Union every person owes allegiance to two authorities, that of his State and that of the Federal Government, so in mediæval times every person owed allegiance to two authorities,—to his own king and to the Roman pontiff.

As before our Civil War it was often difficult for one to determine whether his first duty was to his own State or to the Federal Government, so before the Protestant Revolution it was often difficult for one to decide to which he owed superior allegiance,—to his own prince or to the Pope. As regards the monks and the other clergy, the question was apt to be decided in favor of the papal see, for they were prone to regard themselves as subjects of the Pope rather than as subjects of the king under whose rule they lived.

But it was at the point where the papal supremacy interfered with the financial interests of the lay governments that the most friction and trouble developed. As head of the Church the Popes were drawing an immense revenue from every state embraced within the ecclesiastical empire. A large part of

the landed property of Europe was in the hands of the Church, and a considerable portion of the vast revenues derived from it was, in the form of annates and half-voluntary contributions of the clergy, drawn into the Roman treasury. Furthermore, through the system of papal indulgences vast additional sums were collected for papal use in all the different countries. It is probable that in some countries the direct and indirect contributions of the people to the papal see exceeded the taxes which they paid to their own government. Moreover, it was a matter of notoriety that the vast sums drawn to Rome were not always used in the promotion of religious objects, but, in the hands of unworthy pontiffs, like Alexander VI, were used to further personal ambitions or to promote the political fortunes of the Papacy.

This state of things, culminating just at the time when the sentiment of nationality was awakening in several of the different countries, and just when the secular governments, growing stronger, were assuming new functions and were requiring larger revenues for the maintenance of their standing armies and for other public purposes, it was inevitable that these demands of the Roman See should each day grow more galling and intolerable. It is doubtless true that in several of the Northern countries it was this condition of things which had more to do in bringing about the Protestant Revolution, as a revolution, than the desire of religious freedom or of moral reform.

The circumstances and events marking the outbreak of the revolution, which we shall now proceed to consider, will afford a commentary on this summary statement of the causes which produced it.

17. Presages of the Reformation. — Just as the mediæval times were full of presages of the Renaissance, so were they full of presages of the Reformation.¹ The causes of such great revolutions are always long in preparation.

¹ Compare *The Middle Ages*, par. 278.

The Albigensian revolt of the thirteenth century was in its causes and aims as distinctly a foreshadowing of the religious, as of the intellectual, revolution. It bore the germs both of a Reformation and of a Renaissance. But whatever promise there was in it, either of intellectual freedom or of religious reform, was blighted by the storms of persecution which broke upon the rising heresy.²

Still more closely related to the religious movement of the sixteenth century was that fourteenth-century movement in England which is connected with the name of Wycliffe.³ In his denunciation of the evils and abuses which were sapping the spiritual and moral life of the Church, in the doctrines he taught, as well as in his hostile attitude towards the Papacy, Wycliffe stood upon essentially the same ground as that occupied by the later reformers.

Nearer yet in time and perhaps nearer also in spirit and aim to the Protestant Revolution was the Hussite revolt⁴ of the fifteenth century. Luther, discerning the similarity between his own views and those of Huss, exclaimed in astonishment, "We are all Hussites without knowing it."

18. The Northern Humanists as Precursors of the Reformation. — In our study of the Italian Renaissance we noted how the revival, which in Italy had been in its essence a restoration of classical literature and culture, on crossing the Alps became equally a restoration of Hebrew and Christian antiquity, and thus also became one of the deepest lying causes of the Protestant Revolution.⁵

This relation of humanism to the Reformation will best be revealed by the presentation of a few facts illustrative of the spirit and aims of the humanists of the North.

19. The Oxford Humanist-Reformers. — One of the earliest centers of humanism in the North was Oxford in England. Here we find, just as the old age was merging into the new, a

² See *The Middle Ages*, par. 282.

⁴ *Ibid.*, par. 371.

³ *Ibid.*, par. 336.

⁵ *Ibid.*, par. 300.

celebrated group of humanists. Among them three men, Colet, Erasmus, and More, stand preëminent as leaders and promoters of the New Learning.

John Colet (1466–1519) was leader and master of the little band. His generous enthusiasm was kindled in Italy. It was an important event in the history of the Reformation when Colet crossed the Alps to learn Greek at the feet of the Greek exiles; for Colet on his return to England brought back with him not only an increased love for classical learning, but a fervent zeal for religious reform, inspired, perhaps, by the stirring eloquence of Savonarola. Green declares that “the awakening of a rational Christianity, whether in England or in the Teutonic world at large, begins with the Italian studies of Colet.” His lectures at Oxford on Saint Paul’s Epistles are said to have seemed to his listeners almost like a new revelation. The great influence of Colet upon the world was exerted for the most part indirectly, — through Erasmus and More, his disciples and fellow-workers.

Desiderius Erasmus (1467?–1536) of Rotterdam went to England to learn Greek. There he came into close friendship with Colet, More, and other lovers of learning, with whom he declared he could have been happy in Scythia. He was probably superior in classical learning to any other scholar of his time. He was the leader of the humanistic movement in the North, as Petrarch⁶ was the father of the movement in the South. His celebrated satire entitled *Morie Encomium*, or “Praise of Folly” (1509), was directed against the foibles of all classes of society, but particularly against the hypocrisies and sins of “unholy men in holy orders.” A little later (in 1516) Erasmus published his *Novum Instrumentum*, the Greek text of the New Testament with a Latin version. These publications must be given a prominent place among the agencies which prepared the minds and hearts of the Northern peoples for the Reformation.

⁶ See *The Middle Ages*, par. 290.

Thomas More (1478-1535) was declared by Colet to be the sole genius in all England. He was a man with whom men were said "to fall in love." As the author of *Utopia* he is, perhaps, after Erasmus, the best known of all the humanists of the North. His work, while closely associated with the religious and social history of the Reformation period in England, had less significance than that of either Colet or Erasmus for the reform movement at large, and it is in connection with English history that we shall have occasion to refer to it again (par. 92).

Than this early Oxford movement, nothing better illustrates the relation of the humanistic revival in the North to the religious reform. Here the humanist was the reformer. But the Oxford reformers, it should be carefully noted, were not Protestant reformers. They believed in the divine character of the papal supremacy. They wished indeed to reform the Papacy, but not to destroy it. They did not wish to see the mediæval unity of Christendom broken. They had no quarrel with the dogmas of the Catholic Church. Erasmus denounced the doctrines of Luther, and More died a martyr's death rather than deny the papal supremacy.

20. The German Humanists. — Even before the influence of the Italian humanistic revival had begun to make itself felt in Germany, there had already sprung up in that country a movement, primarily intellectual, which owed little or nothing to that which at the same time was running its course in the Southern land. This movement in its earlier stages was represented by an association known as the "Brethren of the Common Life." The members of this union founded schools, and labored to render the education of youth practical and conducive to true piety. In these schools were nurtured some of the best scholars and best men of the time.⁷

⁷ Three of the most eminent representatives of this early German revival were Thomas a Kempis (d. 1471), the reputed author of *The Imitation of Christ*; Jacob Wimpheling (1450-1528); and Sebastian Brant (1458-1521), who in his poem entitled *Narrenschiff*, or "Ship of Fools," satirized with keenest wit evils in both State and Church.

Before the end of the fifteenth century this native movement, coming in contact with Italian humanism, received a great impulse therefrom, and developed rapidly and spread widely. The printing press poured out a flood of books. New universities were founded and became propagating centers of the liberal culture of the Renaissance.

But there was, as we have repeatedly intimated, a wide difference between Italian and German humanism. The Italian humanists, speaking generally, lacked moral earnestness, were attracted chiefly by the æsthetic side of the ancient civilizations, and made culture an end in itself.

The more serious temperament of the German race caused the German scholars to be attracted not only by those elements in the life and thought of the past which might contribute to the cultivation of the artistic taste or to the intellectual growth of men, but also by those which might contribute to their moral regeneration and spiritual quickening. They aimed, in a word, to make learning a means of social and moral improvement.

This tendency in German humanism caused the development of an antagonism between it and the scholastic theology which did not manifest itself in Italy. An irrepressible conflict sprang up between the monastic theologians, who were the champions of the old scholasticism, and the promoters of the New Learning. It was the first phase in modern times of the age-long warfare between Theology and Science.

The first blows exchanged by the two parties were given in a controversy in which the real principle involved was the freedom of scholars in their investigations and the limits of theological authority in matters of scholarship. The question was, "Shall theologians be censors of all learning?"

The war raged around the person of the eminent humanist John Reuchlin (1455-1522), the same whom we have seen in the closing years of the fifteenth century trudging over the Alps in order to study Greek at the feet of the Italian masters.

Hostilities had arisen in this way. It had been proposed by haters of the Jews that their books should be taken from them and burned, on the ground that these works were unfriendly to Christianity. Reuchlin, who was the best Hebrew scholar of his time, was asked, by the authorities before whom the matter had been brought, for his opinion on the proposal. He advised against it, and embraced the opportunity to say that much of the Jewish literature might be read by Christians with great advantage to themselves.

This caused Reuchlin to be bitterly attacked by the clerical party. The theological faculties of many of the German universities and that of the University of Paris condemned his views, while the humanists, among others Erasmus, sent him letters of approval and encouragement. Some of these Reuchlin published under the title of *Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum*, or "Letters from Illustrious Men."

The appearance of this collection suggested to some of Reuchlin's friends — the celebrated humanist and picturesque knight-poet, Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523), was among them — the putting out of a work bearing the title *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, or "Letters of Obscure Men" (1515-1517). This was a series of fictitious letters, written in "choicest bad Latin" and crowded with all sorts of absurdities, in which the party opposed to Reuchlin were made the subjects of rollicking satire and merciless ridicule. Some of the victims are said, while recognizing that the Latin of the letter-writers was not all that could be desired, to have expressed satisfaction at their "sound ideas" and "weighty arguments." To the humanists it was "capital fun," as More wrote to Erasmus.

21. The Humanistic Movement becomes a Reform. — The attacks of the humanists on the theologians had been inspired primarily not so much by religious feeling or moral indignation as by a love of sound learning and contempt for the ignorance and pedantry of the upholders of the old scholasticism.

The controversy now assumed a more serious phase. It took on the character of a religious debate, became a matter of conscience, also became mixed with political matters, and then finally developed into open war between the two parties. The simple narration of events as they unfolded in Germany will best convey an idea of how circumstances, and the appearance of a great man with deep convictions and violent passions, gave this new trend to the historic movement.

22. Indulgences. — Since the subject-matter of the debate in its new form was papal indulgences, a word concerning these will here be necessary to render intelligible the opening episodes of the great revolution.

An indulgence, as understood and defined by German theologians of Luther's time, was the remission of that temporal punishment which often remains due on account of sin after its guilt has been forgiven.⁸ It was granted on the performance of some work of piety, charity, or mercy, which often included an alms to the poor or a gift of money to promote some good work, and took effect only upon certain conditions, among which was that of confession of sin and sincere repentance.

Since much of the opposition to indulgences arose from their application to souls in purgatory and to abuses arising in this connection, a word of explanation is here also necessary.

According to Catholic teaching, the other world embraces three regions, — hell, purgatory, and heaven. This belief is embodied in the great poem of the mediæval ages, Dante's

⁸ The following is the definition given by Johann von Paltz, a contemporary of Luther, in his authoritative treatise on indulgences (*Califodina*, ed. of 1511): *Indulgentia est remissio pænæ temporalis debita peccatis actualibus pœnitentium non remissa in absolutione sacramentali: facta a prelato ecclesiæ rationaliter et ex rationabili causa: per recompensationem de pænâ indebita iustorum.* "An indulgence is a remission of that temporal penalty deserved by the actual sins of penitents which has not been remitted in sacramental absolution, — a remission granted by a prelate of the Church, in rational manner and for rational cause, on the ground of the penalty already paid by the undeserved punishment of the just." By "temporal" punishment is meant penances imposed by the Church and the temporary pains of purgatory, as opposed to the *eternal* punishment of hell.

Divine Comedy. Purgatory is a place or state intermediate between heaven and hell, where souls destined for eternal bliss are cleansed through suffering.

This belief in an intermediate place of punishment came to be of historical significance for the reason that, according to Catholic doctrine, souls in this place of purification can be helped and their probation shortened by the prayers and good works of their surviving friends in their behalf. Thus Dante on the terraces of the Mount of Purification met spirits who told him that their allotted time of suffering had been shortened by the mediatorial prayers of their friends. The vast endowments of the mediæval monasteries were in large part given that masses might be said for the repose of the souls of the donors.

And not only were intercessory prayers counted capable of releasing souls from purgatory, but the indulgence was deemed valid also for the dead as well as for the living. This doctrine was taught by the great mediæval theologian, Thomas Aquinas, and declared by successive Popes to be a true doctrine of the Catholic Church.

Before the time of the Reformation, indulgences had been frequently granted by various pontiffs, with different objects in view. Thus in the time of the Crusades plenary⁹ indulgences were offered to all who would assume the Cross and engage in the enterprise of rescuing the Holy Sepulcher from the hands of the Mohammedans. Indulgences were also often resorted to as a means of raising money for the construction and maintenance of churches, monastic buildings, and bridges, and for the promotion of other local undertakings. A great part of the money for the building of Saint Peter's at Rome was obtained in this manner. During the later mediæval period the system received a vast extension through the use of the indulgence to draw pilgrims to Rome. In the year 1300 Pope

⁹ A plenary or full indulgence remits to a penitent the whole of the temporal punishment to which he is liable at the time of receiving the remission.

Boniface VIII proclaimed a jubilee, which was to be celebrated thereafter every hundredth year, and offered plenary indulgence to all who, during the year, should, in the proper spirit, visit the churches of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Rome. The crowds drawn to the capital by this inducement exceed belief. It seemed as though all Christendom were thronging into the Holy City.

In following times the interval between one jubilee and the next was successively shortened until the term was reduced to twenty-five years.

These recurring jubilees¹⁰ form one of the most striking features of the religious life of the later Middle Ages. By multiplying the offerings of the faithful they brought vast sums into the papal treasury, and thereby greatly enhanced the power and influence of the Holy See.

23. Tetzel and the Preaching of Indulgences.—Leo X, upon his election to the papal dignity in 1513, found the coffers of the Church almost empty, and being in pressing need of money to carry on his various undertakings, among which was work upon Saint Peter's, he had recourse to the now common expedient of a grant of indulgences. He delegated the power of dispensing these in a great part of Germany to Archbishop Albert of Mainz,—who held also the archbishopric of Magdeburg. As his deputy, Albert employed a Dominican friar by the name of John Tetzel.

The archbishop was unfortunate in the selection of his agent. Tetzel carried out his commission in such a way as to give rise to a great scandal. The language that he and his subordinates used in exhorting the people to comply with the conditions of gaining the indulgences—one of which was a donation of money—was unseemly and exaggerated.

The result was that erroneous views as to the effect of indulgences began to spread among the ignorant and credulous,

¹⁰ Besides the regular jubilees extraordinary and local jubilees were frequently proclaimed.

many being so far misled as to think that if they only contributed this money to the building of Saint Peter's in Rome they would be exempt from all penalty for sins, paying little heed to the other conditions, such as sorrow for sin and purpose of amendment. Hence serious persons were led to declaim against the procedure of the zealous friar. These protests were the near mutterings of a storm that had long been gathering, and that was soon to shake all Europe, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

24. Martin Luther ; his Pilgrimage to Rome. — Foremost among those who opposed and denounced the methods used by Tetzel was Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk and a teacher of theology in the University of Wittenberg. This great reformer was born in Saxony in 1483. He was of humble parentage, his father being a poor miner. The boy possessed a good voice, and while a student sometimes earned his bread by singing from door to door. "This is God's way," he himself afterwards wrote, "of beggars to make men of power, just as he made the world of nothing." The natural bent of his mind, the teachings of his childhood, and a vow made when he thought himself in imminent danger of death, led him to enter a monastery and devote himself to the service of the Church.

Before Tetzel appeared in Germany, Luther had already earned a wide reputation for learning and piety. A few years before this (in 1511) he had made, in the interest of his order, a memorable journey to Rome. His reverence for Rome and the Pope was at that time unimpaired. Rome was in his eyes as sacred as Jerusalem. The Pope he regarded as God's representative on earth ; he would himself have killed any one, he says, who dared refuse him obedience. He had no doubts about purgatory ; he was almost sorry that his parents were not dead that he might, at the holy places in Rome, pray their souls out of that place of suffering.

But the simple German monk saw things at Rome which gave his reverence a rude shock. He had expected to see every one

"awed in perpetual reverence by the holy atmosphere of the place." Instead, he found luxury and skepticism, — often open vice and profligacy and irreverence for holy things. All this produced a deep impression upon the serious-minded monk. The seed had been sown which was destined to yield a great harvest.

25. The Ninety-Five Theses (1517). — It was six years after Luther's visit to Rome when Tetzel began in the neighborhood of Wittenberg, where Luther was, the preaching of indulgences in the scandalous manner to which we have just alluded.

The people were running in great crowds after the preacher of indulgences. Luther was greatly distressed. Not being able to get any one in authority to intervene to put a stop to the scandal, he resolved to take hold of the matter himself. Accordingly he drew up ninety-five theses¹¹ bearing on indulgences, and nailed them upon the door of the university chapel at Wittenberg.

It was a custom of those times for a scholar thus to post propositions which he was willing to maintain against any and all comers.

An examination of the theses shows that Luther at this time still held the generally accepted view both as to purgatory and as to the validity and value of indulgences, and that his protest was aimed only at abuses.

Thus he says, "Christians should be taught that, if the Pope were acquainted with the exactions of the preachers of pardons, he would rather that the basilica of Saint Peter should be burnt to ashes than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep."

And again: "He who speaks against the truth of apostolic pardons, let him be anathema and accursed. But he, on the other hand, who exerts himself against the wantonness and license of speech of the preachers of pardons, let him be

¹¹ See "Sources" at end of chapter.

blessed. . . . This license in the preaching of pardons makes it no easy thing, even for learned men, to protect the reverence due to the Pope against the calumnies, or, at all events, the keen questionings of the laity."

By means of the press the theses were spread broadcast. They were eagerly read and commented upon by all classes, particularly in Germany. Tetzl issued counter-propositions. There was a hearing before a papal commissioner and a great disputation. Learned theologians¹² entered the lists against the presumptuous monk. The air was thick with controversial leaflets.

At first the Pope, Leo X, had been inclined to make light of the whole matter, declaring that it was "a mere squabble of monks," but at length he felt constrained to take decisive measures against Luther. The monk was to be silenced by means of a papal bull.

26. Luther's "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation"¹³ (July, 1520). — Luther heard that the bull was soon to be launched against him. He anticipated its arrival by the issuance to the German nobility of a remarkable address, which has been well called "The Manifesto of the Reformation." This was beyond question the most significant historically of all the productions of this age of theses and counter-theses, of bulls and bans, of manifestoes and appeals. It was practically a German declaration of independence of Rome.

Luther demands, among other things, that payment to the Pope of annates¹⁴ should be forbidden by the princes, nobles, and cities, or that they should be wholly abolished; that "no

¹² Prominent among these disputants were Cardinal Cajetan (1469-1534) and John Eck (1486-1543).

¹³ For a word concerning this address and two others which Luther published this same year, see "Sources" at end of chapter.

¹⁴ Annates, or first fruits, were the first year's revenue, or some portion of the first year's revenue, of a benefice paid to the Pope by a bishop, abbot, or other ecclesiastic for the papal confirmation in his office. This was a most important

episcopal cloak and no confirmation of an appointment should be obtained from Rome"; that the Pope should have no power whatever over the Emperor, "save to anoint and crown him at the altar"; and that the secular clergy should be free to marry or not to marry.¹⁵

27. Luther burns the Papal Bull (Dec. 10, 1520). — At length a copy of the papal bull came into Luther's hands. Forty-one propositions selected from his writings were therein condemned either as "heretical" or as "scandalous," and all persons were forbidden to read his books, which were ordered to be burned; and he himself, if he did not retract his errors within sixty days, was, together with all his adherents, to be regarded as having "incurred the penalty due for heresy."

Luther now took a startling determination. He resolved to burn the papal bull. A fire was kindled outside one of the gates of Wittenberg, and in the presence of a great throng of doctors, students, and citizens, Luther cast the bull, together with the papal decretals and some books of his opponents, into the flames.

This was a bold thing to do. No one had ever done so bold a thing before and escaped the fires prepared for schismatics and heretics. With the fate of Huss and Jerome and Savonarola before his eyes, Luther might well have hesitated before thus throwing down the gauntlet to the Pope.

source of revenue to the Roman court. The temporal princes naturally regarded these payments by their subjects to the Pope with great jealousy, since in this way immense sums of money passed out of their dominions and into the Roman treasury. Consequently this subject of annates was a source of endless disagreement and controversy between the civil governments of Europe and the Papacy. In England the prohibition of the payment of first fruits to the Pope was one of the earliest steps taken in the separation from Rome. See par. 85.

¹⁵ Luther was not at this time ready to release monks from their vows. Gradually, however, his views changed and he came to regard the celibacy of the monks as opposed to Scripture teachings. In the year 1525, acting upon his maturer views, he married Catharine von Bora, a former nun. This violation by Luther of his monastic vows was made the subject of bitter reproach against him by his enemies.

The audacious proceeding raised a terrible storm, which raged "high as the heavens, wide as the earth." Luther wrote a friend that he believed the tempest could never be stilled before the day of judgment.

28. The Diet of Worms (1521). — Affairs had now assumed a threatening aspect. All Germany was in a state of revolt. The papal supremacy was imperiled. The papal ban having failed to produce any effect, Pope Leo now invoked the aid of the recently elected Emperor Charles V in extirpating the spreading heresy. He wished Luther to be sent to Rome for trial there. Luther's friends, however, persuaded Charles not to accede to the Pope's request, but to permit Luther to be heard in Germany. Accordingly Luther received an imperial summons to appear at Worms before an assembly of the princes, nobles, and clergy of Germany to be convened for the purpose of deliberating upon the affairs of Germany, and especially upon matters touching the great religious controversy.

Luther's journey to Worms was a triumphal progress. The eyes of all Germany were upon him. The crowds that lined the streets of the towns through which he passed showed how profoundly the German heart had been stirred. At Worms the roofs of the houses along the streets traversed by the monk in his entrance into the city were loaded with his sympathizers.¹⁶

When Luther first appeared before the brilliant and august assembly he was visibly embarrassed. The Emperor, who presided, had expressed a curiosity to see the man who had made such a stir in Christendom. Evidently he was not greatly impressed by the appearance of the seemingly frightened monk, for he is said to have remarked to those near him, "This man would never make a heretic of me."

¹⁶ As Luther neared Worms it was whispered to him that treason against him was being planned within the city. His friends, alarmed at this report, tried to dissuade him from exposing his life by going on. It was then that he made his famous declaration, "I would go though there were as many devils there as there are tiles on the roofs of the houses."

But Luther soon recovered his composure. His books were placed on a table before him, and he was asked whether he would retract what he had written therein. He requested a day's time to consider his answer. The following day, brought again before the Diet, he replied in substance: "To revoke these writings would be to give new force and audacity to the Roman tyranny. I cannot, I will not, retract anything, unless what I have written shall be shown to be contrary to Holy Scripture or to plain reason, for to act against conscience is neither safe nor upright." His closing words were impressive: "I can do no otherwise, here I stand, God help me, Amen."

Although some wished to deliver the reformer to the flames, the safe-conduct of the Emperor under which he had come to the Diet protected him. So Luther was allowed to depart in safety, but was followed by the ban of the Empire.

29. Luther at the Wartburg (1521-1522). — Luther, however, had powerful friends, among whom was his own prince, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. Solicitous for the safety of the reformer, the prince caused him to be seized on his way from the Diet by a company of masked horsemen, who carried him to the castle of the Wartburg, where he was kept about a year, his retreat being known only to a few friends. Luther called this asylum his Patmos.

During this period of forced retirement from the world Luther was busy writing pamphlets and translating the Bible. Appeal had been made to the Scriptures, — "Prove it from the Scriptures," "There it is written," was the constant challenge of the reformers to their opponents, — hence it was necessary that the Scriptures should be accessible in a language understood by all.¹⁷

It was hard work, as Luther put it, to make the old prophets speak German, but he made them speak it in a way which has fixed to this day the attention of the German nation.

¹⁷ There had been before this translations of the Bible into German, but the editions had been small and the circulation limited.

In giving Germany this translation of the Bible, Luther rendered some such service to the German tongue as Dante rendered to the Italian through his *Divine Comedy*. Fixing its literary forms, he virtually created the German language out of a chaos of dialects.

30. The Peasants' War (1524-1525).—Before quite a year had passed Luther was drawn from the Wartburg by the troubles caused by certain radical reformers whose preaching was occasioning tumult and violence, and thereby bringing into discredit the whole reform movement. Luther's sudden appearance at Wittenberg gave a temporary check to the agitation; but in the course of two or three years the trouble broke out afresh, and in a more complex and aggravated form. To understand properly the new trouble, we must take a glance at the condition of the German peasantry.

In no other country of Europe was the lot of the peasant so hard as in Germany. Whilst in Western Europe he had become free, here he was still a serf, — the virtual slave of his feudal lord.¹⁸ The clergy, instead of exerting themselves to render more tolerable the lot of the poor peasants, only made it harder by the tithes they exacted and by the vexatious and burdensome charges they imposed for services that should have been the free services of love.

Stung to madness by the oppressions under which they groaned, stirred by the religious excitement that filled the air, and influenced by the incendiary preaching of their prophets Carlstadt and Münzer, the peasants of Suabia and Franconia rose in revolt against the nobles and the priests, — against all in authority.¹⁹ Castles and monasteries were sacked and burned, and horrible outrages were committed. The rebellion was finally crushed, but not until a hundred thousand lives had

¹⁸ For the relations of serf and feudal lord, see *The Middle Ages*, par. 149.

¹⁹ The demands of the peasants were embodied in a document known as the "Twelve Articles." A summary of these articles can be found in Häusser, *The Period of the Reformation* (New York, 1885), pp. 98, 99.

been sacrificed, a large part of South Germany devastated, and great reproach cast upon the reformers, whose teachings were held by their enemies to be the whole cause of the ferment.²⁰

31. The Secularization of Church Property. — But in spite of all these discrediting movements the reform made rapid progress. Nothing contributed more to win over to the views of Luther the temporal princes than his recommendation that the monasteries should be suppressed, and their property confiscated by the state and devoted to the maintenance of churches, schools, and charities.²¹

The lay rulers were quick to act upon this suggestion, and to go far beyond it. Within a very few years after the appearance of Luther's address to the German nobility and another treatise of his on monastic vows (1522), wherein he declared such vows to be contrary to true Christian principles, there were confiscations of ecclesiastical property in all the German states that had become Protestant.

In Sweden, in which country the doctrines of Luther gained an early foothold, almost all the property of the old Church was, by an act of the National Diet, given into the hands of the king, Gustavus Vasa (1524). This wealth contributed greatly to enhance the power and prestige of the Swedish monarchy.

In England, King Henry VIII, under circumstances which we shall consider in another chapter, suppressed the monasteries and diverted to secular uses the greater part of their wealth.

But the classical instance of the secularizing of Church property during this period is afforded by the case of the

²⁰ A similar charge was made against Wycliffe; see *The Middle Ages*, par. 336. About a decade after the suppression of the peasants' revolt the religious excitement of the time brought into existence the so-called New Zion, or Anabaptist kingdom of Münster, a sort of theocracy, of which the head was John of Leyden (1510?–1536). There was in this movement a most startling exhibition of religious fanaticism. Like the rebellion of the peasants, it tended greatly to discredit the genuine reform party.

²¹ All such taking over of ecclesiastical property by the state was called "secularization."

Teutonic Knights.²² At the beginning of the Protestant revolt these monk-knights ruled over from two to three million subjects. When the reform movement began to spread over Germany the Grand Master of the order, Albert of Brandenburg, turned Protestant, and converted the domains of the fraternity into an hereditary principality under the name of the Duchy of Prussia (1525). The knights married and became nobles. Thus was created out of ecclesiastical lands a most important secular state.

32. The Reformers are called Protestants; the Augsburg Confession. — The rapid progress of the revolution alarmed the upholders of the ancient Church. In the year 1529 there gathered an assembly known as the Second Diet of Spire to consider the matter.

The action of the Catholic majority of this body took away from the Protestant princes and cities the right they had hitherto enjoyed of determining what form of religion should be followed in their domains. Further, a resolution was passed which forbade the teaching of certain of the new doctrines until a council of the Church should have pronounced authoritatively upon them.

Six of the German princes and a large number of the cities of the Empire issued a formal protest against the action of the Diet, denying the power or right of a majority to bind the minority in matters of religion and conscience. Because of this *protest*, the reformers from this time began to be known as *Protestants*.

The year following that in which this protest was made the adherents of Luther, at the request of the Emperor Charles, laid before another Diet assembled at Augsburg (1530) their formula of belief, known as the "Augsburg Confession." It was drawn up by the eminent scholar Melancthon, and came to form the basis of the Lutheran Church.

²² See *The Middle Ages*, par. 220.

33. The Death of Luther ; his Character. — Luther died in the year 1546.²³ Lovers of the old Church and adherents of the new judge very differently the work of the reformer in its relation to the moral and religious progress of the race ; but few, even of his enemies, deny him a first place among the great men of the sixteenth century.

It was largely in his terrible earnestness and his indomitable will that his greatness lay. His preëminence among the reformers consisted not in his scholarship, for Calvin was his superior in this ; not in “sweet reasonableness” of spirit, for Melanchthon excelled him here. He was, in truth, a man of violent passions and of many faults. He himself being judge, he was no saint, in the mediæval sense of the term ; for he describes himself—and no one has done it so well as he—as “rough, boisterous, stormy, and altogether warlike, born to fight innumerable devils and monsters, to remove stumps and stones, to cut down thistles and thorns, and to clear the wild woods.”

34. The Catholic Reaction ; its Causes and Agents. — Even before the death of Luther the Reformation had gained a strong foothold in most of the countries of Western Christendom, save in Spain and Italy, and even in these parts the new doctrines had made some progress. It seemed as if the revolt from Rome was destined to become universal, and the old ecclesiastical empire to be completely broken up.

But several causes now conspired to check the hitherto triumphant advance of Protestantism and to enable the old Church to regain much of the ground that had been lost.

²³ After the death of Luther the leadership of the Reformation in Germany fell to Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), one of Luther's friends and fellow-workers. Melanchthon's disposition was exactly the opposite of Luther's. “The one was the hero, and the other the theologian of the German Reformation.” Melanchthon often reproved Luther for his indiscretion and vehemence, and was constantly laboring to effect, through mutual concessions, a reconciliation between the Catholics and Protestants. Although he lived to see the controversy issue in war between the two parties, still he died in the hope that the unity of the severed Church would yet be restored.

Chief among these were the *divisions among the Protestants*, the *Counter-Reform in the Catholic Church*, the *increased activity of the Inquisition*, the *rise of the Society of the Jesuits*, and *Spain's zealous championship of Catholicism*.

35. Divisions among the Protestants. — Early in their contest with the Roman See the Protestants of the Continent became divided into three mutually hostile sects, — Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists.

The creed of the Lutherans came to prevail very generally in North Germany, and was received in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. It also spread into the Netherlands, but there it was soon overshadowed by Calvinism. Of all the Protestant sects the Lutherans made the least departure from the Catholic Church.

The Zwinglians, followers of Huldreich Zwingli²⁴ (1484–1531), differed from the Lutherans particularly in their views regarding the nature of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and in the matter of church organization. Their creed became dominant in the greater part of German Switzerland, and from there spread into Southern Germany.

The Calvinists were followers of John Calvin (1509–1564), a Frenchman by birth, who, forced to flee from France on account of persecution, found a refuge at Geneva,²⁵ which city he made the center of a movement even more extended and historically important than that having its point of departure

²⁴ Zwingli's career affords a good illustration of the relation of the culture of the Renaissance to the new spirit of reform. He was a disciple of Erasmus, and was at first minded to become a humanist. For a time he was a zealous student of the Greek and Latin classics. Through his humanistic studies he reached the standpoint he later held as a reformer. See Jackson's *Zwingli*, p. 158. Zwingli thought that the majority have the right to force the minority to adopt their views. He was killed in the battle of Cappel (1531), a battle between the Zwinglian cantons and those still Catholic.

²⁵ Under the influence of Calvin, Geneva became a sort of theocratic state, with the reformer as a Protestant pope. The laws and regulations of this little city-state recall those of the later Puritan commonwealth in England. Calvinism was everywhere the same. It was a sort of revival of the theocracy of the ancient Hebrews. Calvin has been well called the "Prophet of the Old Covenant."

at Wittenberg. His doctrines spread into France, Rhenish Germany, the Low Countries, Scotland, and England, and were transported to New England beyond the seas.²⁶

We can best remember the wide range of Calvinism and its remarkable influence upon the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by keeping in mind that the French Huguenots, the Scotch Covenanters, the Dutch Netherlands (in large part), the English Puritans, and the Pilgrim Fathers were all Calvinists.²⁷

The Anglicans in England owed their origin, as we shall learn, to circumstances and not to any single great theologian or reformer; yet the doctrines of Calvin left deep traces upon the creed of the Anglican Church.

These great Protestant communions finally broke up into a large number of denominations or churches, each holding to some minor point of doctrine or adhering to some form of worship disregarded by the others, yet all agreeing in the central doctrine of the Reformation, "justification by faith alone."

Now the contentions between these different sects were sharp and bitter. The liberal-minded reformer had occasion to lament the same state of things as that which troubled the Apostle Paul in the early days of Christianity. One said, I am of Luther; another said, I am of Calvin; and another said, I am of Zwingli. Even Luther himself denounced Zwingli as a heretic; and the Calvinists would have no dealings with the Lutherans.

²⁶ The historian Fisher thus summarizes the so-called five points of Calvinism: "Unconditional election; limited atonement (designed for the elect only); the complete impotency of the human will; irresistible grace; and the perseverance of believers." — *History of the Reformation*, p. 474.

²⁷ All these are great names in the history of *political* liberty. The undeniably favorable influence of Calvinism upon civil liberty is doubtless to be attributed not so much to its creed as to the democratic constitution of the Calvinistic churches. Each church forms a little democracy, and naturally ecclesiastical democracy has fostered political democracy. People who manage their religious matters are very apt to get the idea that they are also competent to attend to their secular affairs.

The influence of these sectarian strifes and divisions upon the progress of the reform movement was most disastrous. They weakened the Protestant party in the presence of a united and vigilant enemy. They afforded the Catholics a strong and effective argument against the entire movement, for Catholics had from the first maintained that the doctrine of the right of private judgment in matters of religion would destroy all certainty and uniformity of belief and practice. Without an infallible guide in religion, society, they declared, would be like a ship without a rudder in a stormy sea. Their forecast had seemingly proved true. And so it was not at all strange that thousands who had ventured out a little way on the tempestuous waters in the wake of their bold leaders became frightened, and turned back to the safe harbor of the ancient Church.

The position of the Protestants being thus undermined by their dissensions, the papal party was able, through the employment of extraordinary means, not only to check the progress of the revolt, but even to regain much of the ground that had been lost.

36. The Catholic Counter-Reform ; the Council of Trent (1545-1563) ; Carlo Borromeo. — As we have seen, it was the existence of acknowledged evils and scandals in the old Church that had contributed greatly to undermine its authority and to weaken its hold upon the reverence and the consciences of men. It was the correction of these evils and the removal of these scandals which did much to restore its lost influence and authority.

This reform, which even before the rise of Protestantism had already begun within the Catholic Church, was hastened and fostered by different events and agencies.

Thus the reform movement in the Northern lands naturally reacted upon the Southern countries and imparted new energy to all the forces of reform there.

Then again a terrible misfortune which right in the midst

of the ferment of the Reformation befell papal Rome had a great influence in bringing about a radical change in the Papacy. In the year 1527, during a war between the Emperor Charles V and Francis I, king of France (par. 47), Rome was sacked by an imperial army, or rather horde of international savages, amidst scenes even more terrible than those which marked the sack of pagan Rome in the fifth century by the Goths and Vandals.

This calamity produced a profound impression throughout Christendom. It was by many regarded as a judgment of God upon the city for its wickedness. The lesson sank deep into the minds of the most serious and pious of the Catholics everywhere and gave new force and urgency to the demands that were being made for the thorough reformation of the Church in head and members.

The reform so insistently demanded was carried out in great measure by the memorable Council of Trent (1545-1563). This body, the most important Church assembly since that of Nicæa, A.D. 325, passed with the voice of authority upon all the points that had been raised by the reformers. It declared the traditions of the Church to be of equal authority with the Bible; it reasserted the divine character of the Papacy; it condemned as heresy the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone. It made everything so clear that no one, not even a wayfaring man, need err either in doctrine or in duty. It also demanded that the lives of all priests and bishops should be an exemplification of Christian purity and morality.

These measures of the council helped greatly to check the Protestant movement. The correction of the abuses that had had so much to do in causing the great schism, smoothed the way for the return to the ancient Church of thousands who had become alarmed at the dangers into which society seemed to drift when once it cast loose from anchorage in the safe harbor of tradition and authority.

The spirit in which the Council of Trent had done its work finds illustration in the exalted character and devoted life of the Italian reformer, Carlo Borromeo (1538–1588). In him the reforming spirit of the great council was incarnate. He became Archbishop of Milan, and took as his model the holy Ambrose, who, twelve centuries before, in the corrupt times of the failing Roman Empire, had won sainthood in that same see. He renovated and restored the desecrated and deserted churches; reformed the lax and dissolute lives of the clergy; restored discipline in the religious orders; and established schools, seminaries, and colleges. It was due largely to his zealous labors, and to the happy contagion of his holy life, that a new spiritual and moral life was created in Milan and in all the regions round about; that popular veneration for the ancient Church was again evoked; that the progress of Protestantism in Italy was stayed; and that the wavering were held firm in their allegiance to the Papacy and many who had already been led away by the Protestant heresy were brought back to the ancient fold.

37. The Inquisition.—The Catholic Church, having purified itself and defined clearly its articles of faith, demanded of all a more implicit obedience than hitherto.

The Inquisition, or Holy Office, now assumed new vigor and activity, and heresy was sternly dealt with. The tribunal was assisted in the execution of its sentences by the secular authorities in all the Romance countries, but outside of these it was not generally recognized by the temporal princes, though it did succeed in establishing itself for a time in the Netherlands and in some parts of Germany. Death, usually by burning, and loss of property were the penalty of obstinate heresy.

Without doubt the Holy Office did much to check the advance of the Reformation in Southern Europe, aiding especially in holding Italy and Spain compactly obedient to the ancient Church.

At this point, in connection with the persecutions of the Inquisition, we should not fail to recall that in the sixteenth century a refusal to conform to the established worship was regarded by the great majority of Protestants, as well as of Catholics, as a species of treason against society, and was dealt with accordingly. Thus at Geneva we find Calvin bending all his energies to the trial and execution of Servetus, because he published views that the Calvinists thought heretical; and in England we see the Anglican Protestants waging the most cruel, bitter, and persistent persecutions, not only against the Catholics, but also against all Protestants who refused to conform to the Established Church.

38. The Society of the Jesuits ; Ignatius of Loyola ; Francis Xavier. — The Society of the Jesuits, or the Company of Jesus, was another most powerful auxiliary concerned in the reestablishment of the threatened authority of the papal see. The founder of the fraternity was Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), a native of Spain. Ignatius was the embodiment of Spanish religious zeal. His object was to form a society the devotion and energy of whose members should meet the ardor and activity of the reformers. The new society was instituted by a bull of Pope Paul III, in 1540.

Ignatius before he became a priest was a soldier, and this circumstance it was which lent a military cast to his society. Indeed, the military principle so characterizes it that it has been described as “a military organization for religious purposes.”

This predominance of the military principle in the society should be borne carefully in mind in any study of the character and the activity of the Jesuits. Like the soldier, each member of the society is required to submit his own will to that of his official superior, and is taught to regard self-renunciation and obedience as cardinal virtues.

To the ordinary monastic vows the Jesuits added one of implicit obedience to the Pope. The members of the society must go wherever ordered by their superior. And strangely

diverse were the offices and commissions which fell to them : they became professors and private tutors, the spiritual advisers of princes, confessors, courtiers, physicians, scientists, servants, and missionaries.

Particularly as educators did the Jesuits exert a profound influence upon society. Their aim here was to fill the world with schools and colleges, just as a conquered country might be occupied with military garrisons. Ignatius left behind him a full hundred colleges and seminaries ; within a century and a half after his death the order had founded over seven hundred.

As the well-disciplined, watchful, and uncompromising foes of the Protestants, now divided into many and often hostile sects, the Jesuits did so much to bring about a reaction that Macaulay declares, "The history of the Jesuits is the history of the Catholic Reaction."

It was largely through their direct or indirect agency that Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and South Germany, after they had been invaded by Protestantism and in a greater or less degree drawn away from the old faith, were won back to the Catholic Church and again bound by stronger ties than ever to the Papacy. By the end of the sixteenth century this great work of recovery had been in a large measure accomplished.

This regaining of these debatable countries for Catholicism constitutes one of the most important matters in the religious history of Europe.

And not only did the labors of the Jesuits contribute thus greatly to the retrieving of the papal fortunes in Europe, but they were also instrumental in extending the authority and spreading the doctrines of the Catholic Church into all other parts of the world.

Most distinguished of all the missionaries of the society to pagan lands was the saintly Francis Xavier (1506-1552), known as the "Apostle of the Indies." His charity was measureless, his courage heroic. He thought that he should be as ready to face danger in quest of souls as others were in quest

of "aromatic groves and mines of gold." His labors in India, Japan, and other lands of the Far East were attended with astonishing results.

39. Spain's Zealous Championship of Catholicism. — Just as England became the champion and the bulwark of Protestantism, so did Spain become the champion and the bulwark of Catholicism. The Spanish sovereigns, as we shall see, constituted themselves the guardians of Catholic orthodoxy, and employed all their strength to uproot and destroy the reformed faith not only in their own domains but also in other lands. Their strenuous efforts to reëstablish and maintain the old religious unity caused them to become most important instruments of the Catholic Restoration.

40. The Hundred Years of Religious Wars. — The action taken by the Council of Trent made impossible a reconciliation between the two parties. The middle of the sixteenth century had not yet been reached before the increasing bitterness of their controversy led to an appeal to force. Then followed a hundred years of religious wars. During this time neither party laid aside the sword.

The Schmalkaldic War in Germany between Charles V and the Protestant princes; the fierce struggle in the Netherlands between Philip II of Spain and his revolted subjects; the Huguenot wars in France; the launching of the Spanish Armada against Protestant England; the 'Thirty Years' War in Germany, — all these were simply different acts of the long and terrible drama.

In this protracted combat Protestantism was fighting desperately for the right to live; the Papacy was fighting to put down secession, to force the seceded states back into the old ecclesiastical empire, to restore the broken unity of Christendom. If in this conflict Spain, as has been said, was the "armed hand" of the old Church, the papal court was the directing brain. Throughout the hundred years of unceasing warfare, "projects were formed and enterprises entered into

[by Rome] recalling those proceeding from the Seven Hills in ancient times and during the Middle Ages.”²⁸

In the chapters immediately following this we shall trace in broad outline the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the rival creeds in the leading European countries. To what we have here said concerning the beginnings of the Revolution we will in a closing paragraph add only a single word touching its results.

41. Outcomes of the Revolt. — The outcome of the Protestant Revolution *as a revolution* was, very broadly stated, the separation from the Catholic Church of North Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England, and Scotland, along with parts of Switzerland and of the Netherlands — in the main, nations of Teutonic race. The great Romance nations, namely, France, Spain, and Italy, together with South Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Ireland, adhered to the ancient Church, or, if for a period shaken in their loyalty, ultimately returned to their old allegiance.²⁹

What this separation from Rome meant in the political realm is well stated by Seebohm: “It was the claiming by the civil power in each nation of those rights which the Pope had hitherto claimed within it as head of the great ecclesiastical empire. The clergy and monks had hitherto been regarded more or less as foreigners — that is, as subjects of the Pope’s ecclesiastical empire. Where there was a revolt from Rome the allegiance of these persons to the Pope was annulled, and the civil power claimed as full a sovereignty over them as it had over its lay subjects. Matters relating to marriage and wills still for the most part remained under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but then, as the ecclesiastical courts themselves became national courts and ceased to be Roman or papal, all these matters came under the control of the civil power.”³⁰

²⁸ Ranke, *History of the Popes*, vol. i, p. 395.

²⁹ It is because the Reformation was espoused so generally by the Teutonic peoples and Catholicism adhered to so generally by the Romance nations that Protestantism is sometimes spoken of as Teutonic Christianity and Catholicism as Latin Christianity.

³⁰ *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*, p. 162.

In a word, the secession meant that the nations thus breaking the ties which formerly united them to Rome now became — what they were not during mediæval times — absolutely independent or sovereign powers, self-centered and self-governed in their religious as well as in their political life.

In a spiritual or religious point of view, this severance by the Northern nations of the bonds that formerly united them to the ecclesiastical empire of Rome meant a transfer of their allegiance from the *Church* to the *Bible*.³¹ The decrees of Popes and the decisions of church councils were no longer to be regarded as having divine and binding force; the Scriptures alone were to be held as possessing divine and infallible authority, and, theoretically, this rule and standard of faith and practice each individual was to interpret for himself.³²

Another important result of the Reformation was a certain impulse given the world in the direction of religious toleration. It is true that the reformers, in spite of their insistence for themselves upon the right of private judgment in religious

³¹ Influenced by the liberal spirit of the humanistic revival, many of the reformers showed at first a tendency to make the individual reason and conscience the supreme arbiters in all matters religious and moral. The social and moral chaos (peasant revolt, etc.) to which the doctrine seemed to lead, caused a retreat in alarm on the part of the reformers from their advanced position. Luther, particularly, from being a stout champion of reason, became its most violent detractor. "It is the quality of faith," he declared, "that it wrings the neck of reason. It holds to God's Word . . . no matter how foolish and impossible it sounds." It was in great part this defamation by Luther of the human reason that caused the breach between him and the humanists. It determined also the essential character of the whole Protestant movement, making it to consist on its doctrinal side merely in the substitution of a new orthodoxy for the old one. The "Higher Criticism," as it is called, of to-day, in its teachings concerning the nature and authority of the Bible and the authority of the individual reason and conscience, makes a return to the standpoint of the reverent humanism of the sixteenth century.

³² This is simply the expression in the religious domain of that individualism which distinguishes modern as contrasted with mediæval civilization. In the Middle Ages men were thought of as parts of some order or class or guild. The corporation, the order, was everything; the individual was lost sight of. The

matters, did not in practice concede this right to others, and when they had the power became, very inconsistently, most zealous persecutors. They believed with the Catholics that heresy should be punished, only they defined heresy differently. Throughout the sixteenth century intolerance, in the words of the historian Lingard, was "a part of the public law of Christendom." Nevertheless the path upon which the reformers had entered led straight to religious toleration. The proclamation of the principle of private judgment in religious affairs, through a logical necessity, came ultimately to exert a favorable influence upon toleration; for you cannot accord to a man the right to form his own judgment respecting a matter and at the same time affix a penalty to his reaching any save a prescribed conclusion. Consequently among the various agencies, such as modern science, the advance of the world in general intelligence, and closer intercourse among the different peoples of the earth, which during the past three centuries have brought in the beneficent principle of religious toleration, the Reformation of the sixteenth century must be given a prominent place.

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tendency of the three movements of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Revolution was to disintegrate these mediæval orders, classes, corporations, and, setting free the individual, to crown him with sovereignty in all the activities of his intellectual, religious, political, and industrial life. It is the resulting individualism which has called into existence the strenuous competitive life of our time. While this individualism has a good side, it has also an evil side. Perhaps the world will in time discover that here also the middle course is the best, — the course lying between what we may call the communism or socialism of the Middle Ages and the individualism of to-day.

at this time, but also of the character of the man who here makes himself the spokesman of the German nation. *The Table-Talk of Martin Luther*, translated by William Hazlitt (Bohn). A volume of selections from the *Table-Talk*, translated by Henry Bell, is to be found in Cassell's National Library. Michelet's *Life of Luther* (Bohn) is composed almost wholly of Luther's letters and papers. Treadwell's *Martin Luther and his Work* (The New Plutarch Series) has an appendix of translations from Luther's writings, including the Ninety-five Theses and extracts from the reformer's sermons and letters. Calvin's works can be found almost complete in the "Calvin Translation Society" series. The first volume of the series contains the life of Calvin by Theodore Beza. Jackson's *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli* (Philadelphia, Univ. of Penn.). ERASMUS, *Praise of Folly*, and *Colloquies* (London, 1900), 3 vols., translated by N. Bailey. *The Epistles of Erasmus* (from his earliest letters to his fifty-first year), translated by Francis Morgan Nichols (New York, 1901). Whitcomb's *Literary Source-Book of the German Renaissance. Historical Leaflets* (Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.), No. 1, "The Protest at Speier"; No. 2, "Tetzel's Theses on Indulgences"; No. 3, "The Decree of Worms"; No. 4, "Brief Reformation Documents"; No. 5, "The Peace of Augsburg"; and No. 6, "Two Luther Documents." These leaflets form one of the best series of translations for source study of the Reformation period. They can be obtained from Professor Henry C. Vedder, Chester, Pa. *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. iii, No. 6, "The Pre-Reformation Period"; vol. ii, No. 6, "Period of the Early Reformation in Germany"; and vol. iii, No. 3, "Period of the Later Reformation." In Seeböhm's *Oxford Reformers*, Emerton's *Desiderius Erasmus*, Froude's *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, and Richard's *Philip Melanchthon* can be found much source material, chiefly letters, of an interesting and instructive character. Forming an appendix to the last-named work will be found Melanchthon's funeral oration over Luther.

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CHAPTER II

THE ASCENDANCY OF SPAIN; HER RELATION TO THE CATHOLIC REACTION

I. REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V (1519-1556)

42. Charles's Dominions. — In the year 1500 there was born in the city of Ghent, in the Netherlands, a prince who was destined to play a great part in the history of the sixteenth century. This was Charles, son of Philip the Handsome, Archduke of Austria, and Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, — later to be known to fame as the Emperor Charles V.

Charles was “the converging point and heir of four great royal lines, which had become united by a series of happy matrimonial alliances.”¹ These were the houses of Austria, Burgundy, Castile, and Aragon. Castile and Aragon were joined by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile; Austria and Burgundy, by the marriage of Maximilian of Austria to Mary, the daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, the last Duke of Burgundy;² then these double lines were brought together by the marriage of Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, to Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary.

Before Charles had completed his nineteenth year there were heaped upon his head, through the removal by death of

¹ The practice of the House of Austria to make conquests through politic marriages is celebrated by Matthias Corvinus (the royal humanist of Hungary, who was the great rival of the Hapsburgs) in the following lines:

Bella gerant alii; tu felix Austria nube!
Nam quæ Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus.

² See *The Middle Ages*, pars. 346 and 353.

his ancestors, the crowns of the four dynasties. In 1506, by the death of his father, Charles fell heir to the Netherlands; the insanity of his mother Joanna, and in 1516 the death of his grandfather Ferdinand the Catholic, transferred to him the crowns of Spain and Naples, and the sovereignty of vast, indefinite regions in the New World; and in 1519, by the death of his grandfather Maximilian, he inherited the Duchy of Austria and all its dependencies. Thus, in the words of Prescott, "did a long train of circumstances open the way for this prince to the inheritance of more extensive dominions than any European monarch since Charlemagne had possessed."

But great as was the number of the hereditary crowns of the young prince, there was straightway added to them (in 1519), by the vote of the Electors, the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. After this election he was known as the *Emperor Charles V*, whereas hitherto he had borne the title of *Carlos I* of Spain.

The headship of the great confederation of principalities and free imperial cities which at this time made up the so-called "Empire" was scarcely more than a title of honor, a sort of vexatious overlordship. The conferring of it upon the Spanish king involved him, as we shall see, in almost interminable wars with the French king, Francis I, who was his disappointed rival in the race for the imperial crown. It also drew him into serious quarrels with the refractory German princes, and involved him deeply in the great religious dispute which had already begun in Germany. It was, in a word, just such a curse to the Spanish kingdom under Charles as in the Middle Ages it had been to the German under the Hohenstaufen.³ It diverted Charles's attention from Spain's true interests, which lay in the peninsula and in the New World.

43. The Balance of Power is disturbed by Spain. — When Charles VIII of France just at the close of the Middle Ages made his memorable invasion of Italy, the other states became

³ Cf. *The Middle Ages*, pars. 364 and 366.

alarmed lest France should gain an undue weight in European affairs, and to prevent this formed an alliance to keep France within her proper boundaries.⁴ This was practically the origin of the celebrated system of the balance of power among the European states.⁵

From that time to the present this balance of power idea has lain at the bottom of much European diplomacy. It has been the concern of statesmen to see to it that no one of the nations should acquire an overweight of power or influence, and thereby endanger the independence of the others. But notwithstanding this interested vigilance there has been a constant tendency to a disturbance of the equilibrium of the European system of states through the overgrowth of this or that member of it. Thus in the seventeenth century France under Louis XIV, and then again in the early years of the nineteenth century under Napoleon, acquired such an ascendancy as to imperil the liberties of the Continent.

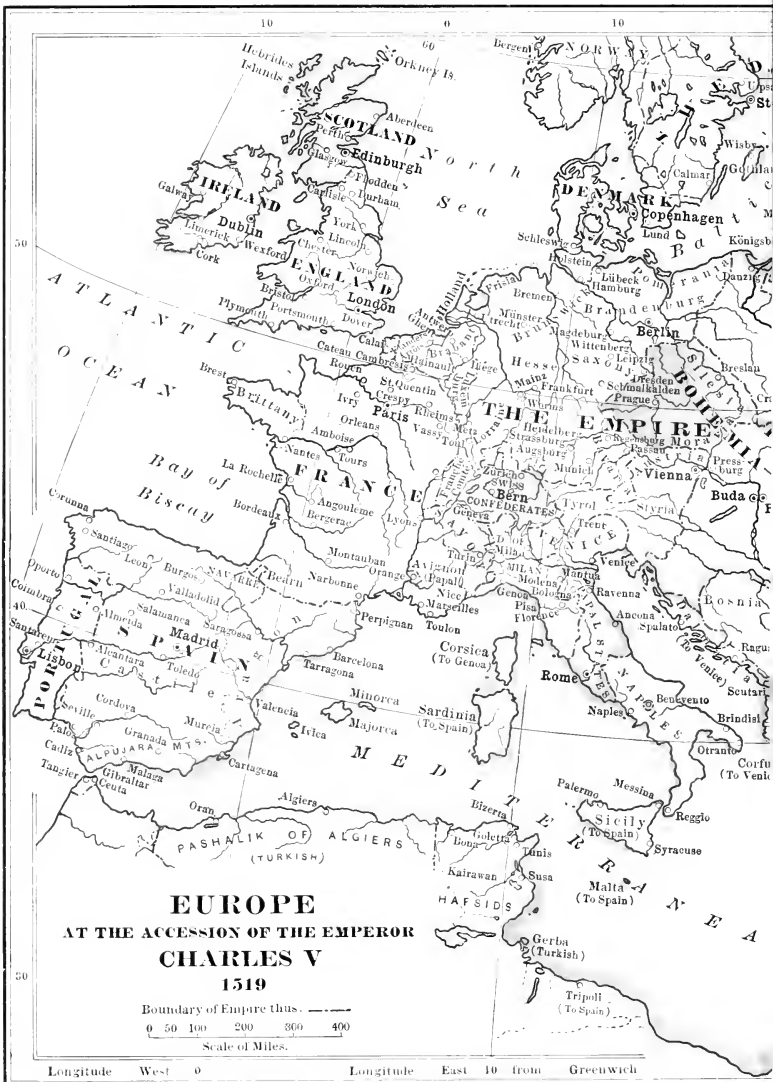
The alliances formed, treaties solemnly sworn to, and wars fought to prevent such disturbances of the balance of power or to restore the equilibrium already impaired, make up a great part of the political history of Europe in modern times.

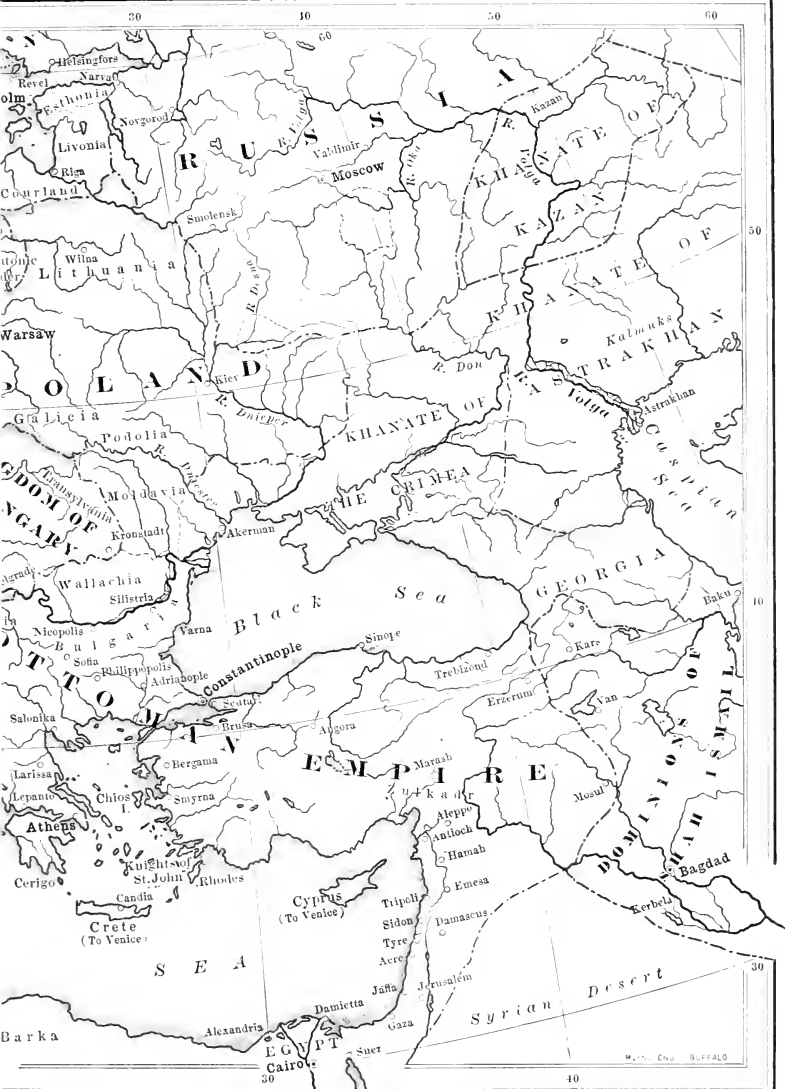
Now, in the sixteenth century it was the overshadowing greatness of Spain that aroused the fears of Europe. Her preponderance disturbed alarmingly the equilibrium of the European system, and this very largely determined the policies and actions of the other states. Here we have the key to much of the political history of the reign of the Emperor Charles V and of that of his son and successor on the Spanish throne, Philip II.

44. Charles and the Reformation. — But, important as is the political side of Charles's reign, it is his relation to the

⁴ Cf. *The Middle Ages*, par. 347.

⁵ There was, however, no general official recognition of such a doctrine until 1668, when the Triple Alliance (Sir William Temple's Treaty) was formed between the English, the Dutch, and the Swedes to prevent Louis XIV from making himself master of the Low Countries.





Lutheran movement which constitutes for us the significant feature of his life and work.

Fortunately for the Catholic Church, unfortunately for Protestantism, the young Emperor placed himself at the head of the Catholic party, and not only during his own reign employed the strength and resources of his empire in extirpating the heresy of the reformers, but also transmitted to his successors upon the Spanish throne this intolerant and persecuting policy.

Charles, in declaring for the old faith and against the new, was swayed both by conviction and by considerations of policy. Although suspicious and jealous of the Papacy, he was strongly attached to the Catholic Church and creed, and sincerely believed that the first duty of a prince was to uproot heresy in his dominions.

Then, again, as head of the Empire, Charles was impelled in the same direction. For he held the prevalent view of his age, that no state could tolerate two creeds, that political unity required religious unity; and this maxim he applied not only to Spain and his other hereditary possessions, but to his dominions as a whole, and, as we shall see, tried to suppress the reformed faith in Germany as well as elsewhere.

45. His Two Chief Enemies. — Had Charles been free from the outset to devote all his energies to the work of suppressing the Lutheran heresy, it is difficult to see what could have saved the reform doctrines within his dominions from total extirpation. But, fortunately for the cause of the reformers, Charles's attention, during all the first part of his reign, was drawn away from the serious consideration of Church questions by the attacks upon his dominions of two of the most powerful monarchs of the times, — Francis I (1515–1547) of France, and Solymán the Magnificent (1520–1566), Sultan of Turkey. Time and again, when Charles was inclined to proceed to severe measures against the Protestant princes of Germany, the threatening movements of one or both of these

enemies, at times acting in concert and alliance, forced him to postpone his proposed crusade against heretics for a campaign against foreign foes.

Of course Francis and Solymán were not the Emperor's only enemies. Henry VIII of England and the Pope, though sometimes his allies, were quite as apt to be found acting against him. Troubles, too, he had with his subjects in Spain and the Netherlands. Nevertheless, by keeping in mind the main points of the general situation of affairs as indicated above, we shall experience no confusion while following the leading events of his reign, which we will now proceed to give in very brief outline.

46. First War between Charles and Francis (1521-1526).—Francis I, as we have said, was the rival of Charles in the contest for the imperial dignity. When the Electors of Germany conferred the title upon the Spanish monarch, Francis was sorely disappointed, and during all the remainder of his reign kept up a jealous and almost incessant warfare with Charles, whose enormous possessions now nearly surrounded the French kingdom. He was fighting to prevent France from becoming a province of a universal Austro-Spanish empire.

But, though such was the real character and cause of the wars waged between Charles and Francis, the occasion of them was Charles's claim to Milan as a part of his imperial possessions, and to the Duchy of Burgundy as a part of his hereditary possessions, and the counterclaims of Francis to Spanish Navarre and Naples.

What is known as the first war between Francis and the Emperor broke out in 1521.⁶ This was the very year in

⁶ Before beginning the war Francis cast about for an ally. The young king of England, Henry VIII, seemed the most desirable friend. He accordingly invited Henry to a conference in France, at which was to be considered the matter of an alliance against the Emperor. The two kings, each attended by a magnificent train of courtiers, met near Calais (1520). The meeting is known in history as "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," because of the prodigal richness of

which met the Diet of Worms, the body before which Luther had his final hearing. It was a critical moment for Protestantism. Charles was ready to use force to suppress the reformers, and had he not been compelled by the hostile movements of his rival Francis to defer until a more convenient season the execution of his designs against them, the Reformation in Germany might have been strangled in its cradle.

The war was full of misfortunes for Francis. His army was driven out of Northern Italy by the imperial forces; his most skillful and trusted commander, the Constable Bourbon, turned traitor and went over to Charles; and another of his most valiant nobles, the celebrated Chevalier Bayard, the knight *sans peur et sans reproche*, "without fear and without reproach," was killed; while, to crown all, Francis, who had led a large army into Italy to retrieve his misfortunes, was, after suffering a crushing defeat at Pavia, wounded and taken prisoner (1525). In his letter to his mother informing her of the disaster, he wrote, "Nothing is left me in all the world save honor and life."⁷

Francis languished in prison at Madrid nearly a year, when, after signing a treaty known as the Peace of Madrid (1526), in which he agreed, among various other concessions, to give up all claims to Milan and Naples, and to cede to Charles as a fief the Duchy of Burgundy, he was released. His exultant and repeated exclamation as he touched French soil was, "Once more I am a king."

47. Second War between Charles and Francis (1527-1529). — That Francis was again a king Charles soon had unmistakable evidence. When the French king signed the Treaty of Madrid he had no idea of abiding by it. No sooner was he at liberty than he secured from the Pope — who claimed and the costumes and appointments of the chiefs and their attendants. "Many," says a contemporary writer, "bore thither their mills, their forests, and their meadows on their backs." Nothing came of the interview, and Charles finally succeeded in winning Henry over to his side.

⁷ From this message comes the laconic saying, "All is lost save honor."

freely exercised the power of annulling oaths — an absolution from the promises he had made to Charles, on the ground that they were given under constraint, and then set to work to form a league against him. He succeeded in uniting in the confederacy the Pope, the Swiss, Henry VIII of England, and several of the city-states of Italy. Henry turned against his former friend because of a personal slight, while the Pope and the Italian cities were moved by jealousy of the growing imperial power in Italy.

The Italian peninsula was, as usual, the battle ground of the combatants. The most memorable event of the war was the sack of Rome by the imperial forces, to which tragedy reference has already been made in another place (par. 36). The traitor Bourbon, who led the assaulting column, was killed while in the act of scaling the walls.

Finally, after the French and their allies had suffered many defeats, the war was ended by the treaty known as the Ladies' Peace of Cambray, from the circumstance that its terms were arranged by an aunt of Charles and the mother of Francis (1529).

48. The Advance of the Ottoman Turks in Eastern Europe. — Charles had been constrained to make peace with Francis because of the alarming advance towards Germany of the Ottoman Turks. In the very year of the Ladies' Peace, Solyman, the Turkish Sultan, captured Buda in Hungary, and then laid siege to Vienna. Twenty times he threw his forces against the walls of the city; as often the furious assaults were repelled (1529). This failure of the Turks before Vienna gave Germany a short respite from their attacks.

Charles was about to take advantage of this lull in his wars with foreign enemies to crush the German reformers. But at this critical moment Solyman, with an enormous army, again returned to the attack upon Austria. This threatening danger compelled Charles to come to some accommodation with the Protestants, in order that he might employ the

undivided strength of Germany in repelling the invaders. Accordingly, by what was known as the Religious Peace of Nuremberg (1532), the Protestants were given freedom of worship until the meeting of a new council.

Protestants and Catholics now rallied to the imperial standard, and at the head of a splendid army Charles marched against the Turks. Solymán, receiving intelligence that Constantinople was being threatened by a Spanish fleet, prudently retreated and sheltered himself behind the desolated provinces of Hungary (1532).

49. Charles's Expedition against Tunis (1535).—Germany being thus relieved of immediate danger of invasion by the Turks, Charles now turned his attention to the same foe in the Mediterranean.

Alarming as had been the progress of the Ottomans in Eastern Europe, still more alarming was the growth of their power in the South. The Mediterranean and the shores of North Africa had fallen almost completely under their control. In the year 1522 a Turkish fleet and army of two hundred thousand men assaulted the island of Rhodes, where, it will be recalled, the Knights of St. John had established themselves after their expulsion from Palestine,⁸ and the brave knights, after an heroic defense of the island, were forced to surrender that bulwark of Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Charles, whose war with Francis had prevented his giving to the Hospitalers such support as they had a right to expect from the most powerful sovereign of Christendom, made what amends it remained in his power to make after the calamity had fallen, by giving the survivors of the order the island of Malta, where the knights reorganized their society (1530).

The worst feature of this advance of the Sultan's authority in the Mediterranean was the growth, under his protection and suzerainty, of the power of the Barbary pirates. These corsairs terrorized the Mediterranean and all its shores. "From Cadiz

⁸ Cf. *The Middle Ages*, par. 217.

to Patras there was hardly a spot which had not suffered, and none which felt itself safe, from the wild marauders from the shores of Numidia. . . . Sailing in great fleets, they laid waste entire districts, and carried off entire populations. . . . Barbarossa [an Algerine pirate, to whom the Sultan had given the command of the Turkish fleet] sold at one time, at his beautiful home on the Bosphorus, . . . no less than sixteen thousand Christian captives into slavery. It was not only the seaman, the merchant, or the traveler, who was exposed to this calamitous fate. The peasant of Aragon or Provence, who returned at sunset from pruning his vines or his olives far from the sound of the waves, might on the morrow be ploughing the main, chained to a Barbary oar. Sometimes a whole brotherhood of friars, from telling their beads at ease in Valencia, found themselves hoeing in the rice-fields of Tripoli; sometimes the vestals of a Sicilian nunnery were parceled out amongst the harems of Fez.”⁹

One of the chief strongholds of these pirates on the African coast was Tunis,—the seat of the ancient Vandal corsairs,—which was held by the famous Barbarossa. With a large army and fleet, Charles made an assault upon this place, defeated the corsair, and set free over twenty thousand Christian captives. For this brilliant and knightly achievement the Emperor received great applause throughout Europe.

50. How Francis utilized the Interval of Peace.—While Charles was fighting the enemies of Christendom, Francis was giving his thoughts to quite different matters.

Europe, as we have learned, was no longer the sole center of Old-World interests. More than a generation had now passed since Columbus sighted the lands of a new hemisphere. Spanish adventurers had conquered Mexico and returned to the peninsula with unheard-of riches. Reports of the fabulous wealth of Peru were being spread throughout the Continent. These things were putting a new face not only upon economic

⁹ Stirling-Maxwell, *The Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth*

and social matters in Europe but also upon political and military affairs there. "The Emperor," complained Francis, "can carry on war with me by means of the riches he draws from the West Indies alone."¹⁰

Francis resolved that Spain should not be left in undisputed ownership of these treasures of the new-found world. That they had been granted by the Pope to the Spanish sovereigns constituted in his mind no obstacle to his entering the arena as a contestant for the prize. He is said to have sent to Charles this message: "Your Majesty and the king of Portugal have divided the world between you, offering no part of it to me. Show me, I beseech you, the will of our father Adam, that I may judge whether he has really constituted you his universal heirs."¹¹

Whether or no the message was actually sent, these may well have been Francis's feelings; and his actions certainly accorded with them. Already, as early as 1524, Verrazano, a Florentine in his employ, had made a westward voyage of exploration in the interest of France. A few years later, in 1535, Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence to the present site of Montreal and took possession of the country for the French crown. An attempt to establish a settlement on the banks of the river failed, and efforts to colonize the new land were not renewed until the opening of the seventeenth century.

51. Third War between Charles and Francis (1536-1538).—Taking advantage of the Emperor's preoccupation with the Numidian corsairs, and incited by an outrage instigated by Charles against one of his envoys, Francis renewed his claims to Milan, and precipitated the third war with his rival. In this war Francis shocked all Christendom by forming an alliance with the Turkish Sultan, who ravaged with his fleets the Italian coasts, and sold his plunder in the port of Marseilles. Francis defended his course by saying that when wolves attacked his flock he had a right to set the dogs upon them.

¹⁰ Payne's *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen*, Introduction, p. xv.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

The tremendous outcry caused by this alliance between a Christian king and the infidel Sultan, whereas now it is thought the most natural thing in the world for Christian governments, following purely commercial or political interests alone, to become the allies and defenders of the Sublime Porte, illustrates how times have changed and men with them.

Through the mediation of the Pope this third war between Charles and Francis was ended by the Truce of Nice (1538), which was to last ten years.

52. Charles's Expeditions against Ghent and Algiers.—The short breathing time between his third and fourth war with Francis the Emperor employed in chastising the rebellious city of Ghent (1539–1540), of which matter we shall find a more convenient place to say a word in a succeeding chapter in connection with the affairs of the Netherlands (par. 116).

The year after he had punished Ghent Charles led an expedition against the pirates of Algiers, which place, since the reduction of Tunis, had been made the stronghold of the Moslem corsairs. The issue of the enterprise was very different from that of his previous undertaking against Tunis. The imperial fleet had barely touched the African shore and landed the troops of the expedition before a large part of the ships were destroyed by a tempest. Only after heavy losses and great suffering among the survivors did the Emperor succeed in drawing off his army and effecting a retreat from the coast.

53. Fourth War between Charles and Francis (1542–1544).—The unfortunate issue of Charles's expedition against Algiers encouraged Francis, notwithstanding only four years of the ten years' truce had passed, again to try the fortunes of war with the Emperor, who had been unfaithful to his engagements with him.

In this war Francis formed a fresh alliance with the Sultan, and thus stirred anew the indignation of Christendom. Charles was not slow to turn this feeling to his own advantage, and,

in the second year of the war easily persuaded the princes of Germany, Catholic and Protestant alike, to help him in chastising Francis for his reprobate conduct. He also induced Henry VIII of England to join him in a concerted invasion of France.

The operations of the war resulted in nothing decisive for either side, and the struggle was abruptly ended, with the imperial army almost within sight of Paris, by the Peace of Crespy (1544).¹²

54. Results of the Wars between Francis and Charles. —

The direct and indirect consequences of the protracted combat between Francis and Charles were many and far-reaching.

First, Francis's vigorous opposition to Charles had prevented him from reducing France to a mere dependency of Spain, from crushing both the political and the religious liberties of Germany, and thereby destroying the European equilibrium and setting up on the Continent an Austro-Spanish tyranny. Probably Spain under the Emperor Charles V was as dangerous to European freedom as was France under Louis XIV.

Second, Protestantism had been given time to intrench itself so firmly in North Germany and in other countries as to render ineffectual all later efforts for its destruction.

Third, by preventing united action on the part of the Christian princes, and by encouraging shameful alliances between Christian and Moslem, these quarrels had really been the occasion of the severe losses which Christendom during this period suffered at the hands of the Ottoman Turks. Hungary had been ravaged with fire and sword ; Rhodes had been captured and the Mediterranean made almost a Turkish lake.

Fourth, these wars, having had Italy as their chief theater, had been a frightful scourge to that land, and had blighted there all the fair promises of the Renaissance ; but at the same

¹² By the terms of this treaty Charles gave up his claims to Burgundy, and Francis renounced his claims to Naples and the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois.

time the storm had wafted the precious seeds of the revived arts and letters beyond the mountains into France and other northern lands. The French Renaissance dates from these Italian wars.

55. Persecution of the Waldenses by Francis (1545). — It was the religious situation that had much to do in leading Charles and Francis to compose their quarrel by the Peace of Crespy. The treaty contained secret articles, in which each agreed to aid the other and to coöperate with other Catholic sovereigns in the extirpation of heresy and in the maintenance of the religious unity of Christendom. From this time on to the end of their respective reigns each was chiefly busied in carrying into effect this secret agreement. And both had work enough on hand ; for, while “The Most Christian King ” and his “Most Catholic ” brother had been fighting each other, the doctrines of the reformers had been spreading rapidly in all directions and among all classes.

Francis had already displayed his impatience with heresy by cruel persecutions of his Protestant subjects ; but political considerations (chiefly the fear of alienating the Protestant German princes) had prevented his carrying his measures of repression to such extremes as he would otherwise have done. One motive that now prompted Francis to renewed activity in the work of torturing and burning heretics seems to have been his desire to make atonement for his wicked alliances with the infidel Turk. This thing had subjected him, as we have seen, to the severest censure. He would now set himself right in the eyes of Europe by an exhibition of his devotion to the ancient Church.

The severest blow fell upon the Vaudois, or Waldenses,¹³ the simple, inoffensive inhabitants of a number of hamlets in the Alpine regions of Piedmont and Provence. These people during the later mediæval time had fallen into what the Church

¹³ So called from the founder of the sect, Peter Waldo, or Pierre de Vaux, who lived in the later years of the twelfth century.

regarded as heretical ways, and just now they were mingling with their own teachings those of the Protestant reformers.

An order having been given for their extermination, in 1545, an army entered the country of the heretics, and then were repeated all the atrocities of the Albigensian persecution. Thousands were put to death by the sword, thousands more were burned at the stake. At a later time other persecutions fell upon them, until finally only a miserable remnant, who found an asylum among the mountains, were left to hand down their faith to modern times.

56. Charles's Wars with the Protestant German Princes. — Charles, on his part, turned his attention to the reformers in Germany. Inspired by the religious motives and convictions of which we have already spoken, and apprehensive, further, of the effect upon his authority in Germany of the growth there of such an empire within an empire as the Protestant princes and free cities — now united in a union known as the Schmalkaldic League ¹⁴ — were becoming, he resolved to crush the whole reform movement.

Accordingly, in the very year that Luther died (1546), the Emperor, aided by the German Catholics, attacked the Protestant league. The desertion to the imperial side of one of the most powerful of the Protestant princes, Maurice of Saxony, so paralyzed the movements of the league that its forces were quickly dispersed, the organization dissolved, and its leaders punished. The Emperor treated the conquered confederates with extreme harshness, imposing enormous fines upon the cities, and carrying about with him, as a sort of spectacle to illustrate the imperial power, two of the prominent Protestant chiefs, John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, as prisoners.

The harshness and intolerance that marked the conduct of Charles soon led to an uprising of the Protestant princes, in

¹⁴ It was in 1531 that the Protestant princes and states, alarmed at the attitude assumed toward them by the Emperor, had formed this league at Schmalkalden.

which they were joined by the former deserter, Maurice. Henry II of France, — son of Francis I, who died in 1547, — taking up the old quarrel of his father with Charles, gave aid to the Protestant princes. The war proved the most disastrous and humiliating to the Emperor of any in which he had engaged. On one occasion he himself escaped capture only by a hurried flight over the icy Alps. Severe defeats of his armies finally constrained him to give up his undertaking to make all his German subjects think alike in matters of religion.

57. The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555).—In the celebrated Diet of Augsburg, convened in 1555 to compose the distracted affairs of the German states, it was arranged and agreed that every prince should be allowed to choose between the Catholic religion and the Augsburg Confession,¹⁵ and should have the right to make his religion the worship of his people (*cujus regio, ejus religio*).¹⁶ This, it will be noted, was simply toleration as concerns princes or governments. The people individually had no freedom of choice; every subject must follow his prince, and think and believe as he thought and believed.

To this article, however, the Diet made one important exception. The Catholics insisted that *ecclesiastical* princes, *i.e.*, bishops and abbots, on becoming Protestants, should give up their offices and revenues; and this important clause, under the name of the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, was finally made a part of the treaty.

It is important that this Treaty of Augsburg should be kept carefully in mind for the reason that it was through mutual misunderstandings of its provisions, and violations of its

¹⁵ The "Augsburg Confession," it will be recalled, was the formula of belief of the adherents of Luther (par. 32). The Peace of Augsburg, it is to be specially noted, made no provision for the Calvinists, that is, the adherents of the *Genevan* creed (par. 35), since there were then few of them in Germany.

¹⁶ The free imperial cities were not given this right. Within them each party must tolerate the other.

articles by both parties, that the way was paved for the terrible Thirty Years' War (chap. vi).

58. Charles sets up the Inquisition in the Netherlands. — In the Low Countries Charles had a freer hand in dealing with heresy than he had in Germany, since in these provinces he exercised the authority of an hereditary prince and could employ measures of repression which he could not resort to in the German states. Accordingly we find him in the year 1550 setting up the Inquisition here and sustaining it with all his authority. Concerning the results of his efforts we shall speak a little farther on (par. 116).

59. Abdication and Death of Charles. — While the Diet of Augsburg was arranging the religious peace, the Emperor Charles was enacting the part of a second Diocletian. There had long been forming in his mind the purpose of spending his last days in monastic seclusion. The disappointing issue of his contest with the Protestant princes of Germany, the weight of advancing years, together with menacing troubles which began "to thicken like dark clouds about the evening of his reign," now led the Emperor to carry this resolution into effect. Accordingly he abdicated in favor of his son Philip the crown of the Netherlands¹⁷ (1555), and that of Spain and its colonies (1556), and then retired to the monastery of Yuste, situated in a secluded region in Western Spain.

The departure of the self-deposed monarch from Ghent to the place of his exile is thus contrasted, by the pen of a graceful historian, with his embarkation from the Netherlands more than a third of a century before, to receive the crown of Spain and the Indies, which had just descended to him by the death of his grandfather Ferdinand: "He was then in

¹⁷ Philip had received the crown of Naples the preceding year (1554), in order that his titular dignity might be the same as that of Queen Mary of England, to whom he was that year united in marriage. The imperial crown went to Charles's brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, who in 1521 had been given Austria, in 1526 had become King of Bohemia and of Hungary, and in 1536 had been elected King of the Romans, and crowned at Aachen.

the morning of life ; just entering on a career as splendid as ever opened to young ambition. How different must have been the reflections which now crowded on his mind, as, with wasted health, and spirits sorely depressed, he now embarked on the same voyage ! He had run the race of glory, had won the prize, and found that all was vanity. He was now returning to the goal whence he had started, anxious only to reach some quiet spot where he might lay down his weary limbs and be at rest.”¹⁸

In his retreat at Yuste, Charles passed the remaining short term of his life in participating with the monks in the exercises of religion, and in watching the current of events without ; for Charles never lost interest in the affairs of the Empire over which he had ruled, and Philip constantly had the benefit of his father’s wisdom and experience.

Charles died in the year 1558, just a few weeks after having taken part in a rehearsal of his own funeral ceremonies. Thus strangely closed the life of the Emperor Charles V, “the greatest monarch of the sixteenth century.”

60. Charles’s Last Instructions to Philip respecting the Protestants. — There is a tradition which tells how Charles, after vainly endeavoring to make some clocks that he had about him at Yuste run together, made the following reflection : “How foolish I have been to think I could make all men believe alike about religion, when here I cannot make even two clocks keep the same time.”

This story is probably mythical. Charles seems never to have doubted either the practicability or the policy of securing uniformity of belief by force. While in retirement at Yuste he expressed the deepest regret that he did not burn Luther at Worms. He was constantly urging Philip to use greater severity in dealing with his heretic subjects, and could scarcely restrain himself from leaving his retreat, in order to engage personally in the work of eradicating the pestilent

¹⁸ Prescott’s Robertson’s *Charles the Fifth* (Phila. ed., 1881), vol. iii, p. 305.

doctrines, which he heard were spreading in Spain. In the codicil to his will, executed just before his death, "he enjoined upon his son to follow up and bring to justice any heretic in his dominions, and this without exception and without favor or mercy to any one. He conjured Philip to cherish the Holy Inquisition as the best means for accomplishing this good work. 'So,' he concludes, 'shall you have my blessing, and the Lord shall prosper all your undertakings.'" ¹⁹

"No one of his line," comments the historian (Prescott) whom we have just quoted, "did so much to fasten the yoke of superstition on the necks of the Spaniards. He may be truly said to have stamped his character not only on his own generation, but on that which followed it. His example and his teachings directed the policy of the pitiless Philip the Second, and through him of the imbecile Philip the Third."

II. SPAIN UNDER PHILIP II (1556-1598).

61. Philip's Character and his Principles of Government.

— Philip, unlike his father, was a representative Spaniard. He typified and embodied in himself the traits, ideals, and aspirations of the Spanish race, just as Luther typified and embodied those of the German race. His mind was the mind, his conscience was the conscience, of the Spanish people.

Like the true Spaniard, Philip possessed a deeply religious nature. He was in truth a mystic; he believed as sincerely as ever did the Puritan Cromwell that he was God's chosen instrument for the working out of his eternal designs. He also believed as unfalteringly as ever did ancient Hebrew in race election. The Spaniards were the *Chosen People*. They had been elected by God to rule the nations and to champion the true Church in the world.

These ideas and convictions of Philip furnished the keynote of his system of government. They contributed to make him

¹⁹ Prescott's Robertson's *Charles the Fifth*, vol. iii, p. 435.

an absolutist ; for in order that he might do what God would have done in the world, he conceived it to be necessary that he should have absolute power. Hence he was an autocrat by virtue of his convictions as well as by virtue of heredity.

A necessary basis of this absolute power, in Philip's conception, as in that of his father Charles, was religious unity. Disunion in the Church meant disunion in the state. Hence one of Philip's instruments of government was the Inquisition.²⁰ He employed it in the suppression of heresy, not simply because he was a sincere Catholic and believed that heresy was a willful sin and should be sternly dealt with, but primarily because heresy, in his view, was rebellion against the state.

Philip possessed unusual administrative ability. He was an incessant worker, and busied himself with the endless details of government. He left nothing to the discretion of others. He did everything himself. His secretaries were mere clerks. He himself handled every dispatch. His generals awaited and followed his minute orders. He even regulated, or tried to regulate, the private affairs of his subjects, — told them how to dress, when they might use carriages, and how and where to educate their children. Under this system there was in the kingdom but one brain to plan and one will to direct. All local freedom and all individual initiative were crushed out. This fatally centralized system of absolute government Philip bequeathed to his successors, and thus contributed greatly to determine the unhappy destiny of the Spanish people.

62. Philip's Domains and Revenues. — With the abdication of Charles V the imperial crown passed out of the Spanish line of the House of Hapsburg. Yet the dominions of Philip were scarcely less extensive than those over which his father had ruled. All the hereditary possessions of the Spanish

²⁰ It should be noted that in maintaining the Holy Office in Spain, Philip was not setting up an institution abhorrent to the people. The Inquisition in Spain was always a popular institution, an institution approved by the head and heart of the great mass of the Spanish nation.

crown were of course his. Then just before the abdication of his father gave him these domains he had become king-consort of England by marriage with Mary Tudor; and about the middle of his reign he acquired Portugal and added to his empire its rich dependencies in Africa and the East Indies. After this accession of territory, Philip's sovereignty was acknowledged, it has been estimated, by more than one hundred million persons, — probably as large a number as the Roman Empire contained at the time of its greatest extent.

Philip's revenues, too, were as ample as his domains. The mines of Mexico and Peru poured into the royal coffers a steady stream of the precious metals; the looms of Flanders created untold wealth for their Spanish master; while frequent and heavy taxes levied upon the provinces and cities of the peninsula still further augmented the royal income.

But notwithstanding that Philip's dominions were so extensive, his resources so enormous, and many of the outward circumstances of his reign so striking and brilliant, there were throughout the period causes at work which were rapidly undermining the greatness of Spain and preparing her fall. By wasteful wars and extravagant buildings Philip managed to dissipate the royal treasures; and by a narrow, blind, and suicidal course in regard to his Moorish, Jewish, and Protestant subjects, he ruined the industries of the most flourishing of the provinces of Spain, and drove the Netherlands into a desperate revolt, which ended in the separation of the most valuable of those provinces from the Spanish crown.

As the most important matters of Philip's reign — namely, his war against the revolted Netherlands and his attempt upon England with his "Invincible Armada" — belong properly to the respective histories of England and the Netherlands, and will be treated of in connection with the affairs of those countries, we shall give here very little space to the history of the period.

63. Philip's War with France. — Philip took up his father's quarrel with France. He was aided by the English, who were

persuaded to this step by their queen, Mary Tudor, now the wife, it will be recalled, of Philip.

Fortune favored Philip. He defeated the French in a great battle before St. Quentin ²¹ (1557), an important town in the north of France, and then again at Gravelines (1558). The French king, Henry II, was forced to agree to the terms of a treaty (Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559) so advantageous to Philip as to give the latter great distinction in the eyes of all Europe.

In the negotiation of this treaty between Philip and Henry, as in the Peace of Crespy between Charles and Francis just a quarter of a century before, a main motive with both sovereigns was anxiety to be free to engage in the work of extirpating heresy.

64. Philip's Crusade against the Moriscos (1570-1571). — It will be recalled that upon the conquest of Granada in 1492 by Ferdinand and Isabella, the Moors were assured protection in all civil rights and granted religious freedom. Had these promises been kept, the Moors, docile and industrious as they were, would have become loyal subjects of the Spanish crown, and an element of strength in the Spanish nation.

But the Emperor Charles V had broken faith with them. Carrying out his policy of enforcing religious uniformity, he compelled them to embrace Christianity. They submitted to

²¹ The monument built by Philip to commemorate the victory of St. Quentin is strikingly illustrative of his character. Before the battle he vowed to erect to St. Lawrence the most splendid monastery the world had ever seen, if he would but give success to his arms. Philip kept his vow faithfully. A few years after the battle he laid, near the city of Madrid, the foundation of the famous Escorial, — "a palace, a monastery, and a mausoleum," — a building which cost \$15,000,000, and required a quarter of a century for its erection. The edifice was built in the form of a gridiron, from the circumstance that St. Lawrence suffered martyrdom by being broiled on such an instrument. Seventeen rows of stone buildings constitute the bars of the gridiron, and a projecting wing forms its handle, while the feet of the instrument (it is supposed to be inverted) are represented by the four corner towers. It is the Westminster Abbey of Spain: it holds the ashes of all the Spanish sovereigns from Charles V onward.

baptism, and outwardly conformed to the requirements of the Church, but secretly they held to their own faith, and maintained their ancient customs, practices, and traditions. Having been baptized, however, they were subject to the jurisdiction of the Church. The Inquisition dealt cruelly with them as apostates and heretics.

Philip inherited the policy of his father, and was more thoroughgoing in carrying it out. He conceived it to be his duty to impose upon the Moriscos—thus they were called after their conversion—conditions that should thoroughly obliterate all traces of their ancient faith and manners. So he issued a decree that they should no longer wear their native garb or use their native tongue,²² and that they should give their children Christian names and send them to Christian schools. A determined revolt followed.

The uprising was suppressed with cruel severity, and then, because there was danger that if left in these coast regions they might open the gates of the country to the Moslems of the Mediterranean, an order was issued which condemned all the Moriscos of Granada to deportation to districts in the center and the north of the peninsula. The order was relentlessly carried out. Men, women, and children, all who were of Moorish blood, were carried off into hopeless exile. Thus was the most prosperous and the happiest region of Spain depopulated, even as Samaria had been emptied of its inhabitants by an Assyrian king seven hundred years before Christianity had come into the world.

65. Defeat of the Turkish Fleet at Lepanto (1571).—At the very moment almost that Philip was dealing Spain a fatal blow by his cruel treatment of his Morisco subjects, he was rendering a great service to Christian civilization at large. This he did by helping to stay the progress of the Ottoman Turks in the Mediterranean. They had captured the important

²² Charles had issued an edict of similar character, but it had not been strictly enforced.

island of Cyprus, and had assaulted the Hospitalers at Malta, which island had been saved from falling into the hands of the infidels only by the splendid conduct of the Knights. All Christendom was becoming alarmed. Pope Pius V called upon the princes of Europe to rally to the defense of the Church. A martial enthusiasm somewhat like that which stirred Europe at the time of the Crusades was kindled everywhere, especially in the countries of the South that lay exposed to the ravages of the Moslem fleets. An alliance was formed, embracing the Pope, the Venetians, and Philip II. An immense fleet was equipped and put under the command of Don John of Austria, Philip's half-brother, a young general whose consummate ability had been recently displayed in the crusade against the Moors.

The Christian fleet met the Turkish squadron in the Gulf of Lepanto, on the western coast of Greece. The battle was unequalled by anything the Mediterranean had seen since the naval encounters of the Romans and Carthaginians in the First Punic War.²³ The Ottoman fleet was almost totally destroyed. Thousands of Christian captives, who were found chained to the oars of the Turkish galleys, were liberated. All Christendom rejoiced as when Jerusalem was captured by the first crusaders. The Pope, it is said, shed tears of joy, and embracing the messenger who brought him the news, exclaimed, "There was a man sent from God, and his name was JOHN!"

The battle of Lepanto holds an important place in history, because it marks the turning point of the long struggle between the Mohammedans and Christians, which had now been going on for nearly one thousand years. Though the Moslems had received many checks, there really was no time previous to this great victory when the Mohammedan power, represented first by the Arabs and afterwards by the Turks, did not hang like a threatening cloud along the southern or eastern border

²³ The Christian allies had, all told, 264 ships, carrying about 29,000 soldiers; the Mohammedans had nearly 300 ships, manned by over 25,000 combatants.

of Christendom. The victory of Lepanto robbed the cloud of its terrors. The Ottoman Turks, though they afterwards made progress in some quarters, never recovered the prestige they lost in that disaster, and their authority and power thenceforward steadily declined.

66. The Acquisition of Portugal by Spain. — When, in 1580, the throne of Portugal became vacant by the death of Dom Henry the Cardinal, Philip laid claim to the kingdom, and sent an army, led by the famous Duke of Alva, to take possession of the country. A crushing defeat which the Portuguese under their King Sebastian had sustained in 1578 at the hands of the Moors had weakened the kingdom and made its occupation by the Spaniards easy. For sixty years Portugal remained in captivity to Spain.

The significance of this acquisition consisted not so much in the extension of Spanish authority throughout the peninsula, as in the bringing under Spanish control of the colonial possessions of Portugal in South America, in Africa, and in the East Indies, for this soon made them the spoil of the Dutch and the English, the enemies and the commercial rivals of Spain. It was under these circumstances that the Dutch, seizing the Spice Islands and other former possessions of Portugal, laid the basis of their great empire in the Eastern seas, and the English that of theirs in India.

67. The Death of Philip (1598). — In the year 1588 Philip made his memorable attempt with the so-called “Invincible Armada” upon England, at this time the stronghold of Protestantism. As we shall see a little later, he failed utterly in the undertaking. Ten years after this he died in the palace of the Escorial.

Of the character of Philip probably no juster estimate has ever been made than that found in these words of the Dutch historian Blok: “Not until our time has it been made clear that in the heart of this politician, full of political cunning, of devilish revenge, of low craft, — in the heart of this

little-spirited, narrow, sombre, bitter king, — there were also world-wide thoughts, noble feelings of belief, hearty love, rich artistic feeling, and devotion to higher ideals.”²⁴

68. The Expulsion of the Moriscos (1609-1610); Loss of the Netherlands. — From the death of Philip II Spain declined in power, reputation, and influence. This was due very largely to the bigotry and tyranny of her rulers. Thus under Philip III (1598-1621) a severe loss, and one from which they never recovered, was inflicted upon the manufactures and various other industries of the country by the expulsion of the Moriscos.

Philip II, it will be recalled, had deported the whole Morisco population of Granada to inland provinces. Now all Spain was to be cleared absolutely of the “evil race.” Not one was to be left upon Spanish soil. Philip really believed that this driving out of the misbelievers would be a service pleasing to God, even as was the driving out by the Hebrews of the Canaanites from Palestine. But he was actuated also by other motives in expelling the unhappy Moriscos. They were accused, and not without ground, so desperate had oppression and persecution rendered them, of plotting with their co-religionists, the African Moors and the Ottoman Turks, for the invasion of Spain, and thus endangering the peace and unity of the land.

Accordingly during the years 1609 and 1610 all persons of Moorish descent — more than half a million of the most intelligent, skillful, and industrious inhabitants of the peninsula — were driven into exile, chiefly to North Africa. The empty dwellings and neglected fields of once populous and garden-like provinces told how fatal a blow Spain had inflicted upon herself. She had achieved religious unity — but at a great price.

At the very moment that Spain was being so deeply wounded in the peninsula she received an incurable hurt in her outside

²⁴ *History of the People of the Netherlands* (New York, 1900), vol. iii, p. 266.

possessions. In the Truce of 1609 she was forced virtually to recognize the independence of the Protestant Netherlands, whose revolt against the tyranny of Philip II has been mentioned. In the secession of these provinces Spain lost, through misgovernment and religious persecution, her most valuable dependency.²⁵

69. Conclusion. — Spain now disappears as a power of the first rank from the stage of history. The historian Laurent finely compares her withdrawal from the theater of great affairs to Charles V's retirement into the cloistral solitude of Yuste. "In the sixteenth century," he says, "Spain shone in the first rank among the great powers; she filled the Old and the New World with her name; then she retired into isolation, as Charles the Fifth at the end of his agitated life retired within the solitude of a monastery."²⁶

Even the very brief review which we have made of her sixteenth-century history will not fail to have revealed at least two of the main causes of her failure and quick decadence: first, a false imperial policy in Europe which involved her in endless and fruitless wars; and second, political despotism and religious intolerance.

Sources and Source Material. — *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. iii, No. 3, "Period of the Later Reformation." Contains short selections bearing on several of the matters covered by this chapter. See Brewer's *Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. ii, pp. 120-126, for accounts by eyewitnesses of the sack of Rome by the imperial army in 1527; and turn to Stirling-Maxwell's *Don John of Austria*, vol. ii,

²⁵ The loss of the Netherlands was followed in 1640 by the loss of Portugal. During the latter part of the seventeenth century Spain was involved in disastrous wars with France, and suffered a great decline in her population. After the revolt of her American colonies, in the early part of the nineteenth century, and her cession to the United States of Florida (in 1819), Spain was almost shorn — she still held Cuba and a few other patches of territory scattered about the world — of those rich and magnificent colonial possessions which had been her pride in the time of her ascendancy. The last blow to her colonial dominion was given by the United States in 1898.

²⁶ *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Humanité* (Paris, 1879), tome ix, p. 64.

Appendix, for interesting extract from a report to the Senate of Venice on the battle of Lepanto by the captain general of the Venetian fleet. See also *Old South Leaflets*, No. 17, "Verrazzano's Voyage." For more extended study of this period the student should have recourse to Bradford's *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V* (London, 1850), 2 vols. The narrative connecting the letters requires correction in the light of later research.

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CHAPTER III

THE TUDORS AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

(1485-1603)

I. INTRODUCTORY

70. The Tudor Period. — The Tudor period¹ in English history covers the sixteenth century, and overlaps a little the preceding century and also the following. It was an eventful and stirring time for the English people. It witnessed among them great progress in art, science, and trade, and a literary outburst such as the world had not seen since the best days of Athens. But the great event of the period was the Reformation. It was under the sovereigns of this house that England was severed from the ecclesiastical empire of Rome, and Protestantism became firmly established in the island. To tell how these great results were effected will be our chief aim in the present chapter.

71. The English Reformation first a Revolt and then a Reform; its Premonitions. — The Reformation in England was, more distinctly than elsewhere, a double movement. First, England was separated violently from the ecclesiastical empire of Rome. The papal authority was cast off, but without any essential change being made in creed or form of worship. This was accomplished under Henry VIII.

Second, the English Church, thus rendered independent of Rome, gradually changed its creed and ritual. This was effected chiefly under Edward VI. So the movement was first a *revolt* and then a *reform*.

¹ The Tudor sovereigns were Henry VII (1485-1509); Henry VIII (1509-1547); Edward VI (1547-1553); Mary (1553-1558); and Elizabeth (1558-1603).

In so far as it was a secession movement, it was practically merely the culmination of an age-long controversy between England and the Papacy.² "For three hundred years," in the words of the historian Green, "the Pope had been the standing grievance of Englishmen." Time and again the English Parliament had passed acts declaring that the Pope should not do this and should not do that in England.³ It was the sensitiveness of Englishmen respecting the jurisdiction in England of a foreign potentate that made it so comparatively easy for Henry VIII, during the first stir and excitement of the reform movement, to cut England loose from the papal empire.

In so far as the movement was a religious reformation, the soil in England had been in a measure prepared for the seed of the reformed faith by the labors of the humanists. We have already spoken of the significant movement of the Oxford reformers, Colet, Erasmus, and More (par. 19). These scholars, it is true, made no direct attack on Catholic doctrines, but there was nevertheless a Protestant tendency in their work. That Tyndale, the celebrated translator of the Bible into English, was one of the young men who at Oxford caught their religious fervor from Colet, reveals the spirit and temper of the early English humanistic revival and shows how closely it was connected with the Protestant Reformation.

Another special preparation for the entrance of the Reformation into England was the presence among the lower classes

² For episodes in this protracted quarrel, see *The Middle Ages*, par. 312, "The Martyrdom of Thomas Becket (1170)"; par. 232, "Pope Innocent III and King John of England" (1213); and par. 237, "The Revolt of Germany and England."

³ The important Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), which were in the nature of a record of fundamental laws, among other prohibitions forbade appeals to Rome without the royal permission; the famous Statute of Provisors (1351) ordained that the Pope should not have the right "to give and grant" to aliens or others church benefices in England; and the equally celebrated Statute of Præmunire (1353) forbade the carrying of causes out of England to the court of Rome, and made it a crime to receive or to try to give effect to a papal bull. For all these documents, consult Adams and Stephens's *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*.

there of a considerable body of Lollards, the name, it will be recalled, borne by the followers of Wycliffe.⁴ Persecution had driven the sect into obscurity, but had not been able to extirpate the heresy. In holding the Scriptures as the sole rule of faith, and in the maintenance of other doctrines condemned by the Catholic Church, the Lollards occupied a position similar to that held by the continental reformers, and consequently when the teachings of these were disseminated in England they received them gladly. And even where Lollardism had not rendered the English peasantry susceptible to the contagion of the new heresy, they were predisposed to the infection through other causes. Thus, although farther removed from feudal serfdom than the farm laborers of other countries, they were still in a wretched condition, and were ready, like the peasants in Germany, to listen eagerly to the reformers, whose Gospel message seemed to them to whisper something about freedom and equality.

II. THE REIGN OF HENRY VII (1485-1509)

72. The Two Pretenders. — Henry VII and his queen united the long-disputed titles of the two Roses.⁵ But the bitter feelings engendered by the contentions of the rival families still existed. Particularly was there much smothered discontent among the Yorkists, which manifested itself in two remarkable attempts to place impostors upon the throne.

The first attempt was made in 1487. A boy by the name of Lambert Simnel, son of a baker, was persuaded to personate the young Earl of Warwick,⁶ who was then a prisoner in the

⁴ See *The Middle Ages*, par. 336.

⁵ Henry represented the claims of the House of Lancaster, and soon after his coronation he married the Princess Elizabeth, a daughter of Edward IV, and the representative of the claims of the House of York.

⁶ Edward, Earl of Warwick, was the son of George, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV, and, after the queen and her children, was the nearest representative of the House of York.

Tower of London. He appeared in Ireland, where his cause was enthusiastically espoused. Being proclaimed king by the Irish with the title of Edward VI, the impostor raised a small force, and invaded England, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and made a servant in the king's household.

The readiness with which people had accepted the claims of Simnel encouraged another attempt of a similar kind. A Jewish lad, named Perkin Warbeck, a youth of courtly manners and fascinating conversation, represented himself as Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the children murdered in the Tower by Richard III. The pretender made Henry much trouble, — the king's enemies being provokingly easy to be convinced of the genuineness of the boy's claims, — but was finally brought to the scaffold at Tyburn (1499).

73. Henry's Avarice and Despotism : Benevolences ; Statute of Liveries. — With the exception of the excitement caused by these pretenders, Henry's reign was a comparatively quiet one. His besetting sins were avarice and a love of despotic rule, and these vices colored all his acts. Much of his attention was given to heaping up a vast treasure, which he left to his successor. The various expedients to which he resorted in order to secure money were as ingenious as they were outrageous. Thus he would get Parliament to vote subsidies for a threatened war, and then, by settling the trouble through negotiations, would have the sum collected to add to his accumulations.

Another device adopted by the king for wringing money from his wealthy subjects was what were euphoniously termed *benevolences*. Magna Charta forbade the king to impose taxes without the consent of the Common Council. But Henry did not like to convene Parliament, as he wished to rule like the kings of the Continent, guided simply by his own free will. So benevolences were made to take the place of regular taxes. These were nothing more nor less than gifts extorted from the well-to-do by moral pressure. They were collected in much the same way that subscriptions for local or benevolent purposes

are often raised. "King Henry," writes the old chronicler Holinshed, "published abroad that by [his subjects'] open gifts he would measure and search their benevolent hearts and good minds toward him; so that he that gave most, should be judged to be his most loving friend; and he that gave little, to be esteemed according to his gift."

One of Henry's favorite ministers, Cardinal Morton, was particularly successful in his appeals for gifts of this kind. To those who lived splendidly he would say that it was very evident they were quite able to make a generous donation to their sovereign; while to others who lived in a narrow and pinched way he would represent that their economical mode of life must have made them wealthy. This teasing dilemma received the name of "Morton's fork."

The king found still another source of revenue in raking up long-forgotten claims of the crown, and in imposing fines for the violation of musty laws that everybody had forgotten.⁷ Two lawyers, named Empson and Dudley, became notorious through their industry and success in hunting up these "dusty records."

Among the various laws executed with unusual rigor, not more to sustain the dignity of the crown than to increase its revenues, was one known as the Statute of Liveries, which forbade the great lords to keep liveried or uniformed retainers. This statute was intended to take away from the baronage what little power and importance remained to them after the ruin wrought by the Wars of the Roses. Henry watched this matter very closely, and greatly increased the receipts of the royal exchequer by the enforcement of fines.⁸

⁷ All the revenue laws seem to have been strained in the king's favor. In any event the scholar Erasmus, embarking at Dover for France, had his purse — which had been filled with gold crowns by his English friends to enable him to make a much-coveted visit to Italy — taken from him by the customhouse officials, acting under a law forbidding the exportation of the precious metals!

⁸ "There remaineth to this Day a Report, that the King was on a time entertained by the Earle of Oxford . . . nobly and sumptuously, at his Castle at Henningham. And at the King's going away, the Earles Servants stood (in a

74. Foreign Matrimonial Alliances. — The marriages of Henry's children must be noted by us here, because of the great influence these alliances had upon the after course of English history.

A common fear of France caused Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and Henry to form a protective alliance. To secure the permanency of the union it was deemed necessary to cement it by a marriage bond. The Infanta Catherine was accordingly betrothed to Arthur, Prince of Wales. Unfortunately, the prince died soon after the celebration of the nuptials.

The Spanish sovereigns, still anxious to retain the advantages of an English alliance, now urged that the young widow be espoused by Arthur's brother Henry, and the English king, desirous on his side to preserve the friendship of Spain, assented to the betrothal. A rule of the Church, however, which forbade a man to marry his brother's widow, stood in the way of this arrangement; but the queen-mother Isabella managed to secure from Pope Julius II a decree granting permission in this case, and so the young widow was betrothed to Prince Henry. This alliance of the royal families of England and Spain led to many important consequences, as we shall learn.

To relieve England of danger on her northern frontier, Henry steadily pursued the policy of a marriage alliance with Scotland. His wishes were realized when his elder daughter

seemely manner) in their Liverie Coats, with Cognisances, ranged on both sides, and made the King a Lane. The King called the Earle to him, and said: *My Lord, I have heard much of your Hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech. These handsome Gentlemen and Yemen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your Meniall Servants.* The Earle smiled, and said: *It may please your Grace, that were not for mine ease. They are most of them my Retainers, they are come to doe me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace.* The King started a little, and said: *By my faith (my Lord) I thanke you for my good Cheare, but I may not endure to have my Lawes broken in my sight. My Atturney must speake with you.* And it is part of the Report, that the Earle compounded for no lesse than fiftene thousand markes." — FRANCIS BACON, *Historie of the Reigne of Henry the Seventh* (London, 1641), p. 211.

Margaret became the wife of James IV, king of that realm. This was a most fortunate marriage, and finally led to the happy union of the two countries under a single crown.

75. Maritime Discoveries. — It was during this reign that great geographical discoveries enlarged the boundaries of the world. Columbus announced to Europe the existence of land to the west; Vasco da Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and found a water road to the East Indies.

In the year of this last enterprise Henry commissioned John Cabot, a Venetian navigator doing business in England, and his sons to make explorations in the western and northern seas. In his westward voyage Cabot ran against the American continent somewhere in the vicinity of Newfoundland, and took possession of the country in the name of the English sovereign (1497). He was probably the first European to look upon the mainland of the New World;⁹ for Columbus up to this time had seen only the islands of the Gulf of Mexico and of the Caribbean Sea.

The following year (1498) John Cabot again set sail with a small fleet to make explorations and settlements in the new lands. Respecting the fate of this expedition not a word ever came back.

A few years later (1508) Sebastian, a son of John Cabot, led an expedition westward in search of a northwest passage to Cathay, but was turned back by the ice of the northern seas.

Upon these, and other alleged discoveries and explorations of John and Sebastian Cabot,^{9a} the English based their claim to the whole of the American coast from Labrador down to Florida. This claim included the best part of North America, — what was destined to be the third and most spacious home of the Anglo-Saxon race.

⁹ It is possible that Vespuccius saw it "two or three days" earlier. See Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. ii, p. 87.

^{9a} For the latest word in the Cabot controversy, see George Parker Winship, *Some Facts about John and Sebastian Cabot* (from proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 1900).

III. ENGLAND SEVERED FROM THE PAPACY BY HENRY VIII (1509-1547)

76. Opening of the Reign.—Henry VII died in 1509. His son and successor, Henry VIII, was but eighteen years of age when the event of his father's death brought him to the throne. He was attractive in person, pleasure-loving, capricious, and self-willed. His tastes were literary, inclining him to look with favor upon the New Learning.

The circumstances attending his succession were full of promise. The kingdom he inherited was at peace with itself and with all the world; the royal coffers were full to overflowing with an enormous treasure; and the acclamations of the people were long and hearty, for the gloomy, avaricious, and tyrannical disposition of his father had caused them to anticipate somewhat impatiently the transfer of the crown by death. Never did a prince assume his scepter under more favorable auguries of a happy and prosperous reign.

77. Cardinal Wolsey.—We must here at the opening of Henry VIII's reign introduce his greatest minister, Thomas Wolsey (1475?-1530), as during all the first half of the reign his is the most prominent figure that meets our view. This man was one of the most remarkable characters of his generation,—“probably the greatest political genius,” says Bishop Creighton, “whom England has ever produced.” He was, as Holinshed characterizes him, “very eloquent, and full of wit; but passingly ambitious.” His ability had been recognized by Henry VII, who made him his chaplain and secret counselor. Henry VIII elevated him to the office of Archbishop of York, and made him Lord Chancellor of the realm. By means of flattery and discreet indulgence of the king's weaknesses, the ambitious minister soon acquired almost complete ascendancy in the counsels of his youthful master.

The Pope, courting the influence of Wolsey, made him a cardinal, and afterwards papal legate in England. He was

now virtually at the head of affairs in both State and Church. His revenues from his many offices were enormous, and enabled him to assume a style of living astonishingly magnificent. His household numbered five hundred persons; and a truly royal train, made up of bishops and nobles, attended him with great pomp and parade wherever he went.

Wolsey was a patriot — the best patriot of his time. But he conceived the great need of England, still feeling the effects of the old feudal turbulency, to be a single, strong, firm hand at the helm; hence his first aim was to make the royal power supreme and absolute. His second aim was to make England the center of European politics, the mediator between the rival powers of France, Spain, and the Papacy. He attained in a fair measure both these ends: he enabled Henry to rule as well as to reign, and secured for England great prestige in Europe.

78. Henry's Continental Wars. — A few weeks after his accession Henry was married to the Spanish princess Catherine, which meant that he had resolved to foster the Spanish alliance. In 1512, joining what was known as the Holy League, — a union against the French king, of which the Pope was the head, — he made his first campaign in France, with scarcely any better object in view than to "win his spurs" and to gather fresh martial glory on the old fields of Crécy and Agincourt. He set forth to the world, however, that his purpose was "to recover the realm of France, — his very true patrimony and inheritance, and to reduce the same to his obedience."¹⁰

A few years later, taking part in the first war between Francis and the Emperor Charles V (par. 46), Henry again invaded France. But these continental adventures of his did England no good, and brought but little glory to himself. On the other hand, they alienated some of his best friends, especially

¹⁰ The most noted engagement of the war was the so-called Battle of the Spurs (1513), in which Henry gained a bloodless victory.

the lovers of the New Learning, who had looked to the young king to inaugurate an era of peace and reform.

79. The Battle of Flodden Field (1513).—Henry's first invasion of France, however, led to a most important and decisive battle between the English and Scots,—the battle of Flodden Field,—which resulted in a memorable victory for the English.

While Henry was across the Channel, James IV of Scotland thought to give aid to the French king by invading England. So a Scottish army was sent across the frontiers to harry the northern counties. At Flodden, beneath the Cheviot Hills, it was met by an English army and completely overwhelmed. King James was killed, and the flower of the Scottish nobility were left dead upon the field. Queen Catherine, who was acting as regent of England during Henry's absence, and to whose energy the victory was in a large measure due, sent to Henry as a trophy the blood-soiled mantle of the Scottish king.

The disaster was the most overwhelming that had ever befallen the Scottish nation. Scott, whose poem entitled *Marmion, a Tale of Flodden Field*, commemorates the battle, says, "Scarce a family of eminence but had an ancestor at Flodden, and there is no province of Scotland, even at this day, where the battle is mentioned without a sensation of terror and sorrow."

The political consequences of the battle were important. The victory gave England for a long time a free hand, through relieving her of danger from the north, and thus enabled Henry to play a bolder part than he could otherwise have done in the affairs of the Continent.

80. Henry as Defender of the Faith.—It was in the eighth year of Henry VIII's reign that Martin Luther tacked upon the door of the Wittenberg church his famous ninety-five theses. England was stirred with the rest of Western Christendom. When, a little later, Luther attacked directly the papal power, Henry wrote a Latin treatise refuting the arguments of the audacious monk.

The Pope, Leo X, rewarded Henry's Catholic zeal by conferring upon him the title of "Defender of the Faith" (1521). This title was retained by Henry after the secession of the Church of England from the papal see, and is borne by his latest successor to-day, although he is "defender" of quite a different faith from that in the defense of which Henry first earned the title.

81. Henry seeks to be divorced from Catherine. — We have now to relate some circumstances which very soon changed Henry from a zealous supporter of the Papacy into its bitterest enemy.

Henry's marriage with Catherine of Aragon had been prompted by policy and not by love. Of the five children born of the union, all had died save a sickly daughter named Mary.

In these successive afflictions which left him without a son to succeed him, Henry saw or feigned to see a sign of Heaven's displeasure because he had taken to wife the widow of his brother.

And now a new circumstance arose, if it had not existed for some time previous to this. Henry conceived a violent passion for Anne Boleyn, a beautiful and vivacious maid of honor in the queen's household. This new affection so greatly quickened the king's conscience that he soon became fully convinced that it was his duty to put Catherine aside.¹¹ Accordingly Henry asked the Pope, Clement VII, to grant him a divorce.

Pope Clement gave no immediate decision, but after about a year's delay he appointed Cardinal Wolsey and an Italian cardinal named Campeggio as commissioners to hold a sort

¹¹ Political considerations, without doubt, had much to do in bringing Henry to this state of mind. He was ready to divorce Catherine and break openly with Spain, because the Emperor Charles V, to whom he had offered the hand of the Princess Mary, had married the Infanta of Portugal, and thus cast aside the English alliance. On this point consult Seebohm, *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*, pp. 178-180.

of court in England to determine the validity of the marriage. A year or more dragged along without anything being accomplished, and then Clement, influenced by the Emperor Charles, ordered Henry and Catherine both to appear before him at Rome.

82. The Fall of Wolsey; his Death (1530).—Henry's patience was now completely exhausted. Becoming persuaded that Wolsey was not exerting himself as he might to secure the divorce, he banished him from court. The hatred of Anne Boleyn and of others, for Wolsey had many enemies, pursued the fallen minister. He was deposed from all his offices save the archbishopric.¹² His official residence, York Place, now known as Whitehall, was seized for the use of the king. Finally he was arrested on the charge of high treason. While on his way to London the unhappy minister, broken in spirit and in health, was prostrated by a fatal fever. As he lay dying in the arms of the kind monks of Leicester Abbey, he uttered these self-censuring words: "Had I served my God as diligently as I have served my king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs."

Wolsey had indeed sunk his priestly office in that of the statesman, and as a statesman he had often stifled the scruples of conscience in obedience to the king's unholy wishes and commands.

83. The Opinion of the Universities. — Just before Wolsey's disgrace a young priest of Cambridge, named Thomas Cranmer, had suggested that the universities in England and upon the Continent should be asked to give their opinion on the validity of the king's marriage with Catherine. If they all agreed that the union was invalid, then the Pope could hardly refuse to grant the divorce. The plan pleased Henry, and to the universities, accordingly, the case was submitted. The question put to them was "whether the Pope's dispensation for a brother's marrying a brother's wife was valid or not."

¹² This was at first taken from him by Henry, but was afterwards restored.

The opinions of the learned doctors were so conflicting¹³ and, especially in the case of the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge, so manifestly tainted with bribery, that nothing save delay resulted from this plan of settlement.

84. Thomas Cromwell. — A man of great power and mark now rises to our notice. After the disgrace of Wolsey an attendant of his named Thomas Cromwell rapidly assumed in Henry's regard the place from which the cardinal had fallen. He was just the opposite of Wolsey in caring nothing for pomp and parade. For the space of ten years this strong but unscrupulous man shaped the policy of Henry's government. What he proposed to himself was the establishment of a royal despotism upon the ruin of every other power in the state. Parliament, Church — everything was to be subjected to a single will, and that will was to be Henry's.

Man of iron will that he was, Cromwell pursued with such terrible relentlessness his aims that the period during which his power was supreme has been called the English Reign of Terror. The executioner's ax was often wet with the blood of those who stood in his way, or who in any manner incurred his or the king's displeasure.

It was to the bold suggestions of this man that Henry now listened, when all other means of gratifying his passion had been tried in vain. Cromwell's advice to the king was to waste no more time in negotiating with the Pope, but at once to renounce the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, proclaim

¹³ The ground for difference of opinion lay in the contrariety of the Old Testament commands on the subject. In Leviticus xx, 21, we read, "And if a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unholy thing"; while in Deuteronomy xxv, 5, the husband's brother is commanded to marry the widow, if the brother should die childless. By many the Levitical law was regarded as the primary enactment, and the Deuteronomic as secondary and of less binding force. Such seems to have been the view of a party in New Testament times; for John the Baptist's reproof of Herod for marrying his brother's wife, presumably because in so doing he had disregarded the Levitical prohibition, is recorded with apparent approval (St. Mark, vi, 17). Consult Lingard, *History of England* (London, 1855), vol. iv, Appendix, note O.

himself supreme head of the Church in England, and then get a decree of divorce from his own courts.

85. First Acts in the Breach with Rome (1533-1534). — The advice of Cromwell was acted upon, and by a series of steps England was swiftly carried out from under the authority of the Roman See. Henry first virtually cut the Gordian knot by a secret marriage with Anne Boleyn, notwithstanding a papal decree threatening him with excommunication should he dare to do so.

Parliament, which was entirely subservient to Henry's wishes, now passed a law known as the Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533), which made it a crime for any Englishman to carry a case out of the kingdom to the court of Rome. This was to prevent Catherine from making an appeal to the Pope from any decision which might be rendered in her case by an English tribunal.

Cranmer, the Cambridge doctor who had advised the king to submit the question of the validity of his union with Catherine to the universities, and who had further served him by writing a book in favor of the divorce, had, in accordance with the new programme, been made archbishop of Canterbury. He now formed a court, tried the case, and of course declared the king's marriage with Catherine null and void.

The following year (1534) Henry procured from Parliament the passage of the important Act of Annates,¹⁴ which forbade absolutely the payment to Rome of the first fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics, and ordered that these should henceforth be paid to the English crown.

86. The Act of Supremacy (1534). — At Rome the acts of Henry and his Parliament were denounced as acts of impious usurpation. The Pope issued a bull excommunicating Henry and relieving his subjects from their allegiance. Whatever hope may have existed up to this time of a reconciliation

¹⁴ This was a reënactment of an earlier conditional Act of Annates passed in 1532.

between the English sovereign and the Pope was completely destroyed by this act.

Henry now took the final and decisive step. He got from Parliament the celebrated Act of Supremacy (1534). This statute made Henry "the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England,"¹⁵ vesting in him absolute control of its offices and affairs and turning into his hands the revenue which had hitherto flowed into Rome's treasury. A denial of the title given the king by the statute was made high treason.

The Act of Supremacy established the independence of the Anglican Church and made England a truly sovereign state. For a thousand years, ever since the landing in England of the monk Augustine, England had formed a part of the great ecclesiastical empire of Rome. Now she enters upon her career as a really independent nation, with as full and absolute control of her ecclesiastical as of her civil affairs.

Such a break with the past met of course with much disapproval, and many persons were put to death under the statute. The most illustrious victims of this tyranny were John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, who for several years was one of Henry's chief councilors. Both were sent to the block (in 1535) because they refused to admit the validity of Henry's divorce from Catherine and to acknowledge the royal supremacy in religious matters. The execution of Thomas More particularly created widespread condemnation and dismay. When the Emperor Charles V heard what Henry had done, he is reported to have said that he would rather have lost the best city in his empire than such a councilor; and Erasmus wrote to a friend, "What a man has England and what a friend have I lost!"

87. The Suppression of the Monasteries (1536-1539).—The suppression of the monasteries was one of Henry's early acts as the supreme head of the Church in England.

¹⁵ As early as 1531 Henry had extorted from the clergy a qualified acknowledgment ("as far as was allowed by the law of Christ") of this title.

Wolsey had held the view that the monasteries had in a measure outlived their usefulness, that the state could now better discharge many of the functions which these institutions in anarchical times had exercised, and that it would be wise to transform some of them into local schools which should meet the new needs of a changed society. He had secured a bull from the Pope under which he had suppressed those houses that had less than seven members, and had devoted their property to the establishment of two colleges, one of which was at Oxford.

Henry followed Wolsey's example, but in a very different spirit from that in which the cardinal had acted. He resolved upon the destruction of the religious houses because, in the first place, he coveted their wealth, which at this time included probably one fifth of the lands of the realm. Further, the monastic orders were openly or secretly opposed to Henry's claims of supremacy in religious matters; and this naturally caused him to regard them with jealousy and disfavor. This was another reason with him for compassing their ruin. In the carrying out of this purpose Thomas Cromwell was the king's chief adviser and agent.

In order to make the act appear as reasonable as possible, it was planned to make the charge of immorality its ostensible ground. Accordingly two royal commissioners were appointed to inspect the monasteries, and make a report upon what they might see and learn. If we may believe the report, the smaller houses were conducted in a most shameful manner. The larger houses, however, were fairly free from faults. Many of them served as schools, hospitals, and inns, and all distributed alms to the poor who knocked at their gates.

When the findings of the commission were made known by Henry to the House of Commons, the chamber was filled with cries of "Down with them ! Down with them !" At once an act was passed which dissolved between three and four hundred of the lesser monasteries, — all whose yearly income

was less than two hundred pounds, — and gave all their property to the king (1536). For the dispossessed monks the statute made provision in these words: “[They shall be] committed to great and honorable monasteries of this realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously.”

The carrying into execution of the act, concurring with other grievances, stirred up a rebellion in the north of England known as the “Pilgrimage of Grace.” This uprising was suppressed with un pitying severity.

The greater monasteries, as we have noticed, were not open to the censure that the smaller houses had incurred. In the act authorizing the suppression of the latter the former had been referred to as “divers and solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed.”

But the undoubted usefulness and irreproachable character of these larger foundations did not avail to avert ruin from them also. During the years 1537–1539 all were dissolved, their possessors generally surrendering the property voluntarily into the hands of the king lest a worse thing than the loss of their houses should come upon them. By an act of Parliament in 1539 all monastic property was given to the crown.

Altogether there were six hundred and forty-five monasteries broken up. The monastic buildings were generally dismantled, every scrap of iron or lead being torn from them, and their unprotected walls left to sink into picturesque ivy-clad ruins. Small pensions were granted to the dispossessed monks, which relieved in a measure the suffering and hardship caused by the proceeding.

The destruction of the monasteries was the signal for the desecration and pillage of the sacred relics, images, and shrines with which the land was crowded. The destruction of the famous pilgrim shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury¹⁶ is a typical case. The saint, because he had upheld the supremacy

¹⁶ See *The Middle Ages*, par. 312.

of the Pope against King Henry II, was solemnly tried for treason and declared a traitor. His bones were then dragged from their receptacle and burned, and the rich adornments and offerings of the shrine — great cart loads of jewels and other costly things, probably the real secret of Henry's wrath against the saint — were confiscated to the royal use (1538).

A portion of the vast wealth which came into Henry's hands through all these confiscations was used in founding schools and colleges and in establishing new bishoprics, and a part was devoted to other public purposes; but by far the greater portion of the landed property was sold at merely nominal prices or given outright to the favorites of the king. Many of the leading English families of to-day trace the title of their estates from these confiscated lands of the religious houses. Thus a new aristocracy was raised up whose interests led them to oppose any return to Rome; for in such an event their estates were liable, of course, to be restored to the monasteries.

88. Effects upon Parliament of the Suppression of the Monasteries. — The effects of the dissolution of the monasteries upon the Upper House of Parliament were, for the time being, most disastrous to the cause of English constitutional liberty. The House of Lords had hitherto often been a check upon the royal power. By the destruction of the religious houses that branch of Parliament, already greatly reduced in strength by the decay of the temporal peerage, was still further weakened through the casting out of the abbots and priors who held seats in that chamber.¹⁷

At the same time the spiritual lords who were left, that is the two archbishops and the bishops, became mere dependents of the king, whom the Act of Supremacy had made head of the English Church without any superior on earth.

Thus did the House of Lords almost cease to be a body with a mind and will of its own. Since the House of Commons contained many servile nominees of the king, men

¹⁷ Twenty-six abbots and two priors were expelled.

who merely awaited Henry's nod, the English government now became something like an absolute monarchy.

It was only after a tremendous struggle, as we shall see, that the English people were enabled to wrest from their kings the power which thus had come into their hands largely through the circumstances attending the separation from Rome, and to restore to the government its earlier character.

89. Act to secure Uniformity of Belief (1539).—Parliament was now wholly submissive to Henry's will. In the same year that it gave into his hands the last of the property of the monastic orders, it passed a bill, drawn in conformity with his views, and called an Act for abolishing Diversity of Opinions.¹⁸ By this statute the teachings of the old Church respecting the real presence in the eucharist, the celibacy of the priesthood, private masses, confession to a priest, and other tenets were approved as agreeable to the laws of God, and it was made a crime for any person to hold, to teach, or to practice opinions opposed to any of these dogmas.

What the Church in England should be called under Henry it would be hard to say. It was not Protestant; and it was just as far from being truly Catholic. That it was distinctively neither the one nor the other is shown by the character of the persecutions that took place. Catholics and Protestants alike were harassed and put to death. Thus on one occasion three Catholics who denied that the king was the rightful head of the Church and three Protestants who disputed the doctrine of the real presence in the eucharist were dragged on the same sled to the place of execution.

90. Henry's Wives.—Henry's troubles with his wives form a curious and shameful page in the history of England's kings. Anne Boleyn retained the affections of her royal husband only a few months. She was charged with unfaithfulness and beheaded, leaving a daughter who became the famous Queen Elizabeth. The day after the execution of Anne the king

¹⁸ Commonly designated as the Six Articles Act.

married Jane Seymour, who died the following year. She left a son by the name of Edward.

The fourth marriage of the king was to Anne of Cleves, who enjoyed her queenly honors only a few months.¹⁹ The king becoming enamored of a young lady named Catherine Howard, Anne was divorced on the charge of a previous betrothal, and a new alliance formed. But Catherine was proved guilty of misconduct before her marriage and her head fell upon the block. The sixth and last wife of this amatory monarch was Catherine Parr. She was a discreet woman, and managed to outlive her husband.

91. Henry's Death and Character ; his Work. — Henry died in 1547. Very diverse views have been held of his character. He was admittedly meddlesome, cruel, arbitrary, and selfish. Even if the English people are indebted to him for their national independent Church, still they owe him for this no gratitude ; for what he did here proceeded primarily from the basest impulses and motives, and not from regard for the spiritual welfare of his subjects or from sympathy with religious reform.

In another sphere, however, Henry accomplished a work which entitles him to the admiring remembrance of a people who pride themselves on their mastery of the sea. He had the vision to discern that England's dominion must be sought not on the European continent but on the ocean. Hence he

¹⁹ Thomas Cromwell had arranged this marriage: because it had proved so unsatisfactory to Henry, he withdrew his favor from him, and very soon, on the charge of his having taken bribes and of other misconduct, sent him to the block (1540). In this, as in similar cases, the king acted under the forms of law. He secured from the subservient Parliament a bill of attainder, which is an act passed like an ordinary statute. Before Cromwell's time, the accused had a right to be heard in his own defense. But Cromwell, to please his master, had brought it about that Parliament could venture to condemn a person without a hearing. It was poetic justice that made Cromwell himself a victim of this instrument of tyranny. Because of the misuse by the English Parliament of this power, the framers of the Constitution of the United States, in enumerating the powers of Congress, inserted this clause: "No bill of attainder . . . shall be passed."

took a deep interest in naval affairs. At a time when the continental sovereigns were creating standing armies, he, as it has been put, created for England a "standing navy." He brought to perfection the sailing war ship, and gave it precedence over the oared vessel, which up to this time had held the chief place in the world's war navies. Thus under Henry the English navy, in the words of an eminent naval authority, "was becoming an entirely new thing, a thing the world had never seen before." The change was somewhat like that effected when the steamship replaced the sailing vessel.

92. Literature under Henry VIII; More's Utopia. — The most prominent literary figure of this period is Sir Thomas More. The work upon which his fame as a writer mainly rests is his *Utopia*, or "Nowhere," a romance like Plato's *Republic* or Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. It pictures an imaginary kingdom away on an island in the New World, then just discovered, where the laws, manners, and customs of the people were represented as being ideally perfect.

It was the wretchedness, the ignorance, the superstition, the social tyranny, the religious intolerance, the despotic government of the times which inspired the *Utopia*. The New Learning was indeed stirring the minds of men, but it had not yet done its work; improvements had been made in domestic architecture, yet the great mass of the people were still living in miserable mud hovels, like those of the Irish tenants of to-day. Society was simply "a conspiracy of the rich against the poor." The government of Henry and his ministers resembled an Oriental tyranny.

It was this state of things that forced from the sensitive soul of More this complaint. "No such cry of pity for the poor," says Green, "had been heard since the days of Piers Ploughman." But More's was not simply such a cry of despair as was that of Langland. He saw a better future; and with a view of reforming them, pointed out the existing ills of society and their remedy. He did all this by telling how

things were in "Nowhere," — how the houses and grounds were all inviting, the streets broad and clean; how everybody was taught to read and write, and no one obliged to work more than six hours a day; how drinking-houses, brawls, wars, and changing parties were unknown; how the criminal classes were treated with the view of effecting their reformation; how in this happy republic every person had a part in the government, and was allowed to follow what religion he chose.

In this wise way More suggested improvements in social, political, and religious matters. He did not expect, however, that Henry would follow all his suggestions, for he closes his account of the Utopians with this admission: "I confess that many things in the commonwealth of Utopia I rather *wish* than *hope* to see adopted in our own."

And, indeed, More himself, before his death, materially changed his views regarding religious persecution. Although in his book he had expressed his decided disapproval of persecution for conscience' sake, by crediting the Utopians with a law that condemned to banishment any person who should attempt to effect a change in another's opinion by any other means than that of persuasion, yet he afterwards, driven into reaction by the terrible excesses of the Peasants' War in Germany (par. 30), and by other popular tumults which seemed to be the outgrowth of the Protestant movement, favored persecution, and advised that unity of faith be preserved by the use of force.

IV. CHANGES IN CREED AND RITUAL UNDER EDWARD VI (1547-1553)

93. Events at the Accession. — In accordance with the provisions of a Succession Act passed in Henry's reign, his only son, Edward, by Jane Seymour, succeeded him. As Edward was but a mere child of nine years, the government was conducted by a council of regency, at the head of which was the

young king's uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who later was made Duke of Somerset. Henry had taken care that this council should be made up of an equal number of reformers and Catholics; but Hertford, who was an unscrupulous and ambitious man, and a patron of the reformed religion, drove out the latter, and assumed royal power, with the title of Protector of the Realm.

The young king was carefully taught the doctrines of the reformers, and many changes were made in the creed and service of the English Church, which carried it farther away from the Church of Rome. It is these changes in the religion, effected partly under the rule of the Duke of Somerset and in part during the administration of his successor, the Duke of Northumberland, that constitute the events most worthy of our attention. They will show us what were some of the chief points on which the two great religious parties of the sixteenth century in England differed.

94. Changes in the Religion. — Under the new régime all pictures and images and crosses were cleared from the churches; the frescoes were covered with whitewash, and the stained-glass windows were broken in pieces; the robe and the surplice were cast away; the use of tapers, holy water, and incense was discontinued; the veneration of the Virgin and the keeping of saints' days were prohibited; belief in purgatory was denounced as a vain superstition kept up for purposes of gain, and prayers for the dead were interdicted; the real or bodily presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament was denied; the prohibition against the marriage of the clergy was annulled (a measure which pleased the clergy and reconciled them to the other sweeping innovations); and the services of the Church, which hitherto — save as to some portion of them during the last three years of Henry's reign — had been conducted in Latin, were ordered to be said in the language of the people.

In order that the provision last mentioned might be

effectually carried out, the *English Book of Common Prayer* was prepared by Archbishop Cranmer, and the first copy issued in 1549. Later in the reign there was put out a second revised edition which showed more traces of Protestant influence than did the first. This book, which was in the main simply a translation of the old Latin *Missal* and *Breviary*, with the subsequent change of a word here and a passage there to keep it in accord with the growing new doctrines, is the same that is used in the Anglican Church at the present time.²⁰

In 1552 were published the famous Forty-two Articles of Religion, which formed a compendious creed of the reformed faith. These articles, reduced finally to thirty-nine, form the present standard of faith and doctrine in the Church of England.

95. Persecutions to secure Uniformity. — These sweeping changes and innovations in the old creed and in the services of the Church would have worked little hardship or wrong had only everybody, as in More's happy republic, been left free to favor and follow what religion he would. But unfortunately it was only away in "Nowhere" that men were allowed perfect freedom of conscience and worship. The idea of toleration had not yet dawned upon the world, save in the happier moments of some such generous and wide-horizoned soul as his that conceived the *Utopia*.

By royal edict all preachers and teachers were forced to sign the Forty-two Articles; and severe laws, known as Acts for the Uniformity of Service,²¹ punished with severe penalties any departure from the forms of the new prayer book. Even the Princess Mary, who remained a conscientious adherent of the old faith, was harassed and persecuted because she would have the Catholic service in her own private chapel.

²⁰ The entire Bible had just before this (in 1535) been given, for the first time in print, to the English people in their native tongue. The person intrusted with this great work was Bishop Coverdale. In the preparation of the text he availed himself of the translation by Tyndale, who had recently put the New and a considerable part of the Old Testament into English.

²¹ One in 1549 and another in 1552.

Many persons during the reign were imprisoned for refusing to conform to the new worship; while two at least were given to the flames as "heretics and contemnners of the Book of Common Prayer." Probably a large majority of the English people were at this time still good Catholics at heart.

V. REACTION UNDER MARY (1553-1558)

96. Lady Jane Grey. — The story of Lady Jane Grey is one of the saddest in English history. Told very briefly the story is as follows: After the fall of Somerset — he was pushed aside in 1549 — the management of affairs had come into the hands of the ambitious Duke of Northumberland. The aim of this unscrupulous minister was to raise to the throne his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, a grandniece of Henry VIII, whom he had persuaded the young king, now in failing health and manifestly near his end, to name as his successor, to the exclusion of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. Aside from the personal motives and ambitions at work in all this, was the desire to maintain the Protestant cause, — Mary being a zealous Catholic while Jane Grey was an earnest Protestant.

Immediately upon the king's death Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed queen of the realm. She wore the crown only nine days; for the people, hating and distrusting Northumberland and believing that Mary was the rightful heir to the throne, rallied about her, and she was proclaimed queen amidst great demonstrations of loyalty. Northumberland and others concerned in proclaiming Lady Jane were tried for treason and executed. The youth and innocence of the "nine-day queen" protected her for the moment; but the turn of events soon brought her to the scaffold. Mary having set about the restoration of the Catholic worship, and, moreover, having engaged herself in marriage to Prince Philip of Spain (a zealous Catholic, it will be recalled), a rebellion was organized,

which had for its object the breaking of the Spanish alliance and the raising of the Princess Elizabeth or Lady Jane Grey to the throne. The uprising was suppressed, Elizabeth was confined in the Tower, and Lady Jane and her husband, though they had taken no part in the movement, were both condemned to be executed.

Writers of every party unite in commending the virtues and praising the rare beauty and accomplishments of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. She could converse easily in several modern tongues and had a familiar knowledge of Latin and Greek. A contemporary, Roger Ascham, tells us how he found her one day reading Plato "with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccaccio."

97. The Marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain (1554).—The severity of the punishment meted out to the leaders of the Protestant revolt so intimidated the nation that there was no further serious opposition manifested to the wishes of Mary in regard to the Spanish alliance. Parliament, with some reluctance, approved the articles of the marriage. Philip, after quite a delay, for he had but little love for England and still less for Mary, came over to the island, and the wedding ceremonies were celebrated with much pomp and parade (1554).

This marriage had been planned by Philip's father, the Emperor Charles V, in the hope that thereby England might become actually or in effect a part of the Spanish empire. Had the marriage worked out in this way and England been secured as an ally of the papal party in the great combat between Catholicism and Protestantism, the issue of the struggle might have been very different from what it was.

98. Reconciliation with Rome (1554).—The majority of the English prelates had never in their hearts approved the recent ecclesiastical changes. Their zeal for the ancient Church, allied with Mary's, now quickly brought about the full reëstablishment of the Catholic worship throughout the realm. Negotiations with Rome ended in the sending of

Cardinal Pole as the legate of the Pope to receive the nation back within the fold of the true Church.

The legate was welcomed in England with extravagant joy by the lovers of the ancient faith. "Thou art Pole," exclaimed an enthusiastic archdeacon in his speech of welcome, "thou art Pole, and thou art our Polar Star to light us to the kingdom of the heavens." Parliament voted that the nation should return to its obedience to the papal see; and then the members of both Houses fell upon their knees to receive at the hands of the legate absolution from the sin of heresy and schism. The sincerity of their repentance was attested by their repeal of all the acts by which the new worship had been set up in the land. The joy at Rome was unbounded. The holy father, Pope Julius, throwing his arms about the messenger who brought the news, embraced him in transports of pious exultation. The prodigal had returned to his father's house.

But not quite everything done by the reformers was undone. Parliament refused to restore the confiscated church lands, which was very natural, as much of this property was now in the hands of the lords and commoners. Mary, however, in her zeal for the ancient faith, restored a great part of the property still in the possession of the crown, and refounded many of the ruined monasteries and abbeys.

99. The Martyrs: Latimer and Ridley (1555), and Cranmer (1556).—With the reëstablishment of the Catholic worship, the fires of persecution were kindled anew. The three most eminent victims of what is known as the Marian persecution were Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer.

One of the principal charges against Latimer and Ridley was their denial of transubstantiation, or the doctrine that the wine and bread of the sacrament are, through the words of the priest, actually changed into the blood and flesh of Christ. Refusing to recant their heresy, they were condemned to the flames. Both were burned at the same stake. As the torch was applied to the fagots, the aged Latimer—he was seventy

years old — encouraged his companion with these memorable words: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man: we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out." Latimer's bearing was in keeping with his exhortation. He died "bathing his hands in the flame as though it were water."

Cranmer possessed a less resolute spirit than Latimer. He shrank from the terrible ordeal, and to save his life declared that he believed all the doctrines of the Catholic Church. But in spite of his confession and recantation his enemies resolved that he should die because of the prominent part he had taken in the setting up of the reformed worship.

Just before he was committed to the flames the archbishop was given an opportunity to speak. Instead of repeating the confession he had made to his judges, he declared that he had made that confession through fear of death, that it had troubled his conscience "more than any other thing that he had ever said or done in his life." Cries from every side of "Pull him down!" "Away with him!" drowned the voice of the archbishop. Before he could say more he was hurried to the stake. The spirit that once had faltered was resolute enough now. Thrusting his right hand into the flames, and holding it there unflinchingly, he exclaimed, "This was the hand that wrote it [the recantation], therefore it shall first suffer punishment."

Altogether, between two and three hundred persons suffered martyrdom during the reign of Mary. Nearly one fourth of these were women and children. Hundreds of others endured imprisonment and various other penalties.

The effect of these persecutions was just the opposite of that intended. The constancy of the martyrs in the face of death drew multitudes to the faith for which they suffered. That for which a man dares to die is always sure to be thought by the living worthy of their attention.

Mary should not be judged harshly for the part she took in the persecutions that disfigured her reign. It was not her fault,

but the fault of the age, that these things were done. Punishment of heresy was then regarded, by almost all Catholics and Protestants alike, as a duty which could be neglected by those in authority only at the peril of Heaven's displeasure. And thinking, as they did, that one's eternal happiness depends upon the correctness of one's opinion as to all the articles of a particular creed, the men of that age could consistently do nothing less than labor to exterminate heresy with ax and sword and fagot. It were far better, so they reasoned, that a few should be cast into temporal fire than that not only these, but perhaps thousands of others whom they might lead into error, should hereafter be cast into everlasting flames.

100. The Loss of Calais (1558).—The marriage of Philip and Mary had been earnestly wished for by the Emperor Charles V, in order that Philip, in those wars with France which he well knew must be a part of the legacy he should transmit to his son, might have the powerful aid of England. This was Philip's chief reason for seeking the alliance, and in due time he called upon Mary for assistance in a war against the French king. The English people were very reluctant to take any part in the quarrel; but Mary's council at last yielded to her urgent solicitations, and aid was extended to Philip.

The result was the loss to England of Calais, which the French, by an unexpected attack, snatched out of the hands of its garrison (1558). The English had proudly held this place for a hundred years and more after all else in France had been lost, and it was a very great mortification to them to be thus pushed entirely off from French soil. Mary, in her distress, exclaimed, "When I die, Calais will be found written on my heart."

The unfortunate queen, suffering in mind and in body, neglected by Philip and hated by her own people, did not live out the year that marked the loss of Calais.

VI. FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF PROTESTANTISM UNDER
ELIZABETH (1558-1603)

101. The Queen. — Elizabeth, who was twenty-five years of age when the death of Mary called her to the throne, was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. She seems to have inherited the characteristics of both parents; hence perhaps the inconsistencies of her disposition.

Elizabeth possessed a masculine intellect, a strong will, admirable judgment, and great political tact. It was these qualities which rendered her reign the strongest and most illustrious in the record of England's sovereigns, and raised the nation from a position of comparative insignificance to a foremost place among the states of Europe.

An accomplished scholar, Elizabeth could speak with fluency two or three modern languages, and was able, on short notice, to "rub up her rusty Greek" so as to reply in that tongue to an address from one of the universities.

Along with her good and queenly qualities and accomplishments, Elizabeth had many unamiable traits and unwomanly ways. She was capricious, treacherous, unscrupulous, and ungrateful. Deception and falsehood were her usual weapons in diplomacy. "In the profusion and recklessness of her lies," declares Green, "Elizabeth stood without a peer in Christendom." She was also a hard swearer, it being no unusual thing for her to stop the deliberations of her council to swear at her ministers "like a fishwife." Her letters were often accentuated with terrific oaths. Her vanity and love of flattery rendered her ridiculous. She would toy with her rings in order to attract attention to the beauty of her hands. She loved pageants and display in dress,²² and was a coquette at almost seventy, dancing at that age with spirit if not with grace. Her wardrobe at the time of her death contained, it is said,

²² Elizabeth's fondness for dress and parade encouraged a national extravagance in these matters. Young spendthrift nobles "sported manors on their

three thousand dresses. She seldom wore the same dress twice.

Yet, notwithstanding all the faults of this remarkable woman, in spite of the lack in her of all really generous enthusiasms and sympathies, she was always popular with her subjects, and this largely for the same reason that Philip II was popular in Spain, — because she was in perfect sympathy with her people and represented their ideals and aspirations. Her subjects' strong liking is embalmed in the familiar title they bestowed upon her, — "Good Queen Bess."

Elizabeth never married, notwithstanding Parliament was constantly urging her to do so, and suitors, among whom was Philip II of Spain, were as numerous as those who sought the hand of Penelope. She declared — very late in her reign, however — that on her coronation day she was married to the English realm, and that she would have no other husband. She remained to the end the "fair Vestal throned by the West."

102. Her Ministers. — One secret of the strength and popularity of Elizabeth's government was the admirable judgment she exercised in her choice of advisers. The courtiers with whom she crowded her receptions might be frivolous persons, for all Elizabeth desired of them was that they should flatter her pride and afford her diversion; but about her council board she gathered the wisest and strongest men of the realm. And yet Elizabeth's government was really her own. We now know that her advisers did not have as much to do with shaping the policies of the reign as was formerly believed.

The most famous of the queen's ministers was Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley), a man of great sagacity and ceaseless industry, and a vigilant and prudent administrator. He stood at the head of the queen's council for forty years. His son backs." Both ladies and gentlemen wore enormous ruffs. Elizabeth decreed that these should not be over "a nayle of a yeard in depth." One would suppose that all might have managed to keep their ruffs within these limits, but it seems not; for we are told that Elizabeth stationed "serious persons" at the gates of London to cut down those exceeding the regulation width.

Robert, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir Francis Walsingham were also prominent among the queen's advisers.

103. Reestablishment of the Reformed Church. — As Mary undid the work in religion of Henry and Edward, so now her work was undone by Elizabeth. Elizabeth favored the reformed faith rather from policy than from conviction. It was to the Protestants alone that she could look for support; her title to the crown was denied by every true Catholic in the realm, for she was the child of that marriage which the Pope had forbidden under pain of the anathemas of the Church. But what doubtless contributed most to fix her in the determination to follow Henry's policy as regards the Papacy was her desire to possess supreme authority in ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters.

The religious houses which had been refounded by Mary were again dissolved, and Parliament by the two important Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity (1559) reestablished the independence of the Church in England.

The Act of Supremacy required all the clergy, and every person holding office under the crown, to take an oath declaring the queen to be the supreme governor of the realm in all spiritual as well as in all temporal things, and renouncing the authority or jurisdiction of any foreign prince or prelate. Of course all this was aimed at the Roman See.

Of the fifteen bishops of the realm, all save one refused to take the oath, and were therefore removed from their offices. The minor clergy for the most part submitted, and were allowed to retain their benefices.

For refusing to deny the supremacy of the Pope many Catholics during Elizabeth's reign suffered death, and many more endured within the Tower the worse horrors of the rack. This employment of torture aroused much indignation among the Catholics throughout Europe. The queen's minister, Lord Burghley, replied to the charge of cruelty by stating in a public paper that the jailers were instructed to handle the

rack "in as charitable a manner as such a thing might be," and that none of those put to the rack were asked "any question as to point of doctrine, but merely concerning their plots and conspiracies."

The Act of Uniformity was a more unjustifiable measure than the former, as it touched more positively matters of conscience. It forbade any clergyman to use any but the Anglican liturgy, and required every person to attend the Established Church on Sunday and other holy days. For every absence a fine of one shilling was imposed. This harsh and unjust statute was, after a period of leniency, rigidly enforced, although it is probable that Elizabeth herself cared but little what opinions persons entertained, provided they outwardly conformed to the established worship. The persecutions which arose under this law caused many Catholics to seek freedom of worship in other countries.

104. The Protestant Nonconformists; Puritans and Separatists. — The Catholics were not the only persons among Elizabeth's subjects who were opposed to the Anglican worship. There were Protestant nonconformists — the Puritans and Separatists — who troubled her almost as much as the Catholics.

The Puritans were so named because they desired a *purer* form of worship than the Anglican. The term was applied to them in derision; but the sterling character of those thus designated at length turned the epithet of reproach into a badge of honorable distinction. To these earnest reformers the Church which Elizabeth had established seemed but half reformed. Many rites and ceremonies, such as wearing the surplice and making the cross in baptism, had been retained; and these things, in their eyes, appeared mere superstitions. What they wanted was a more sweeping change, a form of worship more like that of the Calvinistic churches of Geneva, in which city many of them had lived as exiles during the Marian persecution. However, they did not withdraw from

the Established Church, but remaining within its pale labored to reform it and to shape its doctrines and discipline to their notions. These Puritans were destined to play a prominent part in the later affairs of England. Under the Stuarts, as we shall see, they became strong enough to overturn State and Church, and remould both to suit their own ideas.

The Separatists were still more zealous reformers than the Puritans. In their hatred of everything that bore any resemblance to the Catholic worship, they flung away the surplice and the prayer book, severed all connection with the Established Church, and refused to have anything to do with it. They were known at first by different names, as Brownists or Barrowists, after prominent leaders, but later as Independents. Under the Act of Uniformity they were persecuted with great severity, so that multitudes were led to seek an asylum upon the Continent. It was from among these exiles gathered in Holland that a little later came the passengers of the *Mayflower* and *Speedwell*, — the Pilgrim Fathers, who laid the foundations of civil and religious liberty in the New World.

105. Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. — A large part of the history of Elizabeth's reign is intertwined with the story of her cousin, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, the "modern Helen," "the most beautiful, the weakest, the most attractive, and most attracted of women." She was the daughter of James V of Scotland, and to her *in right of birth* — according to all Catholics, who denied the validity of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn — belonged the English crown next after Mary Tudor. While yet a child she was married to the dauphin of France, son of Henry II. By the death of his father in 1559 the dauphin came to the French throne, with the title of Francis II. The young couple now added to their title of "King and Queen of France and Scotland" that of "King and Queen of England," by which act they naturally awakened the jealousy and resentment of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth watched closely the movements of these royal claimants of her crown, who very soon had a French army in Scotland to aid the Catholic party there in crushing the Reformation, which was at this time making rapid progress in that country, under the powerful preaching of the famous John Knox. Elizabeth very well understood that her own cause was bound up with that of the Protestants of Scotland, and accordingly she aided them with an English fleet and army. The result was the triumph of the reformers and the establishment of the Presbyterian form of worship throughout Scotland. The French withdrew from the country, Mary and Francis promising to renounce all claim to the crown of England.

Matters were barely thus arranged when the death of Francis left Mary a widow (1560). Upon invitation of her Scottish subjects she soon returned to her native land, where she was warmly welcomed by the Scottish lords. Mary was now in her nineteenth year. The subtle charm of her beauty seems to have bewitched all who came into her presence, save the more zealous of the reformers, who could never forget that their young sovereign was a Catholic. The exercise of the Catholic service in her private chapel caused the people to exclaim against her as an idolater. The stern old Knox made her life miserable by denouncing to her face her "idolatrous" worship and her worldly amusements. He was a veritable Elijah, in whose eyes Mary appeared a modern Jezebel. He called her a "Moabite," and other opprobrious names, till she wept from sheer vexation. She dared not punish the impudent preacher, for she knew too well the strength of the Protestant feeling among her subjects.

Other things now conspired with Mary's hated religion to alienate entirely the love of her people. In 1565 she married her cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, whom she soon gave occasion to become jealous of one of her secretaries, an Italian named Rizzio. This favorite was assassinated by Darnley, who

with some friends entered the queen's apartments and, after wounding him there, dragged him forth and slew him.

Mary swore that the insult and crime should be avenged. Within a year from the time of the murder, a house in which Darnley was sleeping was blown to pieces with gunpowder. The queen was suspected of having some knowledge of the affair. This suspicion was confirmed when, very soon after the event, Mary married the Earl of Bothwell, a man whom rumor had denounced as the actual murderer of Darnley. The universal indignation now broke forth in open revolt. Bothwell fled the country, while Mary was shut up a prisoner in Lochleven Castle and forced to abdicate the crown in favor of her infant son James (1567).

Mary escaped from her prison, made an unsuccessful attempt to rally her subjects to her standard, and then sought an asylum in England (1568). Here she threw herself upon the generosity of her cousin Elizabeth, and entreated aid in recovering her throne. But the part which she was generally believed to have had in the murder of her husband, her disturbing claims to the English throne, and the fact that she was a Catholic all conspired to determine her fate. She was placed in confinement, and for nineteen years remained a prisoner. During all this time Mary was the center of innumerable plots and conspiracies on the part of the Catholics, which aimed at setting her upon the English throne. The Pope, Pius V, aided these conspirators by a bull excommunicating Elizabeth and denying her right to the crown she wore, and releasing her subjects from their allegiance (1570).

Events just now occurring on the Continent tended to inflame the Protestants of England with a deadly hatred against Mary and all her Catholic friends and abettors. In 1572 the Huguenots of France were slaughtered on Saint Bartholomew's Day. In 1584 the Prince of Orange, in the Netherlands, fell at the hands of a hired assassin. That there were daggers waiting to take the life of Elizabeth was well known. It was evident that

so long as Mary lived the queen's life was in constant danger. In the feverish state of the public mind, it was natural that the air should be filled with rumors of plots of every kind. Finally a carefully laid conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary on the throne was unearthed. This was what is known as the Babington Plot. The Spanish king, Philip II, was implicated. He wrote, "The affair is so much in God's service that it certainly deserves to be supported, and we must hope that our Lord will prosper it, unless our sins be an impediment thereto."

Mary was tried for complicity in the plot, was declared guilty, and, after some hesitation, feigned or otherwise, on the part of Elizabeth, was ordered to the block. Even after Elizabeth had signed the warrant for her execution she attempted to evade responsibility in the matter by causing a suggestion to be made to Mary's jailers that they should kill her secretly.

Mary received her sentence with perfect composure. To her executioner she said, "I pardon you, after the example of my Redeemer." Two blows severed her head from the body, and the executioner, holding it up before the people, cried out, "So perish the enemies of our queen!" (1587).

106. The Invincible Armada ; "Britain's Salamis" (1588).—The execution of Mary Stuart led immediately to the memorable attempt against England by the Spanish Armada. Before her death the Queen of Scots had by will disinherited her son and bequeathed to Philip II of Spain her claims to the English crown. To enforce these rights, to avenge the death of Mary, to punish Elizabeth for rendering aid to his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands, and to deal a fatal blow to the Reformation in Europe by crushing the Protestants of England, Philip resolved upon making a tremendous effort for the conquest of the heretical and troublesome island. Vast preparations were made for carrying out this project, which Philip had long revolved in mind. Great fleets were gathered in the harbors

of Spain, and a large army was assembled in the Netherlands to coöperate with the naval armament.

Pope Sixtus V encouraged Philip in the enterprise, and promised him a million crowns in furtherance of the undertaking, but stipulated that the money should not be paid until the Spaniards had actually landed in England.

Elizabeth was not content with preparations for mere defense. She sent her best admiral, Sir Francis Drake, to desolate the Spanish coast. That bold sailor succeeded in inflicting great damage upon Philip's fleet, and in burning enormous quantities of military stores intended for the expedition of invasion. In his own words, he "sing'd the beard of the Spanish king."

It was not until the year after Drake's exploit that Philip's preparations were completed. His fleet, consisting of about one hundred and thirty ships, the largest naval armament that had ever appeared upon the Atlantic, and boastfully called the "Invincible Armada," then set sail from Lisbon for the Channel, intending to touch at Dunkirk, for the purpose of conveying across the strait the Spanish troops under the Duke of Parma collected in the Netherlands.

The approaching danger produced a perfect fever of excitement in England. Never did Roman citizens rise more splendidly to avert some terrible peril threatening the republic than the English people now arose as a single man to defend their island realm against the revengeful and ambitious project of Spain. The imminent danger served to unite all classes, the gentry and the yeomanry, Protestants and Catholics. The latter might intrigue to set a Mary Stuart on the English throne, but they were not ready to betray their land into the hands of the hated Spaniards. "In that memorable year," says Hallam, in a passage where his usually cold, judicial phrases flame into eloquence, "when the dark cloud gathered around our coasts, when Europe stood by in fearful suspense to behold what should be the result of that great cast in the game of human politics, what the craft of Rome, the power of Philip, the

genius of Farnese, could achieve against the island-queen with her Drakes and Cecils — in that agony of the Protestant faith and English name, they stood the trial of their spirit without swerving from their allegiance. It was then that the Catholics in every county repaired to the standard of the lord-lieutenant, imploring that they might not be suspected of bartering the national independence for their religion itself."

On July 19, 1588, the Armada was first descried by the watchmen on the English cliffs. The signal fires were lighted, and from headland to headland, from hilltop to hilltop, the beacon flames flashed to the remotest corners of the island intelligence of the coming of the enemy. "Just as in Spain," writes Froude, "the intended storming of the stronghold of heresy had moved the crusading spirit, and the Castilian nobles had sent the best of their sons to the Armada, so when the call was sounded at last for the defense of England, it rang like a trumpet note through manor house and castle."

The Armada swept up the Channel in the form of a great crescent, seven miles in width from tip to tip of horn. The English ships, about eighty in number, whose light structure and swift movements, together with the superior gunnery of the English sailors, gave them a great advantage over the clumsy Spanish galleons, almost immediately began to impede their advance, and for seven days incessantly harassed the Armada.

One night, as the damaged fleet lay off the harbor of Calais, the English sent fire ships among the vessels, whereby a number were destroyed and a panic created among the others. A determined attack the next day by Howard, Drake, and Lord Henry Seymour inflicted a still severer loss upon the fleet.

The Spaniards, thinking now of nothing save escape, spread their sails in flight, proposing to get away by sailing northward around the British Isles. But the storms of the northern seas dashed many of the remaining ships to pieces on the Scottish and the Irish shores. Barely one third of the ships of the Armada ever reëntered the harbors whence they sailed. When

intelligence of the woeful disaster was carried to the imperturbable Philip, he simply said, "God's will be done; I sent my fleet to fight against the English, not against the elements."

Well may the great fight in the Channel which shattered the Armada be called "Britain's Salamis"; for like Athens' Salamis it revealed the weakness and proclaimed the downfall of a vast despotic empire, while at the same time it disclosed the strength and announced the rise of a new free state destined to a great future.

But the destruction of the Spanish Armada concerned other than purely English and Spanish interests. It marked the turning point in the great duel between Catholicism and Protestantism. It set definite limits to the Catholic reaction. It not only decided that England was to remain Protestant, but it foreshadowed the independence of the Protestant Netherlands, and assured, or at least greatly helped to assure, the future of Protestantism in Scandinavia and in North Germany.

107. Philip tampers with the Irish; the Tyrone Rebellion (1594-1603). — Philip, having failed in his direct attack upon England, now sought to harass Elizabeth by giving aid to her Irish enemies.

Ireland had never been thoroughly subjugated by the English. The Irish tribes were in a state of chronic revolt against the English intruders. In 1594 an insurrection, headed by the Earl of Tyrone (Hugh O'Neill), having broken out in Ulster, Philip promised to send the insurgents aid. To prevent his doing so, Elizabeth sent a fleet to harass him at home. The English sailed into the port of Cadiz, where was gathered what was left of the Spanish navy, together with a crowd of merchant ships engaged in the American trade, destroyed every vessel in the harbor, sacked the city and left it a heap of ruins (1596). This destruction of her chief seaport was even more humiliating to Spain than the destruction of her Invincible Armada.

The Irish rebels, because of their dallies with Philip, were now proceeded against with vigor. In 1599 Elizabeth sent

against them her favorite, the Earl of Essex. He was unsuccessful, and incurred the queen's high displeasure by returning to England in presumptuous disobedience of her positive orders.²³ Lord Mountjoy was now sent out to accomplish what Essex had signally failed in effecting. The Celtic resistance was finally broken, mainly by the removal of the natives from some of the best regions of the island and by the filling of the places thus made empty with Scottish and English settlers (par. 191).

108. Maritime and Colonial Enterprises.—The crippling of the naval power of Spain left England mistress of the seas. The little island realm now entered upon the most splendid period of her history. These truly were "the spacious times of great Elizabeth." The English people, stirred by recent events, seemed to burn with a feverish impatience for maritime adventure and glory. Many a story of the daring exploits of English sea rovers during the reign of Elizabeth seems like a repetition of some tale of the old Vikings.

Among all these sea rovers, half explorer, half adventurer, Sir Francis Drake (about 1540–1596) was preëminent. Before the Armada days he had sailed round the globe (1577–1580), bringing home with him an immense booty which he had got as ransom from the cities of Peru and Chile, and for the achievement had been knighted by Queen Elizabeth.

The whole life of this sixteenth-century Viking was spent in fighting the fleets of his sovereign's enemy, Philip II, in capturing Spanish treasure vessels on the high sea, and in pillaging the warehouses and settlements in Spanish America.

One of the favorite enterprises of the English navigators of this period was the search for a Northwest Passage to the East Indies.²⁴ While hunting for this amidst the ice floes of the

²³ In the year 1601 he was sent to the block, having been found guilty of treason in another matter.

²⁴ "The object of the expedition of Columbus was a Western Passage to China. It resulted in the discovery of the vast continent of America, which bars the way. This barrier, however, might probably be turned, either at the south end or at the north, or at both; and the search for a Western Passage was thus transformed

Arctic seas, Frobisher and Davis discovered the straits which bear their respective names.

Especially deserving of mention among the enterprises of these stirring and romantic times are the undertakings and adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh (1552?-1618). Several expeditions were sent out by him for the purpose of making explorations and forming settlements in the New World. One of these, which explored the central coasts of North America, returned with such glowing accounts of the beauty and richness of the land visited, that, in honor of the virgin queen, it was named *Virginia*.

Raleigh attempted to establish colonies in the new land (1585-1590), but the settlements were unsuccessful. The settlers, however, when they returned home, carried back with them the tobacco plant, and introduced into England the habit of smoking it.²⁵ It was at this time also that the potato, a native product of the New World, was brought to Ireland. These together with maize, or Indian corn, were the chief return the New World made to the Old for the great number of domesticated plants and grains which it received from thence.

109. The Queen's Death. — The closing days of Elizabeth's reign were to her personally dark and gloomy. She seemed to be burdened with a secret grief as well as by the growing infirmities of age. She fell at last into a state of profound melancholy. For ten days together she refused food of any kind. Being asked who her successor should be, she is said to have answered, "I told you my seat had been the seat of kings, and I will have no rascal to succeed me, and who should succeed me but a king?" By which, being questioned, she explained that she meant "our cousin of Scotland."

into a search for a Southwest Passage and a Northwest Passage. The former was discovered by Magellan, a Portuguese in the Spanish service, in 1520. The Northwest Passage remained neglected for half a century longer, and was first sought by the English." — PAYNE, *Voyages of English Seamen*, p. 83.

²⁵ Some years before this the plant had been carried to Spain and to France, but seems to have been valued mainly for its medicinal qualities.

Elizabeth died March 24, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign. With her ended the Tudor line of English sovereigns.

Literature of the Elizabethan Era

110. Influences Favorable to Literature. — The years covered by the reign of Elizabeth constitute one of the most momentous periods in history. It was the age when Europe was most deeply stirred by the Reformation. It was, too, a period of marvelous physical and intellectual expansion and growth. The discoveries of Columbus and others had created a New World. The Renaissance had recreated the Old World — had revealed an unsuspected treasure in the philosophies and literatures of the past.

Thus everything — the reformation of religion and the enfranchisement of thought, the mystery of new lands and the knowledge of strange races of men, the restoration of the lost arts and the opening of the long-closed libraries of the ancients — conspired to quicken men's intellect and stimulate their imagination. They felt again that same novelty and freshness of life and nature which so excited the Greek fancy in the world's childhood.

No people of Europe felt more deeply the stir and movement of the times, nor helped more to create this same stir and movement, than the English nation. There seemed to be nothing too great or arduous for them to undertake. They made good their resistance to the Roman See; they humbled the pride of the strongest monarch in Christendom; they sailed round the globe, and penetrated all its seas.

An age of such activity and achievement almost of necessity gives birth to a strong and vigorous literature. And thus is explained, in part at least, how the English people during this period should have developed a literature of such originality and richness and strength as to make it the prized inheritance

of all the world. "The great writers who shine in the literary splendor of the Elizabethan age," says an eminent critic, "were the natural product of the newly awakened, thoughtful English nation of that day."

III. The Writers. — To make special mention of all the great writers who adorned the Elizabethan era would carry us quite beyond the limits of our book. Having said something of the influence under which they wrote, we will simply add that this age was the age of Shakespeare and Spenser and Bacon.²⁶

Sources and Source Material. — The sources for the Tudor period in English history accessible to the student are abundant. MORE's *Utopia* (to be found in Morley's Universal Library or in English Reprints; also in an admirable edition in sixteenth-century English, edited with introduction and notes by J. H. Lupton, Oxford, 1895) is the choicest literary product of the early revival of learning in England. The student should not fail to read it carefully. It lights up at once the social, the political, and the religious world of the time (cf. par. 92). Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, mentioned earlier, contains much of the delightful correspondence of Colet, Erasmus, and More. *The First Three English Books on America* (see bibliography for Introduction).

²⁶ William Shakespeare (1564-1616); Edmund Spenser (1552?-1599); Francis Bacon (1561-1626). Shakespeare and Bacon, it will be noticed, outlived Elizabeth.

Two other names hold a less prominent place, — that of Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), the courtly knight, who wrote the *Arcadia*, a sort of pastoral romance, and *A Defence of Poesy*, a work intended to counteract the Puritanical spirit then rising; and that of Richard Hooker (1553-1600), who, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, by making it clear that all argument, even in religion, must rely upon reason rather than upon authority, did much to promote the cause of religious toleration. For once establish the principle that a man's belief should be determined by his own reason, and the conclusion is unavoidable that it is unreasonable to punish him for the opinions to which he may thus be led. The tendency of the book, though such was not its special aim, was to help quench the fires of persecution. "Seventeen years after the publication of the great work of Hooker, two men were publicly burned by the English bishops, for holding heretical opinions. But this was the last gasp of expiring bigotry; and since that memorable day [in 1611] the soil of England has never been stained by the blood of a man who has suffered for his religious creed." — BUCKLE, *History of Civilization in England*.

Merriman's *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* (Oxford, 1902), 2 vols. The editor's observation, "It has been justly said that Cromwell's correspondence is our chief source of information for the period immediately following the breach with Rome," will give some idea of the importance of these letters. The correspondence, however, will prove serviceable only in the hands of the teacher or of the special student. HOLINSHED'S *Chronicles* (London, 1807-1808), vols. iii-v. For a great variety of illustrative material embracing official documents, letters, extracts from contemporary writers, etc., turn to the following collections of sources: Lee's *Source-Book of English History*, pp. 227-331; Adams and Stephens's *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, pp. 213-326; Prothero's *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents*, pp. 1-249; Gee and Hardy's *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, Nos. 46-87; Henderson's *Side Lights on English History*, pp. 1-32; Kendall's *Source-Book of English History*, chaps. viii, ix, and x; Colby's *Selections from the Sources of English History*, Nos. 49-67; and Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, vol. i, chaps. iv and vi. See also *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. i, No. 1, "The Early Reformation Period in England"; *Old South Leaflets*, No. 37, "The Voyages of the Cabots"; and Hart and Channing's *American History Leaflets*, No. 9; Payne's *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen* (First Series, Oxford, 1893). This last work is made up of select narratives from the "Principal Navigations" of Hakluyt; read particularly "The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and therethence about the whole Globe of the Earth," pp. 196-229. SIR WALTER RALEGH'S *Discovery of Guiana*, ed. by R. H. Schomburgk (Hakluyt Society Publications), will delight young readers. In the "Scottish History from Contemporary Writers" series will be found *Mary Queen of Scots* (2d ed., 1899), edited by R. S. Rait. *State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Armada* (Publications of the Navy Records Society), 2 vols.

Secondary Works. — *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i, "The Renaissance," chap. xiv. GREEN (J. R.), *History of the English People*, vol. ii; also his *Short History of the English People*, chaps. vi and vii. FROUDE (J. A.), *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*, 12 vols.; also by the same author, *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century*, *The Spanish Story of the Armada*, and *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (First Series), vol. i, "The Dissolution of the Monasteries," and "England's Forgotten Worthies." LINGARD (J.). *History of England* (6th ed., 10 vols., London, 1855), vols. iv-vi. The recognized Catholic authority. BACON (FRANCIS), *The Historie of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh* (London, 1641). BREWER (J. S.),

The Reign of Henry VIII (ed. by James Gairdner), 2 vols. GASQUET (F. A.), *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* (London, 1888), 2 vols.; and *The Eve of the Reformation* (1900). These are the works of an eminent Catholic scholar. DIXON (R. W.), *History of the Church of England, from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction*, 4 vols. A work of great learning, unfortunately broken off by the author's death at the end of Mary's reign. RANKE (L.), *History of England*, vol. i, bks. ii and iii. WAKEMAN (H. O.), *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*. GAIRDNER (J.), *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century*. CREIGHTON (M.), *The Age of Elizabeth* (Epochs) and *Queen Elizabeth*. HUME (M. A. S.), *The Great Lord Burghley, The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth, and Treason and Plot*. In the "Twelve English Statesmen" series, GAIRDNER (J.), *Henry the Seventh*; CREIGHTON (M.), *Cardinal Wolsey*; and BEESLY (E. S.), *Queen Elizabeth*. PERRY (G. G.), *History of the Reformation in England* (Epochs of Church History). The following are the three best "Lives" of Sir Philip Sidney: BOURNE (H. R. F.), *Sir Philip Sidney, Type of English Chivalry in the Elizabethan Age* (Heroes of the Nations); and by the same author, *A Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney*; and SYMONDS (J. A.), ***Sir Philip Sidney* (English Men of Letters). HUME (M. A. S.), ***Sir Walter Raleigh; the British Dominion of the West* (Builders of Great Britain). CORBETT (J. S.), *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (1898), 2 vols. BAGWELL (R.), *Ireland under the Tudors*, 3 vols. FRIEDMANN (P.), *Anne Boleyn*, 2 vols. A book for the special student. TRAILL (H. D.), *Social England*, vol. ii, chap. viii, and vol. iii. For constitutional matters, turn to HALLAM'S, TASWELL-LANGMEAD'S, and MACY'S constitutional histories. For concise narrations of the events dealt with in this chapter, see GARDINER'S, MONTGOMERY'S, TERRY'S, and COMAN and KENDALL'S text-books on English history. And for biographical information, turn to the excellent articles in the *English Dictionary of National Biography*.

CHAPTER IV

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS : RISE OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC (1572-1609)

112. The Country. — The name Netherlands (lowlands) was formerly applied to all that district in the northwest of Europe, much of it sunk below the level of the sea, now occupied by the kingdoms of the Netherlands and Belgium. A large part of this region is simply the delta accumulations of the Rhine and other rivers emptying into the North Sea. Originally it was often overflowed by its streams and inundated by the ocean.

But this unpromising morass, protected at last by heavy dikes seaward against the invasions of the ocean, and by great embankments inland against the overflow of its streams, was destined to become the site of the richest and most potent cities of Europe, and the seat of one of the foremost commonwealths of modern times.

113. The People : Celt and German. — Much light is thrown upon the history of the Netherlands, by keeping in mind the difference in race between the original population of the northern and that of the southern provinces of the country.

When the Romans first came in contact with the inhabitants of this region, the southern portion of the land was held by Celtic tribes, known as the Belgæ, while the northern part was the home of German clans, chief among which were the Frisians and Batavians. These races, kept apart by difference in language and temperament, unfortunately were never fused into a single people ; and when finally, in the sixteenth century, there came a crisis in the life of the European nations, and they were each called upon to choose between the Old

Church and the New, the northern and the southern Netherlanders made different choices, and went divergent ways. In the contrasted histories of the predominantly Gallic South and the predominantly German North, — the former represented to-day by the Catholic kingdom of Belgium, and the latter by the Protestant kingdom of the Netherlands, — some historians find support for the theory that race is a potent influence in shaping the destinies of a people.

114. The Netherlands under the Dukes of Burgundy. — During a large part of the Middle Ages the Netherlands were divided into a number of petty feudal principalities, chief among which were Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand. The different heads of these little states were the nominal vassals either of the Holy Roman Emperors or of the kings of France.

Late in the fourteenth century Flanders came into the possession of the ducal House of Burgundy, and during the course of the following century, by marriage, bequest, purchase, and usurpation, the greater part of the other provinces were brought under the control of this powerful family. The famous Charles the Bold (1467–1477), the last Duke of Burgundy, whose ambition it was to convert the mixed assemblage of loosely knit provinces over which he ruled into a centralized kingdom that should embrace all the lands lying between Switzerland and the North Sea, was slain in battle with the Confederates, or Swiss, and his possessions were scattered. The Netherlands fell to his daughter Mary, whose marriage with Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, transferred them to the House of Hapsburg, and finally brought them, as we have seen, into the possession of the grandson of Mary, who became the Emperor Charles V.

115. State of the Country at the Opening of the Modern Age. — No country in Europe made greater progress in civilization during the mediæval era than the Netherlands. At the opening of the sixteenth century they contained a crowded and busy population of three million souls. The ancient

marshes had been transformed into carefully kept gardens and orchards. The walled cities numbered between two and three hundred, while thriving villages and hamlets were counted by the thousand. Innumerable villas of the nobles and the merchant princes lent to much of the country the appearance of the environs of a great metropolis. A belt of strong fortresses formed a protecting girdle about the land.

The great cities that dotted the country — such as Ghent, Dort, Bruges, Mechlin, Haarlem, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam, Brussels, Antwerp, and Rotterdam — depended chiefly for their wealth and power upon their manufactures and commerce, the carrying trade of Northern Europe being largely in the hands of the bold and skillful Netherland sailors. These cities had usurped the place once held by the Hansa towns of Germany. Antwerp, situated on the Scheldt, sixty miles from the sea, rivaled even the greatest of the Italian cities. “I was sad when I saw Antwerp,” writes a Venetian ambassador, “for I saw Venice surpassed.”¹ Between two and three hundred vessels entered the port of Antwerp daily, and sometimes as many as twenty-five hundred ships could be counted at once in the river.

While the Netherland cities were growing in wealth, they were of course growing in influence and power, and by the sword or with gold won from their feudal lords, from time to time, charters conferring valuable rights and privileges, which instruments were carefully preserved as the palladia of their municipal liberties. The chief cities of the Low Countries, when these lands became the possession of Charles V, were in reality city-republics. They regulated all their own local affairs, chose their own magistrates, and sent their representatives to the States-General, the general assembly of the provinces. We shall in the following pages see how the Spanish sovereigns respected the rights and privileges of these cities over which destiny had called them to rule.

¹ Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands*, vol. ii, p. 331.

116. The Low Countries under Charles V (1515-1555).—The Netherlands, it will be recalled, were part of those possessions over which Charles V ruled by hereditary right. The character of his government in these provinces is well illustrated by his treatment of Ghent. This was one of the first cities of the Low Countries; its walls were nine miles in circuit; its population approached a quarter of a million.

The city incurred the displeasure of Charles in the following way: the Emperor having demanded a large subsidy from the Netherlands, the citizens of Ghent dared to refuse payment of their allotted portion of it, claiming that by their charter they could be taxed only by their own vote. Charles resolved to make an example of the rebellious city. Through the courtesy of Francis I he was enabled to reach the Netherlands by a quick journey from Spain across France, and at the head of a large army he entered without resistance the gates of the town (1540). Nineteen of the leaders of the movement were beheaded; all the public buildings and property belonging to the city as a corporation were confiscated; all its charters and privileges were annulled; the tax resisted was to be paid immediately, and with it an enormous fine; the right of self-government was taken from the city, and all its magistrates were henceforth to be appointed by the Spanish sovereign; and then the crowning indignity was reached when the imperial decree demanded that a certain number of the chief men of the city should appear before Charles "with halters about their necks," and upon their knees make humble confession of their treason and guilt.

The burghers were obliged to undergo this last humiliation, and to receive Charles's forgiveness for having presumed to maintain their time-honored liberties. Thus were the cities of the Netherlands taught how far it would be safe for them to go in exercising their municipal independence. The spirit of liberty was overawed. Despotism had succeeded in putting halters about the necks of others than the chief burghers of

Ghent. But the Netherlanders were not the men to wear halters very long or very patiently.

Charles was quite as much opposed to his Flemish subjects' claiming privileges in religious matters as in civil affairs. He saw that the principles of the Reformation were directly opposed to his schemes of despotic government; and, though he could not control the movement in Germany, he resolved to root out the heresy from his hereditary possessions of the Netherlands. By an imperial edict he threatened with death all persons presuming to read the Scriptures, or even to discuss religious topics. The Inquisition was introduced, and many perished at the stake and upon the scaffold, or were strangled, or buried alive.² But when Charles retired to the monastery at Yuste, the reformed doctrines were, notwithstanding all his efforts, far more widely spread and deeply rooted in the Netherlands than when he entered upon their extirpation by fire and sword.

117. Accession of Philip II. — In 1555, in the presence of an august and princely assembly at Brussels, and amidst the most imposing and dramatic ceremonies, Charles V abdicated the crown whose weight he could no longer bear, and placed it upon the head of his son Philip. What sort of man this son was, we have already learned (par. 61).

Philip remained in the Netherlands after his coronation four years, employing much of his time in devising means to root out the heresy of Protestantism. In 1559 he set sail for Spain, never to return. His arrival in the peninsula was celebrated by an *auto de fe* at Valladolid, festivities which ended in the burning of thirteen persons whom the officers of the Inquisition had condemned as heretics. As one of the victims, a young man of noble birth, was passing to the stake, he

² Charles's persecutions covered the years from 1521 to 1555. The number of martyrs during these years has been greatly exaggerated; it was put as high as one hundred thousand by the celebrated Dutch jurist, Grotius (died 1645). Blok believes the number actually suffering the death penalty was less than one thousand. See his *History of the People of the Netherlands*, vol. ii, p. 317.

demanding of the king, "How can you thus look on and permit me to be burned?" To which Philip replied, "I would carry the fagots to burn my own son, were he as perverse as you."

It was not delight at the sight of suffering that led Philip on his home-coming to be a spectator at these awful solemnities. He doubtless wished through his presence to give sanction to the work of the Holy Office, and to impress all with the fact that unity of religion in Spain, as the necessary basis of peace and unity in the state, was going to be maintained by him at any and every cost.

118. "Long live the Beggars!" — Upon his departure from the Netherlands, Philip intrusted the government to his half-sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, as regent.

Under the administration of Margaret (1559-1567) the persecution of the Protestants went on with renewed bitterness. Philip declared that "he would rather lose all his dominions and a hundred lives, were they all his own, than allow the least backsliding in religion, or in the service of God." Thousands fled the country, many of the fugitives finding a home in England. At last the nobles leagued together for the purpose of resisting the Inquisition and of securing reforms in the administration of the government. They resolved to petition the regent for a redress of grievances. When the duchess learned that the petitioners were about to wait upon her, she displayed great agitation. Thereupon one of her councilors exclaimed, "What, Madam, afraid of these beggars?"

The expression was carried to the nobles, who were assembled at a banquet. Straightway one of their number, the impetuous Count Brederode, suspended a beggar's wallet from his neck and, filling a wooden bowl with wine, proposed the toast, "Long live the beggars!" The name was tumultuously adopted and became the party designation of the patriot Netherlanders during their long struggle with the Spanish power.

119. The Iconoclasts (1566). — Affairs now rapidly verged towards violence and open revolt. The only reply of the government to the petition of the nobles for a mitigation of the severity of the edicts concerning heresy, was a decree termed the *Moderation*, which substituted hanging for burning in the case of condemned heretics. The Netherlanders rechristened the farcical edict the “Murderation.”

The pent-up indignation of the people at length burst forth in uncontrollable fury. They gathered in great mobs and, arming themselves with whatever implements they could first seize, proceeded to demolish every image they could find in the churches throughout the country. The rage of the insurgents was turned in this direction, because in their eyes these churches represented the hated Inquisition under which they were suffering. The images with which chapel and cathedral had become crowded were broken to pieces on the floor of the sacred edifices or were dragged through the streets amidst the execrations of the multitude. The monasteries, too, were sacked, their libraries burned, and the inmates driven from their cloisters.

The number of churches stripped and despoiled by this iconoclastic outbreak cannot be stated. It was certainly very large. In the province of Flanders alone there were four hundred sacred buildings visited by the mob and sacked. The tempest destroyed innumerable art treasures, which have been as sincerely mourned by the lovers of the beautiful as the burned rolls of the Alexandrian library have been lamented by the lovers of learning.

These image-breaking riots drove Margaret wild with terror, and threw Philip into perfect transports of rage. He tore his beard and exclaimed, “It shall cost them dear! I swear it by the soul of my father!”

For the time being, however, the reformers seemed to have secured their purpose. Under the stress of her fears Margaret signed an agreement with the nobles, abolishing the Inquisition

and according liberty of worship to all. But the triumph of the people was short. The zealot in the Escorial was preparing to make good the vow which he had sworn by the soul of his father.

120. The Duke of Alva and the Formation of the "Council of Blood" (1567). — The year following the outbreak of the Iconoclasts, Philip sent to the Netherlands a veteran Spanish army, "one of the most perfect engines of war ever seen in any age," headed by the Duke of Alva, a man after Philip's own heart, deceitful, fanatical, and merciless.

Alva was one of the ablest generals of the age, and the intelligence of his coming threw the provinces into a state of the greatest agitation and alarm. Those who could do so hastened to get out of the country. William the Silent, Prince of Orange,³ one of the leading noblemen of the Lowlands, after vain efforts to persuade others of his order to join him in open resistance to Alva, fled to Germany, where he began to gather an army of volunteers for the struggle which he now saw to be inevitable.

Egmont and Hoorn, Catholic noblemen ⁴ of high rank and great distinction, were treacherously seized, cast into prison, and soon afterwards beheaded. The duchess was relieved of the government, which was committed to the firmer hands of Alva, who, to aid him in the management of affairs, organized a most iniquitous tribunal, known in history as the "Council of Blood."

The Inquisition was now reëstablished, and a perfect reign of terror began. The number of Alva's victims during his short rule — he is said to have boasted that he had put to

³ He bore also the title of Count of Nassau. Nassau was a little German state, now included in Prussia. Orange was a petty principality on the Rhone, near Avignon. It came into the hands of the family of Nassau in 1530.

⁴ Many Catholics sympathized at first with the Protestants and acted with them, because they felt that Philip's acts were in direct violation of the chartered rights and privileges of the cities and provinces of the Netherlands. But Egmont and Hoorn had been guilty of no overt acts, and their fate was undeserved.

death over eighteen thousand — might almost persuade us that he had deliberately purposed the extermination of the people of the Netherlands.

Besides being subjected to this religious persecution, the Netherlanders were oppressed by iniquitous taxes, particularly by an imposition known as “the tenth penny,” a tax of ten per cent on all sales of commodities. This was ruinous to business, and drove the thrifty burghers almost to desperation.

121. William of Orange. — The eyes of all patriot Netherlanders were now turned to the Prince of Orange as their only deliverer. The prince, though never a zealous church partisan, was a deeply religious man, and believed himself called of Heaven to the work of rescuing his country from Spanish tyranny. Up to this time he had been a Catholic, having been brought up as a page in the household of the Emperor Charles V. He now embraced Protestantism; but both as a Catholic and as a Protestant he opposed persecution on account of religious belief.

The prince’s advocacy of toleration probably sprang as much from considerations of policy as from such convictions of the wrong of intolerance as we of to-day feel. Nevertheless, his attitude here is worthy of special notice, for it set him apart from the great majority of his contemporaries, and had a vast influence in shaping the policies and the destinies of the small yet great commonwealth of which he was to be the founder.

The prince’s surname, “The Silent,” had become attached to him merely on account of a celebrated incident in his early life;⁵ it did not correspond to any trait of his temperament or character. He was in truth very far from being taciturn; he was rather of a social disposition, and was an effective, if not eloquent, speaker and writer.

⁵ After the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (par. 63), William was for a while a hostage at the court of Henry II of France. One day while out on a hunt, he and Henry being left alone, the king, assuming the prince to be acquainted with

William of Orange, like our own Washington, was a statesman rather than a soldier; yet even as a leader in war he evinced talent of a high order. The Spanish armies were commanded successively by the most experienced and distinguished generals of Europe, — the Duke of Alva, Don John of Austria (the conqueror of the Moors and the hero of the great naval fight of Lepanto), and the Duke of Parma; but the prince coped ably with them all, and in the masterly service which he rendered his country, thus terribly assaulted, earned the title of “The Founder of Dutch Liberties.”

122. The Isolation of the Provinces. — Never did any people make a more heroic defense of their religious and civil liberties than did the Netherlands. The struggle lasted for more than a generation, — for over forty years. The Netherlands sustained the unequal contest almost single-handed; for, though they found sympathy among the Protestants of Germany, France, and England, they never received material assistance from any of these countries, excepting England, and it was not until late in the struggle that aid came from this source.

Elizabeth did, indeed, at first furnish the patriots with secret aid, and opened the ports of England to the “Beggars of the Sea”; but after a time the fear of involving herself in a war with Philip led her to withhold for a long period all contributions and favors.

As regards the German Protestants, they were too much divided among themselves to render efficient aid, and besides, being mostly Lutherans, they had little zeal for the cause of the Dutch Protestants, who were in the main Calvinists; and

the secret articles of the treaty just concluded between him and Philip, rehearsed all the details of the agreement between himself and the Spanish king, whereby they mutually promised each other aid and support in the eradication of heresy in their respective dominions. The prince listened to these astonishing revelations in perfect silence, and soon managed to make known the conspiracy to his friends in the Lowlands. It was from this incident that William acquired his incongruous surname.

just at the moment when the growing Protestant sentiment in France encouraged the Netherlanders to look confidently for help from the Huguenot party there, the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew extinguished forever all hope of succor from that quarter.

So the little revolted provinces were left to carry on practically unaided, as best they might, a contest with the most powerful monarch of Christendom.

The details of this memorable struggle we must, of course, leave unnoticed. Concerning the capture of Briel, the sack of Haarlem, and the relief of Leyden, we shall, however, speak very briefly, in order to illustrate the nature of the war and the ferocity and stubbornness with which it was waged and maintained.

123. The Capture of Briel (1572); the Beginning of the Sea Power of the Dutch. — It was the nature of their country, half land, half water, which enabled the Dutch to make such a prolonged and finally successful resistance to the power of Spain. The Dutch triumphed because the sea helped them. The influence that this element was to exert upon the struggle was foreshadowed early in the conflict by a celebrated exploit of Dutch seamen.

The circumstances of this exploit were these. Almost at the outset of the war the Prince of Orange had commissioned some sailors as privateers to prey upon Spanish ships and to harass the coast towns which favored the enemy. Soon the sea was swarming with these privateers, — “Water Beggars,” as they were called, — who, out of reach of restraint, became veritable freebooters, and revived the days and emulated the deeds of the Saxon corsairs who a thousand years before had put out from these same or neighboring creeks and lagoons.

One day a squadron of twenty or more ships of these buccaneers, expelled from English harbors, made a descent upon the port of Briel (or Brill) in Holland, seized the place, and held it

for the Prince of Orange. It was a small affair in itself, somewhat like the affair at Lexington in the American Revolution, but it stirred wonderfully the people of the Lowlands. Straightway other places opened their gates to the Water Beggars, and thus the rebellion speedily gained a secure basis for regular naval operations. It was the real beginning of the great sea power of the future Dutch Republic, which for two hundred years was to be a potent force in history.

124. The Siege and Sack of Haarlem (1572-1573).— It was this same year that witnessed the seizure of Briel that marked the beginning of the memorable siege of Haarlem.

Haarlem was one of the largest cities of the Netherlands. It stood upon a narrow neck of land, only ten miles from Amsterdam. The siege of this place by the Spaniards was one of the most memorable incidents of the war. Among its defenders was a body of three hundred women, who fought on the walls and before the gates of the city with a fierceness which made real the tales of the Amazons. Sortie and assault followed each other in uninterrupted succession during all the winter of 1572-1573. Prisoners were slaughtered on both sides simply to give point to a jest.⁶

Finally, after the winter and spring had been consumed in the operations of the siege, the city was forced to surrender. Notwithstanding that the citizens had been promised their lives, a horrible massacre began immediately upon the entrance of the Spanish soldiers within the walls of the city, which lasted until more than two thousand of the defenders of the place had been murdered.

⁶ A relief party being scattered and its leader taken prisoner, "the Spaniards cut off his head and threw it over the walls into the city, with this inscription: 'This is the head of Captain de Koning, who is on his way with reënforcements for the good city of Haarlem.' The citizens retorted with a practical jest, which was still more barbarous. They cut off the heads of eleven prisoners, and put them in a barrel, which they threw into the Spanish camp. A label upon the barrel contained these words: 'Deliver these ten heads to Duke Alva in payment of his ten-penny tax, with one additional head for interest.'" — MOTLEY'S *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. ii, p. 435.

The disaster was a heavy blow to the hopes of the Netherlanders; the undaunted spirit of the Prince of Orange alone kept them from sinking into utter despondency. Urged by his disheartened adherents to form an alliance with some powerful protector, he replied, "We have made a treaty with the Supreme Potentate of potentates, and are wholly assured that we and all those who trust to Him shall be relieved by His powerful and mighty hand."⁷

125. The Siege and Relief of Leyden (1573-1574). — Alva had succeeded in reducing Haarlem, but the stubborn resistance which he met there had convinced him that the Netherlanders could not be subdued by force; and this conviction, together with the consciousness that he was abhorred by the people whom he pretended to rule, led him to ask Philip to relieve him of the government of the provinces. Requesens, a man just the opposite in disposition of Alva, was appointed in his place (1573). The war was still to be carried on, but more moderate and conciliatory measures were to be adopted.

The most important event that characterized the short administration of Requesens was the siege of Leyden. The tale of the heroic defense and relief of this place, as told by the historian Motley, is one of the classics of historical narration.

The beautiful city of Leyden was situated in the midst of a broad and level expanse of orchards and gardens. The siege of the place was begun by Alva, and, after a short interruption, continued by Requesens.

The Prince of Orange was untiring in his efforts to throw relief into the beleaguered city, and by repeated messages encouraged the inhabitants to a brave resistance. He entreated them not to forget that "they were not to contend for themselves alone; but that the fate of their countrymen and of unborn generations would, in all human probability, depend on the issue about to be tried. Eternal glory would be their

⁷ Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands*, vol. iii, p. 72.

portion if they manifested a courage worthy of their race, and of the sacred cause of religion and liberty."

In the month of June provisions began to fail the besieged. The prince, despairing of getting relief to the city in any other way, resolved to cut the dikes and let the water in upon the land. The growing crops would of course be ruined ; but the floods would force the Spanish to raise the siege, or at least would enable relief ships to approach the starving city.

The resolve was straightway executed. The dikes were cut, and the waters rushed over the land. A relief fleet, manned by veteran sailors, now advanced without much difficulty to within five miles of Leyden, where it was stopped by the first of a series of dikes intervening between it and the city.

The rescuing party cleared one after another of these dikes of its Spanish defenders, then cut the rampart, and, as the waters rushed through the breach, guided their ships through the gap, and pushed them on over the submerged fields. As they advanced, the waters finally became too shallow to float the vessels of the fleet, and it seemed as though all hope of carrying the ocean to the city must be abandoned. But the winds were propitious. They rose and blew strongly from the northwest, and the waves were driven up the rivers and on through the broken dikes. But scarcely were the vessels lifted up by the rising tide, before the wind suddenly changed, and again the shallowing waters prevented farther progress of the fleet.

Within the city the starving inhabitants were alternating between hope and fear. Food had entirely failed. The streets were filled with the dead and dying. A crowd of despairing wretches surrounded the burgomaster, and entreated him to secure them relief by surrendering to the Spaniards. The reply of the inflexible old magistrate is memorable. "Here is my sword," said he ; "plunge it into my breast, and divide my flesh among you, but expect no surrender so long as I

remain alive." These stout words reanimated the discouraged people, and they vowed to defend their city and their liberties as long as life should last.

Once more the wind came to the rescue of the famishing city. The waters rose ; the last dike was cut ; the Spaniards were forced to raise the siege ; and the fleet at last entered the canals of the city with bread for the starving inhabitants.

Mindful of the source whence deliverance had come, the entire remaining population of the place now proceeded to the cathedral, and there, along with their rescuers, offered up fervent thanksgiving to Him who commands the winds and the waves.

The citizens of Leyden, through their heroic defense of their city, had preserved not only their own freedom, but the liberties of their country ; and that country was now not slow to acknowledge its debt of gratitude. Besides conferring certain commercial privileges on the city, the states of Holland and Zealand made provision for the founding and endowment of a university within its limits. Thus came into existence the University of Leyden, one of the most distinguished institutions of learning in Europe at the present day.

126. The Spanish Fury ; the Pacification of Ghent (1576).—Having now gained some idea of the nature of the struggle, we must hurry on to the issue of the matter. In so doing we shall pass unnoticed many sieges and battles, negotiations and treaties.

Requesens died in 1576. His death was marked by a revolt of the Spanish soldiers, on account of their not receiving their pay, the costly war having drained Philip's treasury. The mutinous army marched through the land, pillaging city after city, and paying themselves with the spoils. The beautiful city of Antwerp was ruined. The horrible massacre of its inhabitants, and the fiendish atrocities committed by the frenzied soldiers, caused the awful outbreak to be called the "Spanish Fury."

The terrible state of affairs led to an alliance between Holland and Zealand and the other fifteen provinces of the Netherlands, known in history as the Pacification of Ghent (1576). The resistance to the Spanish crown had thus far been carried on without concerted action among the several states, the Prince of Orange having hitherto found it impossible to bring the different provinces to agree to any plan of general defense. But the awful experiences of the Spanish Fury taught the necessity of union, and led all the seventeen provinces solemnly to agree to unite in driving the Spaniards from the Netherlands, and in securing full liberty for all in matters of faith and worship. William of Orange, with the title of Stadtholder, was placed at the head of the union. It was mainly the strong Catholic sentiment in the southern provinces that had prevented such a union and pacification long before.

127. Don John of Austria ; the Union of Utrecht (1579).— Upon the death of Requesens, Don John of Austria, the hero-victor of Lepanto, was appointed by Philip to the government of the revolted provinces. Before he could reach the Netherlands, however, William of Orange had succeeded in effecting the union of the provinces, and so unbroken now was the front which they presented in resistance to the Spaniards, that John was obliged to enter the country in disguise. But by treachery and dissimulation, the use of which means had been enjoined upon him by Philip, who told him to “promise everything but perform nothing,” the regent succeeded in getting possession of several fortresses and towns, and thus securing a base for operations. He had scarcely entered upon his plan for subjugating the rebellious provinces, when, after a great victory gained over the revolutionary forces at Gembloux, he was carried off by a sudden illness, in the thirty-first year of his age (1578). In the death of John of Austria, Philip lost a general of great reputation and unbounded popularity ; but his place was immediately filled by another commander of even more distinguished ability, Prince Alexander of Parma (1578–1592).

The war now went on with increased vigor, fortune, with many vacillations, inclining to the side of the Spaniards. Disaffection arose among the Netherlands, the outcome of which was the separation of the northern and southern provinces. The seven Protestant states of the North,⁸ the chief of which were Holland and Zealand, by the Treaty of Utrecht (1579), drew together in a permanent confederation, known as the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, with the Prince of Orange as stadtholder. In this league was laid the foundation of the renowned Dutch Republic.

Fortunate would it have been for the Netherlands could all of the states at this time have been brought to act in concert. Under the leadership of the Prince of Orange, the seventeen provinces might have been consolidated into a powerful nation, that might now be reckoned among the great powers of Europe. However, it was destined to be otherwise. The ten Catholic provinces of the South, although they continued their contest with Philip a little longer, ultimately submitted to Spanish tyranny, and left to their sister states of the North the labor and the honor of carrying on the heroic struggle in behalf of civil and religious freedom. The southern districts of these recreant provinces were eventually absorbed by France, while the remainder, after varied fortunes amidst the revolutions and dynastic changes of the European states, finally became the present kingdom of Belgium. With their history we shall have no further concern at present, but turn now to follow the fortunes of the rising republic of the North.

128. The "Ban" and the "Apology" (1580-1581).—William of Orange was, of course, the animating spirit of the confederacy formed by the Treaty of Utrecht. In the eyes of Philip and his viceroys he appeared the sole obstacle in the way of the pacification of the provinces and their return to civil and ecclesiastical obedience. In vain had Philip sent

⁸ Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Groningen, Friesland, and Overijssel

against him the ablest and most distinguished commanders of the age ; in vain had he endeavored to detach him from the cause of his country by magnificent bribes of titles, offices, and fortune : " Not for lands nor for life, for wife nor for children," was the prince's reply to these offers, " would I mix in my cup a single drop of the poison of treason."

Philip now resolved to employ public assassination ⁹ for the removal of the invincible general and the incorruptible patriot. He published a ban against the prince, declaring him an outlaw, and " the chief disturber of all Christendom and especially of these Netherlands," and offering any one who would deliver him into his hands " dead or alive," pardon for any crime he might have committed, a title of nobility, and twenty-five thousand crowns in gold or in lands.

The prince responded to the infamous edict by a remarkable paper entitled " The Apology of the Prince of Orange," the most terrible arraignment of tyranny that was ever penned. He denied to Philip the title of King of the Netherlands, declaring that, by the ancient constitution of the provinces, he had no right to exercise any authority over them, save that of duke or count, and even this right he declared he had utterly forfeited by his violation of the most sacred obligations, and by the unendurable oppression and wholesale murder of his subjects ; he laid bare all the deformities of Philip's private and public life ; he " scorned and ridiculed the king's attempt

⁹ We use the expression *public assassination* in order to indicate a change in Philip's methods. He had all along tried to get rid of the prince by private or secret assassination. Now his edict of outlawry makes the proposed assassination avowedly a public or governmental affair. To comprehend this proceeding we must bear in mind that in the sixteenth century assassination was not looked upon with that utter abhorrence with which we rightly regard it ; in the language of the historian Lingard, it was then " one of the recognized weapons of constituted power." In the petty states of Italy it was a weapon resorted to almost universally, and seemingly without any compunctions of conscience, and even in the North many of the rulers at one time and another had recourse to it. (Cf. pars. 105, 146, and 159.) The significance of all this is that the world is advancing in morality. The conscience of to-day is a truer and more enlightened conscience than the conscience of the sixteenth century.

to frighten him with a ban, inquiring if he supposed the rebel ignorant of the various bargains which had frequently been made before with cutthroats and poisoners to take away his life"; and then he closed with an appeal to his countrymen, resigning himself to death or to exile, if thereby he might secure their deliverance from the tyranny that oppressed them.

The "Apology" was scattered throughout Europe, and everywhere produced a profound impression. The friends of the prince, while admiring his boldness, were filled with alarm for his safety. Their apprehensions, as the issue shows, were not unfounded.

129. The Declaration of Independence (July 26, 1581). — The United Provinces had not yet formally renounced their allegiance to the Spanish crown. They now deposed Philip as their sovereign, broke in pieces his seal, and put forth to the world their memorable Declaration of Independence, a document as sacred to the Dutch as the Declaration of 1776 is to Americans.

The preamble contains these words: "Whereas God did not create the people slaves to their prince, to obey his commands, whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects, to govern them according to equity, to love and support them as a father his children or a shepherd his flock, and even at the hazard of life to defend and preserve them; [therefore] when he does not behave thus, but, on the contrary, oppresses them, seeking opportunities to infringe their ancient customs and privileges, exacting from them slavish compliance, then he is no longer a prince, but a tyrant, and the subjects . . . may not only disallow his authority, but legally proceed to the choice of another prince for their defense."¹⁰

This language was a wholly new dialect to the ears of Philip and of princes like him. They had never heard anything like it before uttered in such tones by a whole people. But it was

¹⁰ See "Sources" at end of chapter.

a language destined to spread wonderfully and to become very common. We shall hear it often enough a little later in the Era of the Revolution. It will become familiar speech in England, in America, in France — almost everywhere.¹¹

130. Assassination of the Prince of Orange. — “The Ban soon bore fruit.” Upon the 10th day of July, 1584, after five previous unsuccessful attempts had been made upon his life, the Prince of Orange was fatally shot by an assassin named Balthasar Gérard. His dying words, sacredly cherished by his countrymen, were, “O God, have pity on this poor people !” Philip approved the murder as “an exploit of supreme value to Christendom.” The murderer was put to death with hideous torture, but his heirs received the promised reward, being endowed with certain of the estates of the prince, and honored by elevation to the rank of the Spanish nobility.

The character of William the Silent is one of the most admirable portrayed in all history. His steadfast and unselfish devotion to the cause of his country deservedly won for him the love of all classes. His people fondly called him “Father William.” “As long as he lived,” writes Motley, “he was the guiding star of a whole brave nation ; and when he died, the little children cried in the streets.”

131. Prince Maurice ; Sir Philip Sidney. — Severe as was the blow sustained by the Dutch patriots in the death of the Prince of Orange, they did not lose heart, but continued the struggle with the most admirable courage and steadfastness. Prince Maurice, a mere youth of seventeen years, the second son of William, was chosen stadtholder in his place, and he proved himself a worthy son of the great chief and patriot.

The war now proceeded with unabated fury. The southern provinces were, for the most part, in the hands of the Spaniards, while the revolutionists held control of the northern

¹¹ It has been asserted that the Declaration had an influence in shaping the English Declaration of Rights in 1689 and the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 ; but there is no evidence that in either of these cases the Dutch Declaration was either known or consulted, or that it had the slightest influence.

states; some of the cities and fortresses of these latter provinces, however, were in the possession of the Spaniards.

Substantial aid from the English now came to the struggling Hollanders. Queen Elizabeth, alarmed by the murder of the Prince of Orange, — for she well knew that hired agents of the king of Spain watched likewise for her life, — openly espoused the cause of the Dutch.

Among the English knights who led the British forces sent into the Netherlands was the gallant Sir Philip Sidney, the “flower of chivalry.” At the siege of Zütphen (1586) he received a mortal wound. A little incident that occurred as he rode from the field, suffering from his terrible hurt, is always told as a memorial of the gentle knight. A cup of water having been brought him, he was about to lift it to his lips, when his hand was arrested by the longing glance of a wounded soldier who chanced at that moment to be carried past. “Give it to him,” said the fainting knight; “his necessity is greater than mine.”

132. Progress of the War; the Truce of 1609. — The circle of war grew more and more extended. France as well as England became involved, both fighting against Philip, who was now laying claims to the crowns of both these countries. The struggle was maintained on land and on sea, in the Old World and in the New. To tell of the battles on land lost and won, of the naval combats on almost every sea beneath the skies, would be a story without end. The destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 marked the turning point of the struggle, yet not the end of it. Philip II died in 1598, but the losing fight was carried on by his successor, Philip III.

Europe finally grew weary of the seemingly interminable struggle,¹² and the Spanish commanders becoming convinced

¹² In 1598 peace was made between Spain and France (par. 149, note 11), and then in 1604 between Spain and England. One of the most noteworthy events of the later period of the war was the long and finally successful siege by the Spaniards of Ostend, “the Troy of modern history.”

that it was impossible to reduce the Dutch rebels to obedience by force of arms, negotiations were entered into, and by the celebrated Truce of 1609, which was brought about largely through the mediation and influence of Henry IV of France, comparative peace was secured to Christendom.



This truce was in reality an acknowledgment by Spain of the independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, although the Spanish king was so unwilling to admit the fact of his inability to reduce the rebel states to submission that the treaty was termed simply "a truce for twelve years."¹³

¹³ During this truce period (1609-1621) the Dutch Republic was filled with discord through the bitter quarrels of religious and political parties within the little state. The most eminent of the Dutch statesmen of the period was John

Spain did not formally acknowledge their independence until forty years afterwards, in the Peace of Westphalia, at the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648).

Thus ended, after a continuance of over forty years, one of the most memorable contests of which history tells, one of the most heroic struggles men ever maintained against ecclesiastical and civil despotism. The memories of these great days, handed down to later generations of Netherlanders, formed a rich and ennobling heritage which, we may believe, entered as an element of strength into the Dutch character; for "such traditions," as the historian Häusser truly says, "keep a nation upright for centuries."

133. Development of the United Provinces during the War.—One of the most remarkable features of the war for Dutch independence was the vast expansion of the trade and commerce of the revolted provinces, and their astonishing growth in population, wealth, and resources, while carrying on the bitter and protracted struggle. The contrast in this respect between the United Provinces of the north and the "obedient provinces," as they were called, of the south, is a most striking and instructive commentary on the advantages of freedom over despotism. The southern provinces at the end of the war presented a scene of almost utter ruin: grass grew in the streets of the once crowded commercial cities, the most enterprising of the traders and artisans having sought homes in the free cities of the north, or migrated to other countries. On the other hand, the "rebel provinces," particularly Holland and Zealand, had increased so rapidly in population, notwithstanding the waste of war, that at the end of the struggle the number of inhabitants crowded on that little patch of sea bottom and morass constituting the Dutch Republic, was

of Barneveld (1549?–1619). See his *Life* by Motley. At the termination of the Truce the war was renewed between Spain and the Republic. In the long and serious campaigns which followed, the military genius of Maurice and the statesmanship of Frederick Henry, the youngest son of William the Silent, were abundantly manifested.

equal to about half the population of England at that time ; that is to say, to three or four millions.

And in a larger sense than was ever true before this period, the Dutch cities had become the workshops and warehouses of the world. Products for distribution and manufacture from every land beneath the sun — from all parts of Europe, from Africa, Asia, and the Americas — were heaped upon their wharves. Their commerce had so expanded that more than one hundred thousand of their citizens found a home upon the sea. And these Dutch sailors were by far the boldest and the most skillful that navigated the seas. A Netherland ship would sail to the East Indies and back while a Spanish vessel was making the voyage one way. Nearly one thousand ships were engaged in the sole industry of the herring fishery, which, we are assured, yielded more gold to the little republic than all the mines of the New World poured into the coffers of the king of Spain.

It was during this period that the Dutch began the work of replacing the Portuguese in the settlements and trading posts in the East Indies (par. 7), and of laying in the rich tropic islands of those seas the basis of a splendid trade empire. In this pioneer colonial work the noted Dutch East India Company — an association of merchants chartered by the States-General and given a monopoly of trade in the East — played some such rôle as the celebrated English company of the same name played in the building up of the English empire in India. In 1609, the very year that marked the beginning of the Truce, Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, while ostensibly in quest of a northwest passage to the Indies, ascended the river which now bears his name, and opened the history of the New Netherlands in America.¹⁴

¹⁴ "Little did Hudson think that while he was navigating the waters named for him, Champlain, another explorer, was only a few miles distant on the shores of the lake now bearing his name [see par. 150], and that, a century and a half

The intellectual progress of the people kept pace with their material advance. Throughout the United Provinces it was rare to meet a person who could not both read and write. Colleges and universities were established in all the leading cities, while common schools were set up everywhere in town and country. In the natural and mechanical sciences, particularly in the departments of hydrostatics and hydraulics, — sciences which were forced upon the attention of the Netherlanders by the necessities of their situation, just as geometry was forced upon that of the ancient Egyptians, — the United Provinces, during the latter part of the sixteenth and the first portion of the seventeenth century, gave birth to some of the most distinguished scholars of Europe.

134. Influence upon both the Religious and the Political Revolution of the Establishment of the Dutch Republic.—The successful issue of the revolt in the Netherlands meant much for the cause of the reformers. The Protestant Lowlands formed a sort of strategic point in the great fight between Catholicism and Protestantism. The loss of this ground might have proved fatal to the Protestant cause. Its maintenance by the forces of the reformers set limits to the Catholic reaction.

The establishment of the Dutch Republic had also great significance for the Political Revolution. In the seventeenth century it was Holland that was the foremost champion of the cause of political freedom against Bourbon despotism. It was a worthy descendant of the first Prince William of Orange who, at one of the most critical moments of English history, when Englishmen were struggling doubtfully against Stuart tyranny, came to their help, and rescued English liberties from the peril in which they lay (par. 230).

later, the great battle for supremacy on this continent between France and England — between the old religion and the new — would be fiercely waged in those peaceful regions." — WINSOR'S *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv, p. 397.

Sources and Source Material. — *Old South Leaflets*, No 72, "The Dutch Declaration of Independence"; No. 69, "The Description of the New Netherlands." See also Stirling-Maxwell's *Don John of Austria*, vol. ii, Appendix, for letters written in the Netherlands by Don John of Austria. Ruth Putnam's *William the Silent* also contains much useful source material in the form of letters and official documents.

Secondary Works. — MOTLEY (J. L.), ***The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 3 vols., and *History of the United Netherlands*, 4 vols. The earlier work ends with the death of William the Silent, the latter carries the narrative on to the Truce of 1609. These histories by Motley are classical, but they lack in judicial spirit. They should be read in connection with BLOK (P. J.), ***History of the People of the Netherlands*. Only three volumes of the English translation of this important work by an eminent Dutch historian have as yet (1902) appeared. These bring the narrative down to 1621. YOUNG (A.), *History of the Netherlands* (London, 1884). A good one-volume history. HARRISON (F.), *William the Silent* (Foreign Statesmen). PUTNAM (R.), *William the Silent* (New York, 1895), 2 vols. "The story of his life as told from his own letters, from those of his friends and enemies, and from official documents." STIRLING-MAXWELL (W.), *Don John of Austria*, 2 vols. For New Netherlands, consult WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, chap. viii; and FISKE, ***The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, 2 vols. See also bibliography for Chapter II.

CHAPTER V

THE HUGUENOT WARS IN FRANCE (1562-1629)

135. The Renaissance in France. — The forerunner of the Reformation in France, as almost everywhere else, was the Renaissance. The Italian wars, begun by Charles VIII¹ and kept up by his immediate successors, Louis XII, Francis I, and Henry II, by bringing the French into contact with the new intellectual life of the South, had the effect of spreading beyond the Alps the contagious enthusiasm for classical learning and art that had seized upon the Italians. Francis was so zealous a promoter of the intellectual revival that he earned the title of "Father of Letters and Arts." "France became an Italy more Italian than Italy itself." Under the influence of the movement, architecture was transformed. On every side the gloomy feudal strongholds gave place to splendid chateaux, while the old royal residences were replaced by palaces magnificent and sumptuous beyond anything Northern Europe had ever seen before.

But it is the changed tone of French literature that we would especially note. As the representative of its freer and more skeptical spirit, stands the famous Rabelais (1495-1553), a writer of such power and originality that his works are among the few prose productions of the sixteenth century that command the attention of the reader of the present day. A spirit of skepticism pervades all his writings. His most noted work

¹ Charles VIII (1483-1498) was a sovereign of the Valois branch of the Capetian family (see *The Middle Ages*, p. 396). The Valois kings whose reigns cover the first part of the period treated in the present chapter were Louis XII (1498-1515), Francis I (1515-1547), Henry II (1547-1559), Francis II (1559-1560), Charles IX (1560-1574), Henry III (1574-1589). The successor of Henry III — Henry IV — was the first of the Bourbons.

is a sort of political romance, in which he attacks particularly the ecclesiastics with the keenest satire and raillery. Thus the general tendency of the intellectual revival was antagonistic to the mediæval Church. Professor Baird, in his *Rise of the Huguenots*, makes the progress of letters, quickening intelligence, and widening information, one of the chief causes of the rapid spread in France of the doctrines of the reformers.²

136. The Reformation in France. — In its inception, the reform in France was a national, spontaneous movement. Before Luther posted his ninety-five theses at Wittenberg, there had appeared in the University of Paris and elsewhere in France men who from the study of the Scriptures had come to entertain opinions very like those of the German reformer.³ The movement thus begun received a fresh impulse from the uprising in Germany under Luther. But Luther could not become the acknowledged leader of the Reformation in France. He was too intensely German. The movement here came under the influence of John Calvin (1509–1564), who, forced by persecution, as has been told already, to flee from France, found a refuge in Geneva, and made that city the citadel and propagating center of French Protestantism.

137. The Reformed Faith under Francis I and Henry II. — Francis I (1515–1547) was first the friend and then the persecutor of his Protestant subjects. His most bitter persecutions — those against the Waldenses of Provence (par. 55) — were carried on, as we have seen, during the latter part of his reign, his hands then being free from his wars with the Emperor Charles V.

Henry II (1547–1559), son and successor of Francis, persecuted cruelly the adherents of the new faith. It was his persecution of the Protestants — a persecution largely instigated

² Vol. i, p. 400. See also Sir James Stephen, *Lectures on the History of France*, chaps. xv and xvi.

³ The chief of the forerunners of the Reformation in France was Jacques Lefèvre (d. 1537).

by his infamous mistress, Diane de Poitiers — that sowed the seed of those long and woeful religious wars which he left as a terrible legacy to his three feeble sons, Francis, Charles, and Henry, who followed him in succession upon the throne.

Notwithstanding the persecutions of Francis I and Henry II, the reformed faith gained ground rapidly in France during their reigns, so that by the time of Henry's death the followers of the reformed creed numbered probably between one and two millions. The new doctrines had found adherents especially among the lesser nobility and the burgher class, and had struck deep root in the south, — the region of the old Albigenian heresy.

138. Francis II (1559–1560). — Francis II was a mentally and physically weak boy of sixteen years. When he came to the throne, he had just been married to the beautiful and fascinating Mary Stuart of Scotland. He was upon the throne, but the power behind the throne was his mother, Catherine de' Medici, and the powerful chiefs of the family of the Guises. The boy king may be passed in silence, but respecting these other persons a word must be said.

139. Catherine de' Medici and the Guises. — Catherine, the queen mother, was an Italian. In her the principles laid down by Machiavelli as those which should guide a prince in the conduct of public affairs⁴ were incarnate. She seems to have been almost or quite destitute of religious convictions of any kind. She was determined to rule, and this she did by holding the balance of power between the two religious parties. When it suited her purpose, she favored the Protestants; and when it suited her purpose better, she favored the Catholics. It is asserted that one agency of her rule was a company of beautiful and vivacious young women, the witchery of whose charms she employed to enslave or to ruin the men whom she wished to use or to get out of the way. Certain it is that through her counsels and her policies she contributed largely

⁴ See *The Middle Ages*, par. 382.

to make France wretched through the three successive reigns of her sons, and to bring her house to its miserable end.

At the head of the family of the Guises stood Francis, Duke of Guise, a famous commander, who had gained great credit and popularity among his countrymen by many military exploits, especially by his capture of Calais from the English in the recent Spanish wars (par. 100). By his side stood a younger brother, Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine. Both of these men were zealous Catholics. The Duke aspired to be king of France, the Cardinal to be Pope. Mary Stuart, the young queen, was their niece, and through her they ruled the boy king. Their relation to the government has been likened to that sustained by the Mayors of the Palace in Merovingian times.⁵

140. The Bourbon Princes and Admiral Coligny. — Opposed to the Guises were the Bourbon princes, Antony, King of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé, who could claim descent from St. Louis, and who, next after the brothers of Francis II, were heirs to the French throne. Unfortunately, Antony was not a man of deep and earnest convictions; but he at first sided with the Protestants because it was only through forming an alliance with them that he could carry on his opposition to the Guises. Indeed, every one of the princes of the family (save the Louis just mentioned) to whom the Protestants intrusted their cause during the course of the religious wars, either through fear or policy betrayed or abjured the faith which he had at one time espoused.

A man of very different character was Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, “the military hero of the French Reformation.” He had early in life embraced the doctrines of the reformers, and remained to the last the trusted and consistent, though ill-starred, champion of the Protestants. His is the most heroic figure that emerges from the unutterable confusion of the times. In close sympathy with the Bourbon princes and Admiral Coligny were a great part of the nobility of France.

⁵ See *The Middle Ages*, par. 20.

141. The Conspiracy of Amboise (1560).—The foregoing notice of parties and their chiefs will suffice to render intelligible the events which we now have to narrate. The harsh measures adopted against the reformers by Francis II, who was wholly under the influence of the Guises, led the chiefs of the persecuted party to lay a plan for wresting the government from the hands of these “new Mayors of the Palace.” The Guises were to be arrested and imprisoned, and the charge of the young king given to the Prince of Condé. The plot was revealed to the Guises, and was avenged by fresh slaughters of the Huguenots.⁶ More than a thousand supposed participators in the conspiracy were executed with every refinement of cruelty, the burnings and hangings being frequently arranged as after-dinner entertainments for the court ladies. Francis and his young queen were often spectators of these inhuman exhibitions.

Shortly after this the young king died, and this event probably was all that saved the lives of Condé and his brother. The widowed queen soon went to Scotland, where we have met her, and followed her to her tragic end on the block in England (par. 105).

Francis's brother Charles now came to the throne as Charles IX. He was only ten years of age, so the queen-mother assumed the government in his name. Pursuing her favorite maxim to rule by setting one party as a counterpoise to the other, she now gave the Bourbon princes a place in the government, and also by royal edict granted the Huguenots a limited toleration and forbade their further persecution (1562). Among other concessions they were given permission to hold meetings for worship, provided they gathered unarmed and outside of town walls.

⁶ It was at this time that the name *Huguenots* arose. The word is probably a corruption of the German *Eidgenossen*, — meaning “oath-comrades,” — the regular name of the Swiss for themselves. To Frenchmen the word meant simply “Swiss.” It seems to have come in use as the designation of the French heretics at a time when they had sought refuge from persecution in Switzerland, and hence were stigmatized by their fellow-Frenchmen as “Swiss.”

142. The Massacre of Vassy (1562).— These concessions in favor of the Huguenots angered the Catholic chiefs, particularly the Guises; and it was the bold violation by the duke of the edict of toleration that finally caused the growing animosities of the two parties to break out in civil war. While passing through the country with a body of armed attendants, he found, at a small place called Vassy, a company of Huguenots assembled in a barn for worship. His retainers first insulted and then attacked them, killing about forty of the company and wounding many more.

The Huguenots, through their leaders, demanded of the king that the perpetrators of the outrage be punished. When Antony of Bourbon — the inconstant Antony, won by political bribes, had gone over to the Catholic side — attempted to lay the blame upon the Huguenots, and declared that he should uphold the Duke of Guise, Theodore Beza, the speaker for the persecuted sect, made this memorable utterance: “Sire, it is true that it is the lot of the Church of God, in the name of which I speak, to endure blows, and not to give them; but also may it please you to remember that it is *an anvil that has worn out many hammers.*”

But there were those among the Huguenots who believed that the time for unresisting martyrdom had passed, and that the time had come for them to give as well as to receive blows. Accordingly, under the lead of Admiral Coligny and the Prince of Condé, the Huguenots now rose throughout France. Philip II of Spain sent an army to aid the Catholics, while Elizabeth of England extended help to the Huguenots.

143. The Character of the War.— For eight years⁷ the country was now kept in a perfect turmoil. Both parties displayed a ferocity of disposition more befitting pagans than Christians. But it should be borne in mind that many on both sides were actuated by political interests and personal

⁷ What are usually designated as the First, Second, and Third Wars were really one. The table below exhibits the wars of the entire period of which we

ambition, rather than by religious conviction, knowing little and caring less about the distinctions in the creeds for which they were ostensibly fighting. The rival princely houses of which we have spoken and their respective adherents exploited the situation,—that is to say, they took advantage of the religious situation to further their own ends. It is this mixing of political ambitions and religious passions that lends such a wretched aspect to the struggle. If one could imagine the Wars of the Roses in England carried on in the midst of the ferment of the Reformation, imagine the houses of York and Lancaster availing themselves of Protestant and Catholic prejudice and fanaticism, one might thereby get some faint idea of what was going on in France during the so-called “Religious Wars.”

Sieges, battles, and truces followed one another in rapid and confusing succession. The “massacre of images” on the part of the Huguenots was avenged by the massacre of heretics on the part of the Catholics. Conspiracies, treacheries, and assassinations help to fill up the dreary records of the period. The King of Navarre fell in battle (1562); Francis, second Duke of Guise, was assassinated (1563); the Prince of Condé was treacherously murdered (1569).

are treating. Some make the religious wars proper end with the Edict of Nantes (1598); others, with the fall of La Rochelle (1628).

First War (ended by Peace of Amboise)	1562-1563
Second War (ended by Peace of Longjumeau)	1567-1568
Third War (ended by Peace of Saint-Germain)	1568-1570
Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day, Aug. 24	1572
Fourth War (ended by the Edict of Boulogne)	1572-1573
Fifth War (ended by Peace of Monsieur)	1574-1576
Sixth War (ended by Peace of Bergerac)	1577
Seventh War (ended by Treaty of Fleix)	1580
Eighth War (War of the Three Henrys)	1585-1589
Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, secures the throne	1589
Ninth War	1589-1598
Edict of Nantes	1598
Siege and fall of La Rochelle	1627-1628

By the fall of La Rochelle the political power of the Huguenots was completely prostrated.

144. The Treaty of Saint-Germain (1570). — The Treaty of Saint-Germain brought a short and, as it proved, delusive peace. The terms of the treaty were very favorable to the Huguenots. They received four towns, among which was La Rochelle, the stronghold of the Huguenot faith, which they might garrison and hold temporarily as places of safety and as pledges of good faith.

To cement the treaty, Catherine de' Medici now proposed that the Princess Margaret, the sister of Charles IX, should be given in marriage to Henry of Bourbon, the young King of Navarre. The announcement of the proposed alliance caused great rejoicing among Catholics and Protestants alike, and the chiefs of both parties crowded to Paris to attend the wedding, which took place on the 18th of August, 1572.

145. The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day (Aug. 24, 1572). — Before the festivities which followed the nuptial ceremonies were over, the world was shocked by one of the most awful crimes recorded by history, — the massacre of the Huguenots in Paris on Saint Bartholomew's Day.

The circumstances which led to this fearful tragedy were as follows: Among the Protestant nobles who came up to Paris to attend the wedding was Admiral Coligny. The admiral had great influence over the young king, and this influence he used to draw him away from the queen mother and the Guises.⁸ Fearing the loss of her influence over her son, Catherine resolved upon the death of the admiral. The attempt miscarried, Coligny receiving only a slight wound from the assassin's ball.

The Huguenots rallied about their wounded chief with loud threats of revenge. Catherine, driven on by insane fear, now determined upon the death of all the Huguenots in Paris as

⁸ Coligny had large and patriotic plans. He would have French Catholics and Protestants unite against Spain and lend help to the Dutch rebels. He proposed further to dispute the possession of America with the Spaniards. He himself had already promoted an expedition whose aim was to establish a French colony in Brazil (1555), and another which attempted to found a settlement in Florida (1562). Both undertakings had issued disastrously.

the only measure of safety.⁹ By the 23d of August, the plans for the massacre were all arranged. On the evening of that day, Catherine went to her son and represented to him that the Huguenots had formed a plot for the assassination of the royal family and the leaders of the Catholic party, and that the utter ruin of their house and cause could be averted only by the immediate destruction of the Protestants within the city walls. The order for the massacre was then laid before him for his signature. The weak-minded king shrank in terror from the deed, and at first refused to sign the decree; but overcome at last by the representations of his mother, he exclaimed, "I consent, provided not one Huguenot be left alive in France to reproach me with the deed."

A little past the hour of midnight on Saint Bartholomew's Day (Aug. 24, 1572), at a preconcerted signal,—the tolling of a bell,—the massacre began. Coligny was one of the first victims. After his assassins had done their work, they tossed the body out of the window of the chamber in which it lay into the street, in order that Henry, third Duke of Guise, who stood below, might satisfy himself that his enemy was really dead.

For three days and nights the orgy of death went on within the city. All who were suspected of sympathizing with the reformers were killed without mercy. King Charles himself is said to have joined in the work, and to have fired upon the Huguenots from one of the windows of the Palace of the Louvre as they fled past. The number of victims in Paris is variously estimated at from one thousand to ten thousand. The dead bodies were dragged through the streets and flung into the Seine.¹⁰

With the capital cleared of Huguenots, orders were issued to the principal cities of France to purge themselves in like

⁹ In the midst of the horror and panic of the tragedy the Protestants were led to believe that the massacre was the issue of a plot dating from the Treaty of Saint-Germain. This view is now known to be wholly unsupported by the facts.

¹⁰ The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé saved their lives by consenting to attend mass.

manner of heretics. In many places the instincts of humanity prevailed over fear of the royal resentment, and the decree was disobeyed; but in other places the orders were carried out, and frightful massacres took place. The number of victims throughout the country is unknown; estimates differ widely, running from two thousand to a hundred thousand.

The massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day raised a cry of execration in every part of the civilized world save at Rome and in Spain. Queen Elizabeth put her court in mourning, and her Council denounced the slaughter as "the most heinous act that had occurred in the world since the crucifixion of Jesus Christ." The Protestants in the Netherlands, who, in their struggle with Philip II, had been entertaining hopes of help from their French brethren, were plunged almost into despair at the unexpected and awful blow.

On the other hand, Philip, when the news reached him, "seemed more delighted than with all the good fortune or happy incidents which had ever before occurred to him," and for the first time in his life the taciturn schemer is said to have laughed aloud; while at Rome, Pope Gregory XIII, believing that there had been a Huguenot conspiracy against the king from which he had saved himself by the massacre, returned public thanks to God for his manifest favor to the Holy Church, causing a *Te Deum* in commemoration of the event to be performed in the Church of Saint Mark. He also had a medal struck, bearing on one side his own effigy, and on the other a picture of a destroying angel slaying the Huguenots.

Charles, who lived not quite two years after the massacre, suffered the keenest remorse for the part he had taken in the awful tragedy.

146. Reign of Henry III (1574-1589). — The massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day, instead of exterminating heresy in France, only served to rouse the Huguenots to a more determined defense of their faith. Throughout the last two years of the reign of Charles IX, and the fifteen succeeding years of

the reign of his brother Henry III, the country was in a state of turmoil and war. By granting privileges to the Huguenots, Henry angered the Catholics, who, for the maintenance of the ancient Church, formed what was known as the Holy League, the head of which was the third Duke of Guise. Finally, in 1589, the king, who, jealous of the growing power and popularity of the duke, had caused him to be assassinated, was himself struck down by the avenging dagger of a Dominican monk. With him ended the House of Valois.

147. Accession of Henry IV (1589).— Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, who for many years had been the most prominent leader of the Huguenots, now came to the throne as the first of the Bourbon kings. His accession lifted into prominence one of the most celebrated royal houses in European history. The political story of France, and indeed of Europe, from this time on to the French Revolution, and for some time after that, is in great part the story of the House of Bourbon.

Although the doctrines of the reformers had made rapid progress in France under the sons of Henry II, still the great majority of the nation at the time of the death of Henry III were Catholics in faith and worship. Under these circumstances, especially if we bear in mind what deep enmities had been aroused by the bitter feuds of half a century, we shall hardly expect to find the entire nation quietly acquiescing in the accession to the French throne of a Protestant prince, and he the leader and champion of the hated Huguenots.

Nor did Henry secure without a struggle the crown that was his by right. The Catholic League, headed now by the Duke of Mayenne, brother of the murdered Henry, Duke of Guise, had declared for Cardinal Bourbon, an uncle of the King of Navarre, and France was thus kept in the whirl of civil war. Elizabeth of England aided the Protestants, and Philip II of Spain assisted the Catholics.

148. Henry turns Catholic (1593).— After the war had gone on for about four years, — during which time was fought

the noted battle of Ivry (1590), in which Henry led his soldiers to victory by telling them to follow the white plume on his hat, — the quarrel was closed, for the time being, by an act on Henry's part hardly to be anticipated. This was his abjuration of the Huguenot faith, and the adoption of that of the Catholic Church.

Mingled motives led Henry to do this. He was personally liked, even by the Catholic chiefs, and he was well aware that it was only his Huguenot faith that prevented their being his hearty supporters. Hence duty and policy seemed to him to concur in urging him to remove the sole obstacle in the way of their ready loyalty, and thus to bring peace and quiet to distracted France.

The Catholic League now soon fell to pieces. Henry was crowned at Chartres; and shortly afterwards Paris, which had been in the hands of Henry's enemies, opened its gates to him. The Spanish soldiers, who had been helping to hold the place, were conducted out of the city with mock ceremony, and charged by Henry with his compliments to Philip: "Commend me to your master, gentlemen," he said pleasantly; — "but don't come back."

In this connection we should not fail to note Philip's relation to the Catholic Restoration. He had, it is true, been thwarted in his efforts to make France a province of Spain, but through the aid he had given the French Catholics he had contributed to forcing Henry to abjure the reformed faith, and thus in preventing France from joining the ranks of the Protestant states. In this way did Philip's policy, though its first aim was the promotion of Spanish interests, result in a service of inestimable value to the Catholic cause.

149. The Edict of Nantes (1598). — As soon as Henry had become the crowned and acknowledged king of France, he gave himself to the work of composing the affairs of his kingdom. The most noteworthy of the measures he adopted to this end was the publication of the celebrated Edict of

Nantes (April 13, 1598).¹¹ By this decree the Huguenots were secured perfect freedom of conscience and practical freedom of worship.¹² Schools, hospitals, and all public offices and employments were opened to them the same as to Catholics. Moreover, they were allowed to retain possession of a number of fortified towns as pledges of good faith and as places of refuge and defense. Among these places was the important city of La Rochelle. It is said that mass had not been heard within the walls of this city for nearly forty years.

The granting of this edict is memorable for the reason that it was the first formal, though qualified, recognition, by a great European state, of the principle of religious toleration and equality.¹³ Here for the first time since the triumph of Christianity over paganism in the Roman Empire, a great nation makes a serious effort to try to get along with two creeds in the state. It was almost a century before even England went as far in the way of granting freedom of conscience and of worship.

150. Character of Henry IV's Reign ; his Plans and Death.

—The temporary hushing of the long-continued quarrels of the Catholics and Protestants by the adoption of the principle of religious toleration paved the way for a revival of the trade and industries of the country, which had been almost destroyed by the anarchy and waste of the religious wars. France now entered upon such a period of prosperity as she had not known

¹¹ A few weeks after signing the Edict of Nantes, which gave domestic quiet to France, Henry concluded with Philip II the Treaty of Vervins (May 2, 1598), which closed the war with Spain.

¹² The greater nobles were licensed to hold general religious services in their castles; the lesser nobles to hold services for the members of their own families. Altogether about thirty-five hundred castles were thus made licensed places of Protestant worship. A large number of cities were also designated in which the Huguenots might freely assemble for religious exercises.

¹³ The provisions of the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 (par. 57) fell far short, in religious liberalism, of the clauses of the edict. Even in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 (par. 161) Germany did not go as far in the direction of religious toleration as France had gone in 1598.

for many years. The material and social welfare of all his subjects, particularly of the lower classes, was Henry's special care. His paternal solicitude for his humblest subjects, which secured for him the title of "Father of his People," has a memorial in his often quoted declaration, "If I live, the poorest peasant shall have a fowl to put in his pot on Sundays." Another of his reported sayings was, "He who injures my people injures me."

In devising and carrying out his measures of reform, Henry was aided by one of the most prudent and sagacious advisers that ever strengthened the hands of a prince, — the illustrious Duke of Sully (1560–1641). The duke was an author as well as a statesman, and in his *Memoirs* left one of the most valuable records we possess of the transactions in which he took so prominent a part.

What Henry and his great minister accomplished in a few years was truly marvelous. On the material side France was improved in every way that a run-down estate might be improved by a wise proprietor. Marshes were drained, canals dug, the navigation of rivers was improved, bridges and roads were constructed, agriculture was encouraged, old manufactures were fostered and new ones established. In the government itself economy and reform were the watchwords. Useless offices were abolished, and the public administration in all its branches, especially in those of finance and taxation, was as far as possible freed from crying abuses.

Nor was remote America lost sight of. In 1608 Champlain, a Frenchman in the service of a company patronized by Henry, upon a picturesque cliff four hundred miles up the St. Lawrence, founded Quebec, the future political and social center of New France. The following year Champlain, pushing his explorations southward, discovered the beautiful lake that to-day bears his name.

Towards the close of his reign Henry, feeling strong in his resources and secure in his power, began to revolve in mind

vast projects for the aggrandizement of France and the weakening of her old enemy, — the House of Hapsburg in both its branches.¹⁴ He was making great preparations for war, when the dagger of a fanatic by the name of Ravallac, who regarded Henry as an enemy of the Catholic Church, cut short his life and plans (1610).

151. Louis XIII (1610-1643): the Regency (1610-1617). — As Henry's son Louis, who succeeded him, was a mere child of nine years, during his minority the government was administered by his mother, Mary de' Medici. Nothing was done, but much undone, by the queen regent. The wounds of the old religious wars, which were just beginning to heal, were torn open afresh; the public treasures accumulated by Henry's economy were shamefully wasted upon unworthy Italian courtiers; and everything fell into disorder and the government into contempt. In 1614 the States-General were assembled in the hope that they might devise some way out of existing embarrassments. But they effected nothing, and were dismissed, not to meet again for one hundred and seventy-five years, — not until the memorable year 1789.

152. Cardinal Richelieu and his Policy. — Upon attaining his majority, in 1617, Louis took the government into his own hands and banished his mother from court. But the king was entirely unable to manage the different parties about him, or to lift the kingdom out of the troubles into which it had fallen. Fortunately, however, there was a man, a churchman, who had

¹⁴In connection with his designs against the House of Hapsburg, Henry is represented in Sully's *Memoirs* as having had in mind a most magnificent scheme, which was nothing less than the organization of all the Christian states of Europe into a great confederation or commonwealth. The ostensible objects of the "Christian Republic" were the securing of religious toleration as respects the three great forms of Christian faith, — the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic; the expulsion of the Turks from Europe; and the abolition of war by the creation of an international tribunal, by which all disputes between nations should be settled through peaceful arbitration. This scheme is known as the "Grand Design." It is not probable, however, that Henry was the author of it, as represented by Sully.

attracted attention to himself in the recent meeting of the States-General, who had mind and will sufficient for the task. This was Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), the Wolsey of France, one of the most remarkable characters of the seventeenth century. From the time that Louis made the prelate his chief minister in 1624, the ecclesiastic became the actual sovereign of France, and for the space of eighteen years swayed the destinies not only of that country, but, it might almost be said, those of Europe as well.

His policy was twofold: first, to render the authority of the French king absolute in France; second, to make the power of France supreme in Europe.

To attain the first end, Richelieu sought (1) to crush the political power of the Huguenots; (2) to trample out the last vestige of independence among the old feudal aristocracy; (3) to suppress or to deprive of all real power the local assemblies and the parliaments, or courts of justice. To secure the second end, he labored to break down the power of both branches of the House of Hapsburg, that is, of Austria and Spain. With these rivals crushed, France would be easily first among the states of Europe.

For nearly the lifetime of a generation Richelieu, by intrigue, diplomacy, and war, pursued with unrelenting purpose these objects of his ambition. His own words best indicate how he proposed to use his double authority as cardinal and prime minister: "I shall trample all opposition under foot," he said, "and then cover all errors with my scarlet robe."

In the following paragraph we shall speak very briefly of the cardinal's dealings with the Huguenots, which feature alone of his policy at present especially concerns us.

153. Siege and Capture of La Rochelle (1627-1628): Political Power of the Huguenots broken. — In the prosecution of his plans, one of Cardinal Richelieu's first steps was to break down the political power of the Huguenot chiefs, who, dissatisfied

with their position in the government, and irritated by religious grievances, were revolving in mind the founding in France of a Protestant commonwealth like that which the Prince of Orange and his adherents had set up in the Netherlands. The capital of this new republic was to be La Rochelle, on the western coast of France, which city along with others, it will be recalled, was by the Edict of Nantes granted to the Protestants as a place of security.

In 1627, an alliance having been formed between England and the French Protestants, an English fleet and army were sent across the Channel to aid the Huguenot enterprise.

Richelieu now resolved to ruin forever the power of these Protestants who, "Protestants first and Frenchmen afterwards," were constantly challenging the royal authority and threatening the dismemberment of France. Accordingly, he led in person an army to the siege of La Rochelle, which, after a gallant resistance of more than a year, during which time famine, sickness, and the casualties of war reduced the population of the place from thirty thousand to five thousand persons, was compelled to open its gates to the forces of the cardinal (1628). That the place might never again be made the center of resistance to the royal power, Louis ordered that "the fortifications be razed to the ground, in such wise that the plow may plow through the soil as through tilled land."

The Huguenots maintained the struggle a few months longer in the south of France, but were finally everywhere reduced to submission. The result of the war was the complete destruction of the political power of the French Protestants. A treaty of peace called the Edict of Grace, negotiated the year after the fall of La Rochelle, left them, however, freedom of worship, according to the provisions of the Edict of Nantes.

A comparison of the guarantees of the earlier and the later edict is interesting and instructive, as showing how during the administration of Richelieu the power of the crown had been

enhanced. It will be recalled that at the time of the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes the Huguenots were allowed to hold and garrison several fortified places. This was because the royal authority was then so weak that the king could not otherwise guarantee the strict observance by their enemies of the terms of the decree. With the publication of the later edict, all these fortified places were dismantled, and the king, conscious of his power to enforce his will and make good his word, undertook the defense of all his subjects, Protestant and Catholic alike. There was to be no longer a state within the state.

The Edict of Grace properly marks the close of the religious wars which had now distressed France for two generations. It is estimated that this series of wars cost France a million lives, and that between three and four hundred hamlets and towns were destroyed by the contending parties.

154. Richelieu and the Thirty Years' War. — When Cardinal Richelieu came to the head of affairs in France, there was going on in Germany the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), of which we shall tell in the following chapter. This was very much such a struggle between the Catholic and Protestant German princes and cities as we have seen waged between the two religious parties in France.

Although Richelieu had just crushed French Protestantism, he now gave assistance to the Protestant princes of Germany, because their success meant the division of Germany and the humiliation of Austria. At first he extended aid in the form of subsidies to Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who had become the champion of the German Protestants; but later he sent the armies of France to take direct part in the struggle.

Richelieu did not live to see the end either of the Thirty Years' War or of that which he had begun with Spain; but this foreign policy of the great minister, carried out by others, finally resulted, as we shall learn hereafter, in the humiliation of both branches of the House of Hapsburg, and

the lifting of France to the first place among the powers of Europe.

Sources and Source Material. — DUKE OF SULLY, *Memoirs* (Bohn), 4 vols. As a primary source of information concerning the reign of Henry IV, these volumes by his great minister are invaluable; but they are wholly destitute of literary merit and, what is more serious, are at times misleading (witness what the author says of the "Grand Design," vol. iv, bk. xxx), and hence must be used with caution. Sully seems to have been willing to sacrifice historical truth for the sake of glorifying his master and himself. For a short account of the contents of the *Memoirs*, consult "Historical Sources in Schools" (Report to the New England History Teachers' Association, pp. 99-102). BAIRD's *Theodore Beza*, pp. 163-184; for Beza's defense of the reformed faith before the young king at Poissy, 1561. HART's *American History told by Contemporaries*, vol. i, chap. v, Nos. 34, 35, 36, and 39. *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. iii, No. 3, extracts under "The Reformation in France." *Old South Leaflets*, No. 91, "The Founding of Quebec (1608)." GUIZOT's *Popular History of France* contains much source material.

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CHAPTER VI

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618-1648)

155. Nature and Causes of the War. — The long and calamitous Thirty Years' War was the last great combat between Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe. It started as a struggle between the Protestant and Catholic princes of Germany, but gradually involved almost all the states of the continent, degenerating at last into a shameful and heartless struggle for power and territory.

The real cause of the war must of course be sought in the irreconcilable character of the two creeds in Germany. But if we seek a more specific cause, it will be found in the defective character of the articles of the celebrated Religious Peace of Augsburg (par. 57). There were at least three things in that compromise treaty well calculated to make future trouble.

First. Each secular prince was given permission to set up or to maintain in his dominions either the Catholic or the Lutheran Church, and to drive out all persons who did not accept the state creed. This provision gave rise to much tyranny, and created great bitterness of feeling between the different religious bodies, — Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists.

Second. By virtue of the famous clause known as the "Ecclesiastical Reservation," any spiritual prince (*i.e.*, archbishop, bishop, or "other spiritual incumbent" holding immediately of the Empire), upon turning Protestant, was required to give up his office and lands. The Lutherans did not admit the validity of this article, and evading it, got many of the Catholic bishoprics in North Germany into Protestant hands. This was made a matter of bitter complaint on the part of the Catholics.

Third. The treaty, as interpreted by the Catholics, provided that church property not secularized in 1552¹ should remain forever in the hands of the Catholics. The Protestant princes read the treaty differently, and continued to secularize church lands situated in their territories. This was another fruitful source of discord between the two great religious parties.

156. The Protestant Union and the Catholic League. — The wretched treaty did not bear its most bitter fruit at once. Fortunately, the two immediate successors of Charles V in the imperial office, Ferdinand I (1556–1564) and Maximilian II (1564–1576), were both men of enlightened views and tolerant disposition, and under them the Protestant doctrines, unimpeded by persecution, spread rapidly; so rapidly, indeed, that by the close of Maximilian's reign the members of the reformed creed far outnumbered those who still adhered to the ancient faith. It has been estimated that nine-tenths of the population of the Empire were at this time Protestant.

But Rudolf II (1576–1612), the third in succession from Charles V, unfortunately was just the opposite of his two predecessors. He persecuted the Protestants of Hungary and Bohemia, and used his imperial authority to suppress Protestant worship in the free city of Donauwörth.² All Protestant Germany was alarmed by his course, and in the year 1608 there was formed among the Protestant states a confederation, like the League of Schmalkald, called the "Protestant Union," which was to continue for ten years. The nominal head of

¹ The year of the so-called Convention of Passau.

² This was a Lutheran city, but one which had become such only after 1552. Within the city walls there was a monastery. One day the monks, in violation of a condition on which they had been allowed to remain there, marched in procession through the streets. This enraged the citizens, and a mob fell upon and broke up the procession. As a punishment the Emperor Rudolf II, acting through his council, outlawed the city, and commissioned Duke Maximilian of Bavaria to execute the ban. Maximilian entered the city with an army, suppressed the Protestant worship, and incorporated the place with his dominions (1607).

the league was the Elector Palatine; but the most active member of the confederation was Prince Christian of Anhalt.

In opposition to the Union, the Catholics formed a confederation known as the Catholic or Holy League (1609). The head of this body was Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria. All Germany was thus prepared to burst into the flames of a religious war.

157. The Bohemian Period of the War (1618-1623). — The flames that were to desolate Germany for a generation were first kindled in Bohemia, where were still smouldering embers of the Hussite wars, which two centuries before had desolated that land. A church which the Protestants, relying on the provisions of a certain royal charter, maintained they had a right to build was torn down by the Catholics, and another was closed. Expostulations addressed by the reformers to the Emperor Matthias, as king of Bohemia, receiving an unsatisfactory reply, a body of Bohemian grandees entered the royal castle at Prague, and threw two of the imperial regents out of the window (May 23, 1618). This hasty proceeding was the beginning of the 'Thirty Years' War, — "the source and cause of all our woes," as wrote one who lived in the sad times that followed.

The Protestants now rose in organized revolt against their Catholic king, Ferdinand,³ elected a new Protestant king,⁴ and drove out the Jesuits. The war had scarcely opened when, the imperial office falling vacant, the Bohemian king, Ferdinand, was elected Emperor. With the power he now wielded, together with the help he received from the Catholic League, it was not a difficult matter for him to quell the

³ Ferdinand was the head of the House of Hapsburg, which family had long held the throne of Bohemia. He held all the hereditary dominions of the Hapsburgs, and had just been elected king of Bohemia in place of his cousin Matthias (May 16, 1618). After his election to the imperial office, mentioned a little farther on in the text, his title became Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-1637).

⁴ Frederick V, Elector Palatine, son-in-law of James I of England. Since he was a Protestant, the Bohemians entertained the hope that he would be supported by the Protestant Union as well as by his father-in-law. But help came from neither of these sources.

Protestant insurrection in his royal dominions. Frederick V, "the Winter-King," was driven out as the result of a single battle. The leaders of the revolt were executed, and the reformed faith in Bohemia was almost uprooted.

158. The Danish Period (1625-1629). — The situation of affairs at this moment in Germany, with a zealous and powerful Catholic, inclined and prepared to follow in the footsteps of Charles V, at the head of the Germanic body, filled not only the Protestant princes of Germany, but all the Protestant powers of the North, with the greatest alarm. Christian IV, king of Denmark, supported by England and the Dutch Netherlands, now again involved in war with Spain, threw himself into the struggle — which was still being carried on in a desultory manner — as the champion of German Protestantism. He now becomes the central figure on the side of the reformers; alongside of him were the Count of Mansfeld and Christian of Anhalt. On the side of the Catholics were two noted commanders, — Tilly, the leader of the forces of the Holy League, and Wallenstein,⁵ the commander of the imperial army. What is known as the Danish period of the war now begins (1625).

The war, in the main, proved disastrous to the Protestant allies,⁶ and Christian IV was finally constrained to conclude a treaty of peace with the Emperor (Peace of Lübeck, 1629), and retire from the struggle.

By what is known as the "Edict of Restitution" (1629), the

⁵ Wallenstein was the most remarkable character that appeared during the Thirty Years' War. With Christian IV other enemies had also arisen about the Emperor, who saw clearly that if he hoped to oppose successfully the Danish king and his allies, he must have another army besides that headed by Tilly. But unfortunately he was entirely without means either to equip or to pay such a force as he ought at once to put into the field. The Emperor's embarrassment was relieved by the offer of a wealthy Bohemian nobleman, Albert von Wallenstein, who proposed to raise an army of twenty thousand men at his own cost, and to support and pay the soldiers by forced contributions from the authorities of the states through which the army might move.

⁶ Among the important episodes of the war were the defeat of the king of Denmark by Tilly at Lutter (1626), and the unsuccessful siege of Stralsund by Wallenstein (1628).

Emperor Ferdinand now restored to the Catholics all the ecclesiastical lands and offices in North Germany of which possession had been taken by the Protestants in violation of the terms of the Peace of Augsburg. This decree gave back to the Catholic Church two archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics, besides many monasteries and other ecclesiastical property.

159. The Swedish Period (1630-1635): Wallenstein, Gustavus Adolphus, and Tilly. — At this moment of seeming triumph, Ferdinand was constrained by rising discontent and jealousies to dismiss from his service his most efficient general, Wallenstein, who had made almost all classes, save his soldiers, his bitter enemies. The people were crying out against him because of the forced contributions for his army which he wrung from them; the Catholic princes and the clergy hated him because he was bending everything to strengthen the Emperor's authority at their expense. The way in which he regarded the papal supremacy is shown by his significant declaration, "It is a hundred years since Rome has been plundered,⁷ and it is richer now than ever."

In his retirement, Wallenstein maintained a court of fabulous magnificence. Wherever he went he was followed by an imperial train of attendants and equipages. He was reserved and silent, but his eye was upon everything going on in Germany, and indeed in Europe. He was watching for a favorable moment for revenge, and for the retrieving of his fortunes.

The opportunity which Wallenstein, inspired by faith in his star, was so confidently awaiting was not long delayed. Only a few months before his dismissal from the imperial service, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, with a veteran and enthusiastic army of sixteen thousand Swedes, had appeared in North Germany as the champion of the dispirited and leaderless Protestants. Various motives had concurred in leading him thus to intervene in the struggle. He was urged to this course by his strong Protestant convictions and sympathies.

⁷ Cf. par. 36.

Furthermore, the progress of the imperial arms in North Germany was imperiling Swedish interests in the Baltic, and threatening to establish the supremacy of the Austrian Hapsburgs over what was regarded by the sovereigns of Sweden as a Swedish lake.

The Emperor and his friends affected to regard the appearance upon the arena of Gustavus Adolphus as nothing that need cause them any disquietude. "The Snow King will melt as he moves southward," was their contemptuous observation upon the movements of this redoubtable champion of a lost cause.

The Protestant princes' jealousy and distrust of the Swede Gustavus now contributed to a most terrible disaster. At this moment Tilly was besieging the city of Magdeburg, which had dared to resist the Edict of Restitution (par. 158). But the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, from whom the city should have received help, would not, or at least did not, coöperate with Gustavus in raising the siege.

In a short time the city was obliged to surrender, and was given up to sack and pillage. Everything was burned save two churches and a few hovels. Thousands of the inhabitants perished miserably. Tilly saw in the woeful scene nothing but the evidence of a glorious victory. He rode exultingly through the almost indistinguishable streets, ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung, and wrote to Ferdinand that since the fall of Troy and Jerusalem such a victory had never been seen. "I am sincerely sorry," he adds, "that the ladies of your imperial family could not have been present as spectators."

The cruel fate of Magdeburg excited the alarm of the Protestant princes. The Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony now united their forces with those of the Swedish king. Tilly was defeated with great loss in the celebrated battle of Leipzig or Breitenfeld (1631), and Gustavus, emboldened by his success, pushed southward into the very heart of Germany. Attempting to dispute his march, Tilly's army was again

defeated, and he himself received a fatal wound (1632). In the death of Tilly, Ferdinand lost his most trustworthy general.

The imperial cause appeared desperate. There was but one man in Germany who could turn the tide of victory that was running so strongly in favor of the Swedish monarch. That man was Wallenstein; and to him the Emperor now turned. This strange man had been watching with secret satisfaction the success of the Swedish arms, and is said even to have offered to Gustavus his aid, promising "to chase the Emperor and the House of Austria over the Alps."

To this proud subject of his, fresh from his dalliances with his enemies, the Emperor now appealed for help. Wallenstein agreed to raise an army, provided his control of it should be absolute. Ferdinand was constrained to grant all that his old general demanded. Wallenstein now raised his standard, to which rallied the adventurers not only of Germany, but of all Europe as well. The array was a vast and heterogeneous host, bound together by no bonds of patriotism, loyalty, or convictions, but only by the spell and prestige of the name of Wallenstein.

With an army of forty thousand men obedient to his commands, Wallenstein, after numerous marches and counter-marches, attacked the Swedes in a terrible battle on the memorable field of Lützen, in Saxony (1632). The Swedes won the day, but lost their leader and sovereign. Throwing himself into the thick of the fight, Gustavus was struck down by a ball. One of the enemy, coming up to where he lay among a heap of the slain, asked his name. "I was the king of Sweden," replied the dying hero; whereupon the soldier dispatched him.

Thus fell the noble Gustavus Adolphus. We may sum up the results of his intervention in the Thirty Years' War in these words of the historian Gindely: "He averted the overthrow with which Protestantism was threatened in Germany."

Notwithstanding the death of their great king and commander, the Swedes did not withdraw from the war. Hence the struggle went on, the advantage being for the most part with the Protestant allies. Ferdinand, at just this time, was embarrassed by the suspicious movements of his general Wallenstein. Becoming convinced that he was meditating the betrayal of the imperial cause, the Emperor caused him to be assassinated (1634). This event marks very nearly the end of the Swedish period of the war.

160. The Swedish-French Period (1635-1648).—Had it not been for the selfish and ambitious interference of France, the woeful war which had now desolated Germany for half a generation might here have come to an end, for both sides were weary of it and ready for negotiations of peace. Indeed, a treaty known as the "Treaty of Prague" was signed by the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony in 1635, and afterwards by most of the Protestant states. It is true that the terms of this treaty were not altogether satisfactory, yet it probably could and would have been made the basis of a permanent peace. But Richelieu was not willing that the war should end until the House of Austria was completely humbled. Accordingly, he encouraged the Swedish chancellor Oxenstiern, as he had Gustavus, to carry on the war, promising him the aid of the French armies.

The war thus lost in large part its original character of a contention between the Catholic and Protestant princes of Germany, and became a political struggle between the House of Austria and the House of Bourbon, in which the former was fighting for existence, the latter for national aggrandizement.

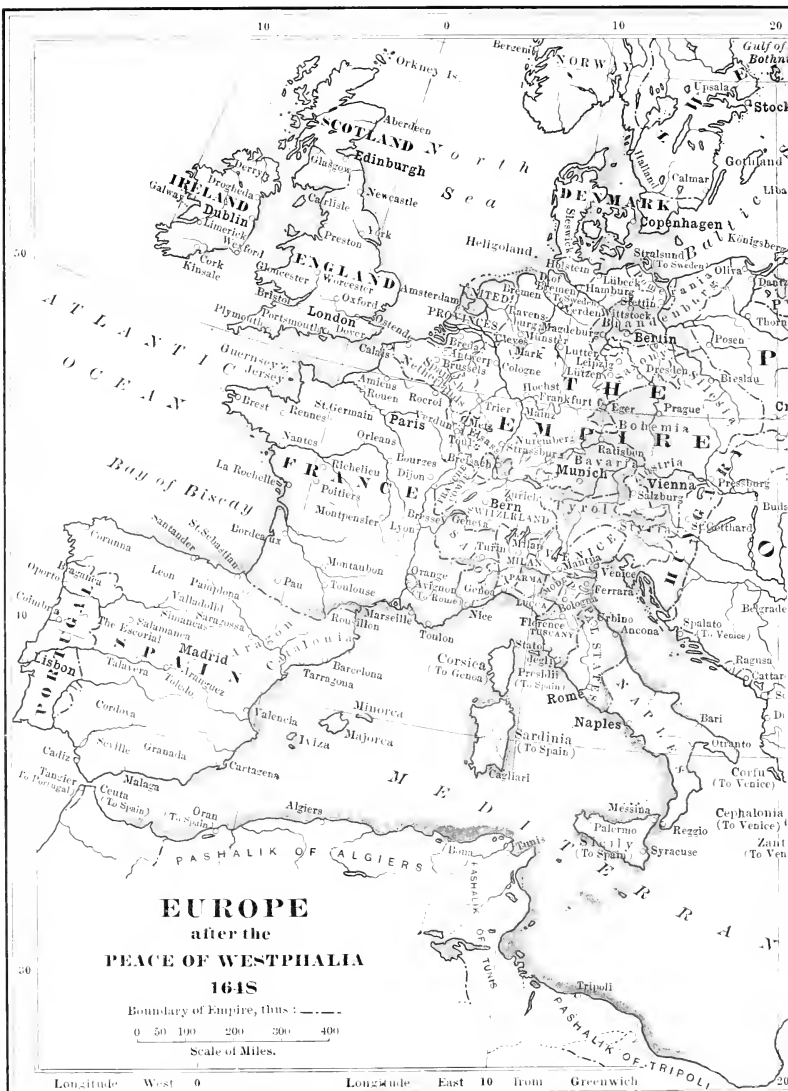
And so the miserable war went on year after year. It had become a heartless and conscienceless struggle for spoils. The Swedes fought to fasten their hold upon the mouths of the German rivers, the French to secure a grasp upon the Rhine lands. The earlier actors in the drama at length passed from the scene, but their parts were carried on by others.

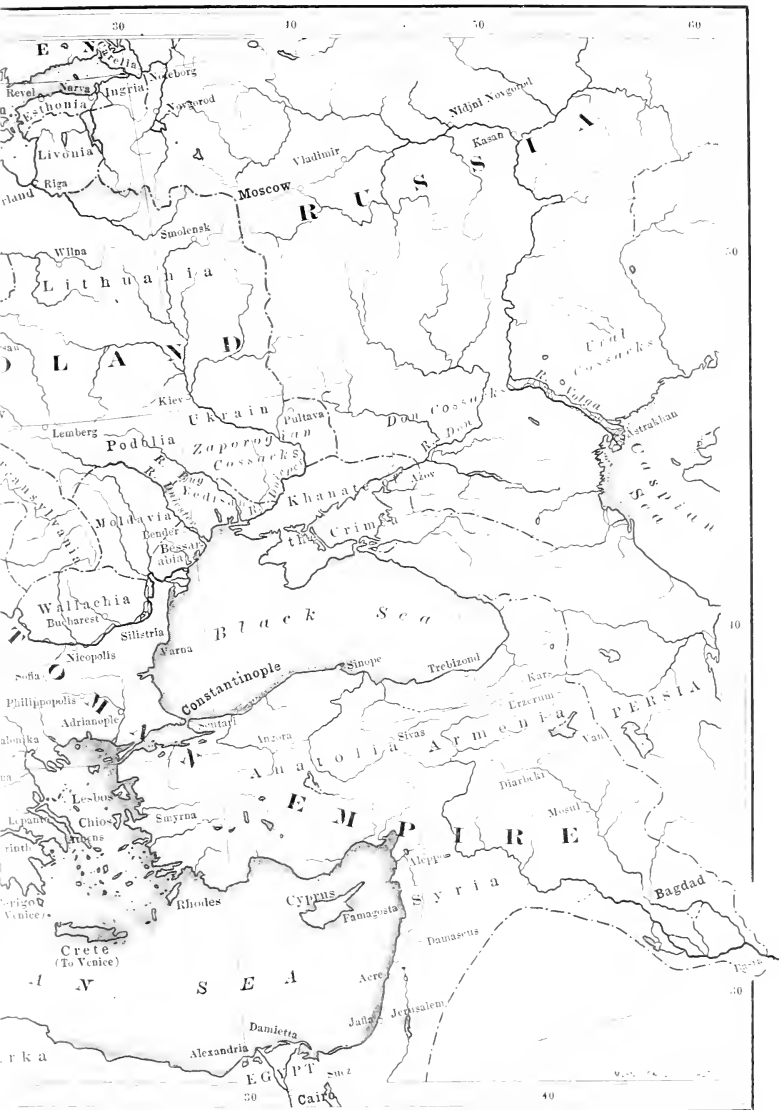
Thus, in 1637, Ferdinand II died, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III, who fought desperately for the integrity of Germany, determined that he should not be known as the "diminisher of the Empire." In 1642 Cardinal Richelieu died and King Louis XIII followed him the next year, but Mazarin, the minister of Louis XIV, continuing the policy of the great Cardinal, kept the French forces in the war; while Oxenstiern just as obstinately persisted in his policy for Sweden.

161. The Peace of Westphalia (1648). — It was just before the death of Richelieu that the first whisperings of peace were heard. Everybody was inexpressibly weary of the war and longed for the cessation of its horrors, yet each ruler and statesman wanted peace on terms advantageous to himself. The arrangement of the articles of peace was a matter of infinite difficulty, for the affairs and boundaries of the states of Central Europe were in almost hopeless confusion. To facilitate matters the commissioners were divided into two bodies, one holding its sessions at Osnabrück, and the other at Münster, both Westphalian cities. After four years of discussion and negotiation, the articles of the celebrated Peace of Westphalia, as it is called, were signed by different European powers.

The chief articles of this important peace may be made to fall under two heads: (1) those relating to territorial boundaries, and (2) those respecting religion.

As to the first, these cut short in three directions the actual or nominal limits of the Holy Roman Empire. Switzerland and the United Netherlands were severed from it; for though both of these countries had been for a long time practically independent of the Empire, this independence had never been acknowledged in any formal way. The claim of France to the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun in Lorraine, which places she had held for about a century, was confirmed, and all Alsace, save the free city of Strasburg, was given to her. These Alsatian lands gave France a foothold on the Rhine and an open door into Germany, — a door which remained





open until 1871, when Germany, reclaiming lands which had been torn from the Empire piecemeal, pushed France back from the river, and closed and safeguarded the door (par. 468).

Sweden, already a great maritime power, was given territories in North Germany — Western Pomerania and other lands — which greatly enhanced her influence by giving her command of the mouths of three important German rivers, — the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser. But these lands were not given to the Swedish king in full sovereignty; they still remained a part of the Germanic body, and the king of Sweden through his relation to them became a prince of the Empire and entitled to a seat in the German Diet.

The changes within the Empire were many, and some of them important. Brandenburg, the nucleus of a future great state, especially received considerable additions of territory. She got Eastern Pomerania, and also valuable ecclesiastical lands.

The articles respecting religion were even more important than those which established the metes and bounds of the different states. Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists were all put upon the same footing. Both Catholics and Protestants were to retain all the benefices and church property of which they had possession in 1624. Every prince, with some reservations, was to have the right to make his religion the religion of his people, and to banish all who refused to adopt the established creed; but such nonconformists were to have five years in which to emigrate. This arrangement was known as the princes' "Right of Reformation" and the subjects' "Right of Emigration." The history of the Palatinate illustrates the workings of this provision of the peace: in the space of sixty years the people of that principality were compelled by their successive rulers to change their religion four times. But this was an exceptional case.

The different states of the Empire — they numbered over four hundred, counting the free imperial cities — were left almost wholly independent of the imperial authority. They were

given the right to enter into alliances with one another and with foreign princes, but not, of course, against the Emperor or the Empire. This provision made the Empire merely a loose confederation, and postponed to a distant future the nationalization of the German fatherland. Germany became what Italy had been, and still was, an open field in which any enemy might sow the dragon's teeth of discord and war.

These were some of the most important provisions of the noted Peace of Westphalia. They were far from being satisfactory to most of the parties concerned; but they were perhaps as nearly so as could well be expected, considering the terribly confused condition into which the long struggle had brought the affairs of Europe. For more than two centuries they formed the fundamental law of Germany, and established a balance of power between the European states which, though it was disregarded and disturbed by Louis XIV of France, still in general was maintained until the great upheaval of the French Revolution.

162. Effects of the War upon Germany. — It is impossible to picture the wretched condition in which the 'Thirty Years' War left Germany. When the struggle began, the population of the country was thirty millions; when it ended, twelve millions. Two-thirds of the personal property had been destroyed. Many of the once large and flourishing cities were reduced to "mere shells." Two or three hundred ill-clad persons constituted the population of Berlin. The duchy of Würtemberg, which had half a million of inhabitants at the commencement of the war, at its close had barely fifty thousand. The once powerful Hanseatic League was virtually broken up. On every hand were the charred remains of the hovels of the peasants and the palaces of the nobility. Vast districts lay waste without an inhabitant. The very soil in many regions had reverted to its primitive wildness. The lines of commerce were broken, and some trades and industries swept quite out of existence.

The effects upon the fine arts, upon science, learning, and morals were even more lamentable. Painting, sculpture, and architecture had perished. The cities which had been the home of all these arts lay in ruins. Poetry had ceased to be cultivated. Education was entirely neglected. For the lifetime of a generation, men had been engaged in the business of war, and had allowed their children to grow up in absolute ignorance. Moral law was forgotten. Vice, nourished by the licentious atmosphere of the camp, reigned supreme.⁸

Thus civilization in Germany, which had begun to develop with so much promise, received a check from which it did not begin to recover, so benumbed were the very senses of men, for many long years. "A gulf of thirty years," says Baring-Gould, "stood between the old civilization and the new era. Everything had to be reconquered, on every field. Everywhere lay only ruins; and it was not till more than thirty years later that the heart came back to men to set up again the fallen stones."

To all these evils were added those of political disunion and weakness. The title of Emperor still continued to be borne by a member of the House of Austria, but it was only an empty name. By the Peace of Westphalia the Germanic body lost even that little cohesion which had begun to manifest itself between its different parts, and became simply a loose assemblage of virtually independent states. Thus weakened, Germany lost her independence as a nation, while the subjects of the numerous petty states became the slaves of their ambitious and tyrannical rulers. And, worse than all, the overwhelming calamities that for the lifetime of a generation had been poured out upon the unfortunate land, had extinguished the last spark

⁸ Before the close of the war the number of camp followers on both sides had come to exceed that of the fighting men. When on the march the armies resembled the migratory hordes of Goths and Vandals that overran the Roman Empire. After the war the disbanded soldiers became thieves and brigands. Thousands were executed. Germany was pestered by these marauding bands for a full century after the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia.

of German patriotism. Every sentiment of pride and hope in race and country seemed to have become extinct.

163. Conclusion. — The Peace of Westphalia is a prominent landmark in universal history. It stands at the dividing line of two great epochs. It marks the end of the Reformation period and the beginning of that of the Political Revolution. Henceforth, speaking broadly, men will fight for constitutions, not for creeds. We shall find them more intent on questions of civil government and of political rights than on questions of church government and of religious dogmas. We shall not often see one nation attacking another, or one party in a nation assaulting another party, on account of a difference in religious opinion.⁹

But in setting the Peace of Westphalia to mark the end of the Era of the Reformation, we do not mean to convey the idea that the work of the Protestant Revolution, in the direction of religious toleration, was finished. As a matter of fact, no real toleration had yet been reached, — nothing save the semblance of toleration. The long conflict of a century and more, and the vicissitudes of fortune, which to-day gave one party the power of the persecutor and to-morrow made the same sect the victims of persecution, had simply forced all to the practical conclusion that they must tolerate one another, — that one sect must not attempt to put another down by force. But it has required the broadening and liberalizing lessons of the two centuries and over that have since passed to bring men to see, even in part, that the thing they *must* do is the very thing they *ought* to do, — to make men tolerant not only in outward conduct, but in spirit. The agreements of 1648 simply marked “the beginning of the end of the compulsory system.”

With this single word of caution we now pass to the study of the Era of the Political Revolution, a period characterized

⁹ The Puritan Revolution in England may look like a religious war, but we shall learn that it was primarily a political contest, — a struggle against despotism in the state.

in particular by the growth of divine-right kingship and by the great struggle between despotic and liberal principles of government.

Sources and Source Material. — The student will do well to begin his study of the Thirty Years' War by a careful reading of *Historical Leaflets* (Crozer Theological Seminary; cf. p. 58), No. 5, "The Peace of Augsburg." He will here learn how deep-seated and irreconcilable were the differences which divided the religious parties in Germany.

Secondary Works. — GINDELY (A.), ***History of the Thirty Years' War* (trans. from the German by Andrew Ten Brook), 2 vols. The best history for English readers. Chaps. x and xi of vol. ii, bearing upon the peace negotiations, are of special interest. FLETCHER (C. R. L.), *Gustavus Adolphus and the Struggle of Protestantism for Existence* (Heroes of the Nations). GARDINER (S. R.), *The Thirty Years' War* (Epochs). SCHILLER (F.), *History of the Thirty Years' War* (Bohn). HENDERSON (E. F.), *A Short History of Germany*, vol. i. chaps. xvii and xviii. BRYCE (J.), *The Holy Roman Empire*, chaps. xviii and xix. MOELLER (W.), *History of the Christian Church* (from the German), vol. iii, pp. 364-381. FISHER (G. P.), *History of the Reformation*, chap. xv, summarizes from the Protestant side the results of the Reformation; and BALMES (J.), *European Civilization; Protestantism and Catholicism compared in their Effects on the Civilization of Europe*, and SPAULDING (M. J.), *The History of the Protestant Reformation*, Parts I and II, contain discussions of the subject from the Catholic point of view.

SECOND PERIOD—THE ERA OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION

(From the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, to the Twentieth Century)

I. THE AGE OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY: THE PRE- LUDE TO THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION

(1648-1789)

CHAPTER VII

INTRODUCTORY: THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS AND THE MAXIMS OF THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

164. The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings. — Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was widely held a theory of government which during that period probably had as great an influence upon the historical development in Europe as the theory of the Empire and the Papacy exerted during the Middle Ages. This theory is known as the divine right of kings.¹

According to this theory, the nation is a great family with the king as its divinely appointed head. The duty of the king is to govern like a father; the duty of the people is to obey their king even as children obey their parents. If the king does wrong, is cruel, unjust, this is simply the misfortune of

¹ It was in England and in France that the theory was most logically developed, and it was in these countries that it exerted its greatest influence upon the political evolution.

his people ; under no circumstances is it right for them to rebel against his authority, any more than for children to rise against their father. The king is responsible to God alone, and to God the people, quietly submissive, must leave the avenging of all their wrongs.

This conception of government is so different from our idea of it that it will be worth our while to listen to two of the ablest champions of the doctrine while they more fully expound and defend it.

According to the first of these the family is the germ and prototype of the state : " If we compare the natural rights of a father with those of a king," — it is the old English writer Filmer who speaks,² — " we find them all one, without any difference at all but only in the latitude or extent of them : as the father over one family, so the king, as father over many families, extends his care to preserve, feed, clothe, instruct, and defend the whole commonwealth. His war, his peace, his courts of justice, and all his acts of sovereignty, tend only to preserve and distribute to every subordinate and inferior father, and to their children, their rights and privileges, so that all the duties of a king are summed up in an universal fatherly care of his people."

Heredity points out the legitimate king : " It is unnatural for the multitude to choose their governors, or to govern or to partake in the government."

The power of the hereditary king is absolute : " For as kingly power is by the law of God, so it hath no inferior law to limit it."

The king can neither be corrected nor deposed by his subjects : " For, indeed, it is the rule of Solomon that ' We must keep the king's commandment,' and not say, ' What dost thou ? ' because ' where the word of a king is there is power,' and all that he pleaseth he will do. . . . Not that it is right for kings to do injury, but it is right for them to go unpunished

² In his *Patriarcha*. See " Sources " at end of chapter.

by the people if they do it. . . . It will be punishment sufficient for them to expect God as a revenger.”³

“Kings are the ministers of God” — it is the eloquent Bossuet, the court chaplain of Louis XIV, who now speaks⁴ — “and his vicegerents on the earth.” “The throne of a king is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God himself. . . . The person of kings is sacred, and it is sacrilege to harm them.”⁵ “They are gods, and partake in some fashion of the divine independence.”⁶

With Filmer, Bossuet maintains the subject’s duty of passive obedience. He who does not obey his prince is worthy of death as the enemy of the public peace and of society. Rebellion against kings is sacrilege: “The holy anointment is on them and the high office they exercise in the name of God protects them from all insult.”

At first the upholders of this theory of the nature and powers of the kingly office were apt to seek support for it in Biblical texts; but later its defenders came to rely more on pure argument, as is illustrated by Filmer’s syllogism: “What is natural to man exists by divine right; Kingship is natural to man; Therefore, Kingship exists by divine right.”⁷

Before the close of the period upon which we here enter, we shall see how this theory of the divine right of kings worked out in practice, — how dear it cost both kings and people, and how the people by the strong logic of revolution demonstrated that they have a divine and inalienable right to govern themselves.⁸

³ Filmer is here quoting the words of the celebrated English jurist Bracton (d. 1268). All that the people can do when the king misuses his authority is to petition him “to amend his fault” — and “to pray to God.”

⁴ In his *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l’Écriture Sainte* (Œuvres complètes, vol. xxiii; Paris, 1875), p. 533.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 559. See Ps. lxxxii, 6.

⁷ See Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings*, p. 153.

⁸ There was much in the history of the Middle Ages to convince men that absolute monarchy, if not a divinely appointed form of government, was at

165. History of the Doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. —

This theory that kings rule by divine right has a history well worth tracing. Among primitive peoples, like the early Greeks, we find the king ruling by divine right, — by right of his descent from the gods. In Egypt the Pharaoh was regarded as partaking of the divine nature. In ancient Judea the king was the Lord's anointed, and ruled as his vicegerent on earth. Alexander the Great sought to strengthen his authority among the Oriental peoples by giving out that he was of divine lineage. In the days of the Roman Emperors their subjects in the East were prone to regard the head of the Empire as set apart from ordinary men and as possessing superhuman qualities. They built temples in honor of the "divine Cæsar."

But to trace the origin of the doctrine as applied to kings of modern times, we need not go farther back than to the establishment of the mediæval Papacy. The Popes, as we have learned, ruled by what may be termed divine right. All acknowledged their office and authority to be of divine origin and appointment. But when the Emperors of German origin got into controversy with the Popes in regard to the relation of the imperial to the papal power, then it was that the supporters of the Emperors framed the counter-theory of the divine origin of the imperial authority. Thus Dante in his *De Monarchia* argues for the supernatural character of the imperial power, and maintains that the Emperor rules as much by divine right as does the Pope. Then later in the fourteenth century, after the Empire had been practically destroyed by the Papacy and the temporal princes had taken

least the best form. Every other form had been tried and found wanting, having issued either in tyranny or in anarchy. Witness the intolerable oppression of the aristocratic government of the feudal lords; witness the tyranny of the theocratic government of the priesthood; witness the turbulence of society under the democratic régime of the Italian cities. Peace and security within the state had been secured only through the growth of the royal power. Hence the political axiom of this age, an age just escaping from feudal anarchy, was that of the Homeric Greeks, — "The rule of many is not a good thing; let there be one leader only, one king."

up the fight against the papal see, their friends and adherents naturally began to preach the doctrine of the divine nature of the royal authority. This was the starting point of the theory in its modern form.

Feudalism, with its strict ideas of inheritance and primogeniture, contributed to develop and strengthen the theory as respects the hereditary nature of the kingly office and the indefeasible character of the rights of the person pointed out by birth as the inheritor of the royal power.

When finally the Reformation came and with it even still keener strife between the lay rulers of the revolted nations and the Roman See, then the theory of the divine nature of the royal power received perforce a great expansion. For when the Pope excommunicated a heretic king and exhorted his subjects to take up arms against him, then the royalist writers and preachers proclaimed more loudly than ever and with passionate fervor the doctrine of the divine right of princes and the wickedness of disobedience and rebellion. Fostered in this way, the doctrine of the sacred character of kingship and the virtue of passive obedience in the subject struck deep and firm root.

166. Character of the Absolute Sovereigns and their Relation to the Political Revolution. — What use did the kings make of the vast and unlimited authority with which the circumstances of history and the growth of political theory had invested them? As a class, they made a betrayal of the great trust. Too many of them acted upon the maxim of Louis XIV of France, — “Self-aggrandizement is at once the noblest and the most agreeable occupation of kings.” They seemed to think that their subjects were made for their use; that the public strength and the public revenues might be freely used by them for the attainment of purely personal ends, the promotion of purely personal ambitions. War became a royal pastime. A great part of the bloody wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which centuries may be regarded as

covering roughly the age of absolute monarchy, were wars that originated in frivolous personal jealousies, in wicked royal ambitions, or in disputes respecting dynastic succession. So generally indeed did the wars of this period spring from questions of the latter nature, that by some historians the age is called "The Era of Dynastic Wars."⁹ The teachings of *The Prince* of Machiavelli ruled the period.

Now all this misuse of royal power, all these unholy wars with their trains of attendant evils, did much to discredit divine-right kingship and to bring in government by the people. "Bad kings help us," Emerson affirms, "if only they are bad enough." Many of the kings of this period were bad enough to be supremely helpful to us. It was during this age of the kings that the forces set loose by the Renaissance and the Reformation engendered the tempest which overwhelmed forever divine-right kingship and its gilded appendage of privileged aristocracy.

167. The Enlightened Despots. — But not all the kings of this age were imbecile or wicked. There were among them many wise and benevolent rulers. Especially during the latter part of the eighteenth century did there appear monarchs known as the Enlightened Despots, who, under the influence of the teachings of French philosophy, came to entertain reasonable views of their duties and of their obligations to their subjects.

These sovereigns did not give up the idea that unlimited monarchy is the best form of government and that the people

⁹ There is need of caution here, however. Not all the wars of this age were frivolous, artificial, or personal. There were, as we shall see, wars involving great issues and principles, — questions of systems of government and forms of civilization. The war in England between the Parliament and the king was the first act in the drama of the Political Revolution; and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) was a struggle involving as momentous questions as were ever arbitrated by the sword. Commercial and colonial interests too were coming to be more generally the concern of governments, and some of the greatest wars of the eighteenth century had their origin in national jealousies touching trade and colonies.

should have no part in public affairs. They sincerely believed that the power of the king should be unlimited, but they emphasized the doctrine that this power should be exercised solely in the interest of the people. The public revenues should be expended on public works, and public officials should be appointed solely on the ground of their ability and fitness.

Thus the idea of the royal power being a trust, the royal office a stewardship, was made prominent. The king became the servant of his people.

The great place which the rulers of this disposition held in the history of the century immediately preceding the French Revolution is indicated by these words of the historian Professor Morse Stephens: "The most characteristic feature in government of the eighteenth century," he says, "was the existence and the work of the enlightened despots."

Most prominent among the sovereigns deemed worthy a place among the enlightened despots are Catherine the Great of Russia, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Joseph II of Austria. Concerning them and their work we shall have something to say in following chapters. It will suffice here if we simply observe that the issue of this great experiment in government illustrated anew what had been demonstrated by the rule of the Tyrants in the cities of ancient Greece, and by that of the Cæsars at Rome, — namely, that absolute power cannot safely be lodged in the hands of a single person. It is certain sooner or later to be misused.

As it has been well put, absolute power in a single person is a good thing when joined with perfect wisdom and perfect goodness. But unfortunately these qualifications of the ideal despot are seldom found united in the same individual, and still less seldom are they transmitted from father to son. It is at just this point that absolute hereditary monarchy, as a practical form of government, breaks down beyond hope and remedy.

Sources and Source Material. — FILMER, *Patriarcha ; or, The Natural Power of Kings* (No. 9, Morley's Universal Library). This work, which was first published in 1680, is the classical English treatise in exposition and defense of divine-right kingship. Filmer's thesis is that "authority is founded by God in fatherhood," that "the subjection of children to their parents is the fountain of all royal authority." For a short selection from KING JAMES's *Law of Free Monarchies*, see Lee's *Source-Book of English History*, pp. 337, 338.

Secondary Works. — FIGGIS (J. N.), *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings* (Cambridge Historical Series). An able and interesting discussion of the subject. The book has a good bibliography. GAIRDNER (J.) and SPEDDING (J.), *Studies in English History*; contains a valuable essay entitled "The Divine Right of Kings: History of the Doctrine." This essay is a reprint of an article by Dr. Gairdner in *The Contemporary Review* for September, 1869. STEPHENS (H. M.), *Syllabus of Lectures on Modern European History*, lect. li, "The Enlightened Despots." Suggests important viewpoints.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

(1643-1715)

168. Louis XIV as the Typical Divine-Right King. —

Louis XIV of France stands as the representative of divine-right monarchy. He shall himself expound to us his conception of government.¹

These are his words: "To attribute to subjects the right of forming resolutions and of giving commands to their sovereign, is to pervert the true order of things. It is to the head alone that pertains the right to deliberate and to resolve upon; the whole duty of subjects consists in the carrying into effect of the commands given them."² "Kings are absolute lords; to them belongs naturally the full and free disposal of all the property of their subjects, whether they be churchmen or laymen."³ "For subjects to rise against their prince, however wicked or oppressive he may be, is always infinitely criminal. God, who has given kings to men, has willed that they should be revered as his lieutenants, and has reserved to Himself alone the right to review their conduct. His will is that he who is born a subject should obey without question."⁴

¹ It should be noted that Louis's subjects, at least the great majority of them, also believed in government by one, — and not without reason. They had had sorry experience with government by many, under the régime of the nobles. Of government by all, by themselves, it was not possible for them to have any clear conception, if any conception at all. It needed a hundred years and more of autocratic misrule and oppression to call into existence that revolutionary idea.

² *Œuvres de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1806), tome ii, p. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 121. Louis adds, however, that what kings take from their subjects they should use as wise stewards — that is to say, for the promotion of the public welfare.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

The doctrine here set forth, Louis is said to have expressed in this terser form: *L'État c'est moi*, "I am the State." He may never have uttered these exact words, but the famous epigram at least embodies perfectly his ideas of kingship. In his own view he was by divine commission the sole legislator, judge, and executive of the French nation.

This theory of government thus expounded by Louis was indeed, as we have seen, no novel doctrine to the Europe of the seventeenth century; but Louis was such an ideal autocrat that somehow he made autocratic government attractive. Other kings imitated him, and it became the prevailing theory of government that kings have a "divine right" to rule, and that the people should have no part at all in government.

169. The Administration of Mazarin (1643-1661). — As has been already related,⁵ the religious war in Germany was still in progress when, in 1643, Louis XIII died, leaving the vast authority which his great minister Cardinal Richelieu had done so much to consolidate, as an inheritance to his little son Louis, a child of five years.

During the prince's minority the government was in the hands of his mother, Anne of Austria, as regent. She chose as her prime minister an Italian ecclesiastic, Cardinal Mazarin, who in his administration of affairs followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, Richelieu, carrying out with great ability the comprehensive policy of that minister. France was encouraged to maintain her part — and a very glorious part it was, as war goes — in the 'Thirty Years' War until Austria was completely exhausted and all Germany indeed almost ruined. Even after the Peace of Westphalia, which simply concluded the war in Germany, France carried on the war with Spain for ten years longer, until 1659, when the Treaty of the Pyrenees, which gave the French the two provinces of Roussillon and Artois, together with a part of Flanders, asserted the triumph of France over Spain. Richelieu's policy had at last, though

⁵ See par. 160.

at terrible cost to France⁶ and to all Europe, been crowned with success. The House of Austria in both its branches had been humiliated and crippled, and the House of Bourbon was ready to assume the lead in European affairs.

170. Louis XIV assumes the Government. — Cardinal Mazarin died in 1661. Upon this event, Louis, who was now twenty-three years of age, called together the heads of the various departments of the government, and directing his words to the chancellor, said: "I have summoned you with my ministers and secretaries of state, to tell you that it has pleased me hitherto to leave my affairs in the hands of the late cardinal; in the future I shall attend to them myself. You will give me your counsel when I ask for it." He then charged the chancellor not to set seal to any document without his express orders; and warned the secretaries not to sign any paper, not even a passport, without his express commands.

From this time on for more than half a century, Louis was his own prime minister. He gave personal attention to every matter, even the most trivial. Probably no wearer of a crown, Philip II of Spain possibly excepted, ever worked harder at "the trade of a king," as he himself designated his employment. He had able men about him, but they planned and worked — and sometimes chafed — under his minute directions and tireless superintendence.

171. Louis's Aims. — The history of Louis's long reign will present coherence and unity only as we fix clearly in view the ends towards which his efforts were directed.

His first aim was to make himself absolute master in his own kingdom. In his Instructions to the Dauphin, he says, "The

⁶ The heavy taxes laid to meet the expenses of the wars created great discontent, which during the struggle with Spain led to a series of conspiracies or revolts against the government, known as the *Wars of the Fronde* (1648-1652). This was a dying effort on the part of the nobles, the hereditary magistrates, and the middle classes to curb the growing power of the crown. The movement lacked seriousness and true leadership, and resulted merely in making more oppressive the absolutism against which it was directed.

necessary basis of all other reforms was the rendering of my own will absolute." This basis was well laid. Under Louis there was but one will in France — the will of the king. The nobility, the States-General, all local authorities, the Parliament of Paris,⁷ the Church, — all these classes and bodies were shorn of the last remnants of political influence and power and rendered servilely submissive to the crown.

Louis's second aim was to secure for France the headship of Europe — to transfer European leadership and the imperial crown itself from the House of Hapsburg to the House of Bourbon. We shall see in how many sanguinary wars Louis involved almost all Europe in his efforts to realize this object of his ambition.

Besides these definite aims, Louis at times entertained dreams of a great French colonial empire rivaling that which had been built up by Spain. Preoccupied, however, with the carrying out of his European policy, he unfortunately directed efforts only intermittently to the attainment of this the most worthy of all his ambitions.⁸

⁷ This was a French court of justice which attempted to assume political functions, — which sometimes seemed to aspire to become for France what the English Parliament was for England. One of its duties was to register the royal edicts, which were given validity only by such registration. Sometimes the court hesitated to register the king's decrees, and made remonstrances. Louis ordained that the court should register all decrees without delay. It might make remonstrances afterwards. The court was forced to bow to the royal will.

The nobles were made the king's pensioners and became servile courtiers. The States-General were never assembled: all laws were made by the king. The provincial estates, or assemblies, were suppressed or deprived of all real authority. The towns were deprived of their right of self-government: in the year 1692 the king named the mayor of every city, save Lyons, in France. The Church was also completely subject to the crown. The king nominated to all the most important ecclesiastical vacancies. "By the skillful use of this patronage," says Sir James Stephen, in his *Lectures on the History of France*, "Louis was enabled to attach to his service and person every considerable person in his kingdom."

⁸ The reader will not fail to note that the policy here outlined was in its broad features the policy of the first Napoleon. Consciously or unconsciously, Napoleon resumed the policy of the Grand Monarch; and consequently the reign of Louis XIV should be read in the light of that of his great successor in the rôle of European dictator.

172. Colbert. — Mazarin is reported to have said to Louis when dying, "Sire, I owe everything to you ; but I pay my debt to your majesty by giving you Colbert."⁹ During the first ten or twelve years of Louis's personal reign, this extraordinary man inspired and directed almost everything ; but he carefully avoided the appearance of doing so. His maxim seemed to be, Mine the labor, thine the praise. He did for the domestic affairs of France what Richelieu had done for the foreign. Louis made him minister of finance, and in this position he was supreme from 1661 to 1672, which period was, according to the historian Martin, the most glorious in the financial history of France.

But it was not alone in this department that the influence of Colbert was felt. Besides correcting revenue abuses and reforming the corrupt system of taxation, the great minister fostered French industries by a protective tariff, improved the means of internal communication by the construction of roads and canals,¹⁰ fostered commerce, created a formidable navy, and labored zealously to build up a great French colonial empire. It was through his influence that the French East India Company was formed in 1664.

So long as Louis followed the policy of Colbert, he gave France a truly glorious reign ; but unfortunately he soon turned aside from the great minister's policy of peace, to seek glory for himself and greatness for France through new and unjust encroachments upon neighboring nations. And Louis not only disregarded the wise councils of Colbert, but treated him with great ingratitude. The dying words of the unhappy minister were strangely like those of Cardinal Wolsey of England : " If I had done for God what I have done for this man," he said, " I should be saved ten times over ; and now I know not what will become of me."

⁹ Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683).

¹⁰ It was under his administration that the great Languedoc Canal, uniting the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, was constructed.

173. The Wars of Louis XIV. — During the period of his personal administration of the government, Louis XIV was engaged in four great wars : (1) a war respecting the Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668) ; (2) a war with the Protestant Netherlands (1672–1678) ; (3) the War of the Palatinate, or of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697) ; and (4) the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714).

All these wars were, on the part of the French monarch, wars of conquest and aggression, or wars provoked by his ambitious and encroaching policy. The most inveterate enemy of Louis during all this period was the Dutch Republic, the representative and champion of liberty.

174. The War concerning the Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668). — At the end of the war carried on against Spain by Mazarin, the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) was cemented by the betrothal of Maria Theresa, the Spanish Infanta, to Louis XIV, who promised never to lay claim to any part of the Spanish possessions in right of the princess. But upon the death of Philip IV of Spain (1665), Louis immediately claimed, in the name of his wife, portions of the Spanish Netherlands,¹¹ justifying his pretensions mainly on the ground that his wife's dowry had never been paid, and consequently that the renunciation which at the time of her betrothal she made of her rights in the Netherlands was null and void.

To make good his claims, Louis led an army into the Spanish Netherlands. The Hollanders were naturally alarmed, fearing that Louis would also want to annex their country to his dominions. Accordingly they effected what was called the Triple Alliance with England and Sweden, checked the French king in his career of conquest, and, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, forced him to give up much of the

¹¹ Louis's claim was based on a certain feudal rule of succession in the provinces, known as the Law of Devolution, in accordance with which the queen, as the only child of Philip IV *by his first marriage*, should, Louis maintained, inherit the Netherlands.

territory he had seized. He retained, however, a number of Flemish towns along the French frontier, which he made by extensive fortifications, planned by his celebrated military engineer, Vauban, the strong outposts of his kingdom in that direction.

175. The War with the Protestant Netherlands (1672–1678).—The second war of the French king was against the United Netherlands. His attack upon this little state was prompted by a variety of motives. In the first place the Hollanders' intervention in the preceding war had stirred his resentment. Then these Dutchmen represented everything to which he was opposed, — self-government, Protestantism, and free thought. Furthermore, the Dutch humorists had been indulging in some uncomplimentary observations on his personal appearance.

Before entering upon the undertaking which had proved too great for Philip II with the resources of two worlds at his command, Louis, by means of bribes and the employment of that skillful diplomacy of which he was so perfect a master, prudently drew away from the side of Holland both her allies (Sweden and England), even inducing the English king, Charles II, to lend him active assistance. Money also secured the aid of several of the princes of Germany.

Thus the little commonwealth was left alone to contend against fearful odds. But the heroic people whose fathers had resisted for forty years the veteran armies of the strongest monarch in Christendom, were not to be daunted by even the formidable coalition now formed against them.

Louis crossed the frontiers of the Republic with an army of more than a hundred thousand men, headed by the greatest commanders of the age, — Condé, Turenne, and Vauban. In a few days three of the United Provinces — Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overijssel — were in his hands. He took all their cities, says a graphic writer, "in as little time as travelers usually employ to view them."

Counsels among the Hollanders were now divided. One party, headed by the celebrated De Witts, advised peace; another party, led by a worthy descendant of the great William the Silent, the brave young Prince of Orange, William III, afterwards king of England, declared for resistance "to the last dike." The De Witts were killed in a popular tumult, and the prince was clothed with almost dictatorial power, under the title of Stadtholder.

The brave Hollanders now girded themselves for a stout defense of what yet remained to them. It was even seriously proposed in the States-General that, rather than submit to the tyranny of this second Philip, they should carry into execution what was always in the mind of their fathers as a last desperate resort during all their long struggle with the Spanish despot, — namely, open the dikes, bury the country and its invaders beneath the ocean, and, taking their families and household goods in their ships, seek new homes in lands beyond the sea.

The desperate resolve was in part executed; for with the French threatening Amsterdam, the dikes were cut, and all the surrounding fields were laid under water, and the invaders thus forced to retreat.

The heroic resistance to the intruders made by the Hollanders in their half-drowned land, the havoc wrought by the stout Dutch sailors among the fleets of the allies, and the diplomacy of the Dutch statesmen, who through skillful negotiations detached almost all the allies of the French from that side and brought them into alliance with the Republic, — all these things soon put a very different face upon affairs, and Louis found himself confronted by the armies of half of Europe.

For several years the war was now waged on land and sea, — in the Netherlands, all along the Rhine, upon the English Channel, in the Mediterranean, and on the coasts of the New World. Finally an end was put to the struggle by the Peace of Nimeguen (1678). Louis gave up his conquests in Holland,

but kept a large number of towns and fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, besides the province of Franche-Comté, or the Free County of Burgundy, on his eastern frontier.

Thus Louis came out of this tremendous struggle, in which half of Europe was leagued against him, with enhanced reputation and fresh acquisitions of territory. People began to call him the "Grand Monarch"; we shall see directly by what acts he justified their judgment in conferring upon him this title.

176. Louis seizes the City of Strasburg (1681).—Ten years of comparative peace now followed for Western Europe. Among the many indefensible acts of Louis during this period there were two which deserve special notice, since, while marking the culmination of Louis's power and illustrating his arrogant and unjust use of that power, they also mark the turning point in his fortunes.

The first of these was the seizure of the free city of Strasburg and a score of other important places on the left bank of the Rhine belonging to the Empire. "Gold, intrigue, and terror" opened the gates of all these cities to him.¹² Strasburg was of supreme military importance to Louis, for it was not only a great city, but a strong fortress which rendered her mistress of the Rhine.

The audacity of Louis's procedure so dazed every one that no effective protest was made. Besides, at just this time the Emperor was preoccupied with the Turks, who, through their attacks on his Eastern possessions, rendered Louis the same service that a century and a half earlier they had rendered Francis I in his quarrels with the Emperor Charles V (par. 48). In 1683 they laid siege to Vienna. All Christendom awaited anxiously the outcome. Fortunately the siege was raised by the celebrated Polish king, John Sobieski, and the House of Austria was saved. But the Turks continued to threaten the

¹² To lend a color of legality to his acts, Louis, before making these seizures, had had his claims to them passed upon by courts known as "Chambers of Reunion."

eastern territories of Austria, so that it was impossible for the Emperor to intervene in any effective way to prevent Louis from consummating his schemes for the absorption of the Rhenish lands which he needed to round out his dominions in that quarter.¹³

Thus, in the words of Voltaire, did Louis make a time of peace a time of conquests, and in peace gain more for France than his ten predecessors had gained in war.

177. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). — The second act to which we refer — an act the injustice of which was only equaled by its folly — was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the gracious decree by which Henry IV guaranteed religious freedom to the French Protestants.

Louis's motives in persecuting his Protestant subjects were essentially the same as those which had led Philip III of Spain to expel from his dominions his Morisco subjects. He believed the extirpation of heresy to be a service pleasing to God, and he coveted the honor of rooting it out of France. Then again, religious dissent seemed to him to be a sort of challenge to his claims to the possession of absolute power. Master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, he would be master of their consciences also. His theory of government logically led to this monstrous assumption, — that none of his subjects had a right to opinions on religion differing from his.

The revocation of the edict was not the result of a sudden resolve. Almost from the beginning of his personal rule, Louis had shown a persecuting spirit. He had placed unfair construction upon the clauses of the edict, and had subjected the Huguenots to many annoying restrictions. Since 1683 he had harassed them by a device known as the "Dragonnades," from the circumstance that *dragoons* were quartered upon the Protestant families, with full permission to annoy and persecute

¹³ By the Truce of Ratisbon (1684) between Louis and the Emperor, Louis's possession of the territories he had stolen was confirmed for twenty years. This truce marks the culmination of the power and prestige of the Grand Monarch.

them in every way "short of violation and death," to the end that the victims of these outrages might be constrained to recant, which multitudes did.

The intolerant zeal of Louis was just now being stimulated by the counsel of his second wife, Madame de Maintenon, and that of his spiritual advisers, in particular of his confessor, Père La Chaise. The fateful royal decree revoking the Edict of Toleration was issued in 1685.

By this cruel measure all the Protestant churches were closed, and every Huguenot who refused to embrace the Catholic faith was outlawed. The ministers of the heretical sect were expelled from the kingdom; laymen on the other hand were forbidden to leave the country. Any one attempting to do so, if apprehended, was to be sent to the galleys for life.

Disregarding the royal prohibition and evading the vigilance of the police, great numbers of the persecuted Huguenots made their way out of the country. It is estimated that before the end of the seventeenth century Louis had lost as many as three hundred thousand of the most skillful and industrious of his subjects.

The effects upon France of the exodus were most disastrous. Several of the most important and flourishing of the French industries were ruined, while the manufacturing interests of other countries, particularly those of the Protestant Netherlands, England, and Brandenburg, were correspondingly benefited by the energy, skill, and capital which the exiles carried to them. Many of the fugitive Huguenots ultimately found new homes in remote South Africa, and their descendants contributed greatly to the strength of the republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Many others sought refuge in America; and no other class of emigrants, save the Puritans of England, cast

"Such healthful leaven 'mid the elements
That peopled the new world."¹⁴

¹⁴ See Baird. *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America.*

178. The War of the Palatinate, or of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697). — The indirect results of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes were quite as calamitous to France as were the direct results. The indignation that the measure awakened among the Protestant nations contributed to enable William of Orange to organize a formidable confederacy against Louis, known as the "League of Augsburg" (1686). England did not immediately become a member of the league, for the reason that the English throne was at this time held by James II, whose Catholic sympathies and notions of the divine right of kings naturally led him to seek the friendship and alliance of his cousin, the Grand Monarch. But a little later (in 1688) came the revolution which drove James out of England and placed that kingdom in the hands of the Prince of Orange (par. 230). England was thus drawn away from the side of the French king and added to the enemies of Louis.

Louis now resolved to attack the confederates of Augsburg. Seeking a pretext for beginning hostilities, he laid claim, on the part of his sister-in-law, to properties in the Palatinate, and hurried a large army into the country, which was quickly overrun. But being unable to hold the conquests he had made, Louis ordered that the country be laid waste. Among the places reduced to ruins were the historic towns of Heidelberg, Spire, and Worms. Even fruit trees, vines, and crops were destroyed. Upwards of a hundred thousand peasants were rendered homeless.

Another and more formidable coalition, known as the "Grand Alliance," was now formed against Louis (1689). It embraced England, Holland, Sweden, Spain, Savoy, the Emperor, the Elector Palatine, and the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony.

For ten years almost all Europe was a great battlefield. It was very much such a struggle as that waged a century later by the allied monarchies of Europe against Napoleon, when they fought for the independence of the continent.

Both sides at length becoming weary of the contest and almost exhausted in resources, the struggle was closed by the Peace of Ryswick (1697). There was a mutual surrender of conquests made during the course of the war, and Louis had also to give up many of the places he had seized before the beginning of the conflict. He managed, however, to retain, along with some other places, the important city of Strasburg.

179. War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714).— Barely three years had passed after the Peace of Ryswick before the great powers of Europe were involved in another war, known as the War of the Spanish Succession.

The proximate circumstances out of which the war grew were these: in 1700 the king of Spain, Charles II, the last male descendant in Spain of the great Emperor Charles V, died, leaving his crown—the disposition of which had been made a matter of endless discussion and infinite intrigue, for Charles was childless—to Philip, Duke of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV. The duke, a mere lad of seventeen years, assumed the bequeathed crown with the title of Philip V, and thus became the founder of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain.¹⁵ “There are no longer any Pyrenees,” is the way in which Louis is reported to have expressed his exultation over this virtual union of France and Spain.

France, through Spanish favor, might also now easily become supreme in the colonial world and realize her dream of a great colonial empire. The common danger led to the forming of a second Grand Alliance¹⁶ against France, a main object

¹⁵ Besides the rights created by the will of Charles, Louis had other grounds for his claims upon the Spanish throne which were not without legal worth. That put forward by him as the husband of Maria Theresa was arguable, since the dowry promised in 1659 had not been paid (see par. 174). It might further be urged in his behalf that the Austrian claims to the Spanish crown were not as good as his, and that the patriotic Spaniards preferred the Bourbon prince Philip to the Archduke Charles of Austria, who was put forward as a rival candidate.

¹⁶ The alliance embraced at first England, the Protestant Netherlands, Austria, and other German states, and later was joined by Portugal and Savoy.

of which was to eject Philip from the Spanish throne and to seat thereon the Archduke Charles of Austria, the second son of the Emperor Leopold I.¹⁷

The two greatest generals of the allies were the famous Duke of Marlborough (John Churchill), the ablest commander, except Wellington perhaps, that England has ever produced, and the hardly less noted Prince Eugene of Savoy, who was in the imperial service.

For thirteen years all Europe was shaken with war. During the progress of the struggle were fought some of the most memorable battles in European history,—Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet,—in all of which the genius of Marlborough and the consummate skill of Prince Eugene won splendid victories for the allies.

Finally, changes wrought by death in the House of Austria helped to pave the way to peace.¹⁸ In 1705 the Emperor Leopold died, and his son Joseph came to the imperial throne. Six years later (in 1711) he also died, and his brother, the Archduke Charles, was elected Emperor. This changed the whole aspect of the Spanish question, for now to place Charles upon the Spanish throne would be to give him a dangerous preponderance of power; would be, in fact, to reëstablish the great monarchy of Charles V. Consequently the Grand Alliance, already weakened from other causes, fell to pieces, and the war was ended by the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastadt (1714).

By the provisions of these treaties the Bourbon prince, Philip of Anjou, was left upon the Spanish throne, but on the

For England's near-lying ground of hostility to Louis at this time, see par. 236. The Dutch had special reason for alarm, since Louis had already seized and garrisoned the line of so-called barrier fortresses along the southern boundary of the Spanish Netherlands, by which act these provinces had ceased to be a buffer state between the Protestant Netherlands and France.

¹⁷ It was not, however, until the second year of the alliance that the powers formally acknowledged the Archduke as king of Spain.

¹⁸ Other causes influential in bringing the war to a close were the complete exhaustion of France, and the fall of the Whigs and the coming to power of the Tories in England.

condition that there should never be a union of the French and Spanish crowns upon the same head. His dominions also were pared away on every side. Gibraltar and the island of Minorca were ceded to England; Milan, Naples, the island of Sardinia, and the Catholic Netherlands were given to Austria; and Sicily to the Duke of Savoy. Spain was thus shorn of nearly half her territories in Europe.

France also suffered in her colonial possessions and claims, being forced to cede Nova Scotia (Acadia) to England and to admit her sovereignty over Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay Territory.¹⁹

180. New France under Louis XIV.—In examining the main articles of the treaties which closed the War of the Spanish Succession, one cannot fail to be impressed by the revelation of how decisively the New World was at that time beginning to react upon the Old. Indeed, from the opening of the eighteenth century forward the affairs of America were destined to become constantly more and more closely intertwined with those of Europe, so much so as regards France and England that their respective histories in the eighteenth century can be read aright only in the light of these new relations. We shall therefore do well if we here turn our eyes from following the course of events in Europe in order to cast a glance upon the situation of things in the New World.

Louis and his minister Colbert, as has already been noted, had dreams of a splendid French empire beyond the seas. With such paternal solicitude did Louis watch over the growth of the French transatlantic settlements that he earned the title of "Father of New France."²⁰ Year after year shiploads of emigrants were sent out at the expense of the crown. The population along the St. Lawrence thickened slowly yet

¹⁹ For the celebrated clause concerning the *Assiento*, see par. 273.

²⁰ Africa and Asia were not forgotten. In 1664 the French East India Company was organized, and the same year a serious attempt was made by the company to form a settlement in Madagascar, on which island Frenchmen had already in the days of Richelieu made unsuccessful efforts at colonization. The

steadily. In the brains of adventurers were conceived vast projects of French aggrandizement. In the year 1682 the celebrated explorer, La Salle, descended the Mississippi to its mouth. This adventurous voyage and the knowledge which it afforded of the exhaustless resources of the interior of the virgin continent and of its vast waterways gave birth to the ambitious French scheme of hemming in the English settlements on the Atlantic seaboard by a chain of forts and settlements extending from the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes along the Ohio and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. It was this project on the part of the French, the initial steps to the carrying out of which were taken in the present reign,²¹ which aroused the English colonists to the danger threatening them from the growth of French influence in the interior of the continent, and which finally brought on the great struggle which was to decide forever the momentous question whether France or England should mould the destinies of the New World.

Several things intervened to prevent Louis from becoming the maker of a great and permanent French empire in America. In the first place, he subordinated these over-the-sea interests to his ambitious European policy. Hence the resources which should have been used in fostering colonial enterprises were wasted in unjust and comparatively fruitless wars at home.

In the second place, the French colony in Canada never grew and gained in strength in the way that the English settlements did, because the French settlers never breathed the air of liberty. They were allowed no initiative; everything was

French established themselves at Surat, in India, in 1667 and at Pondicherry in 1672. To encourage the nobles to engage in colonial trade, Louis issued an edict ordaining that it should not be regarded as "derogatory to the nobility to take part in commerce with the Indies."

²¹ The trading post of Peoria was founded in 1680; Detroit, in 1701; Vincennes and Mobile were established in 1702. New Orleans was founded three years after the death of Louis XIV, in 1718.

planned and executed for them. They were treated like children. This paternalism smothered all worthy individual aspiration and enterprise.

In the third place, the unfortunate bigotry of Louis and of his advisers stood in the way of the success of the undertaking. For Louis, in his efforts to people the wilderness of the New World, was aiming to promote, not only the glory of France, but also "the glory of God"; hence the virgin lands must be kept free from the defilement of heresy. The colony was closed against all save Catholic immigrants. But this was a suicidal policy. Had the French territories, like the English colonies, been open to religious dissenters, New France would doubtless have received a large and steady stream of Huguenot emigrants, and therewith such an accession of strength as might possibly have given a wholly different issue to the great struggle which, soon after Louis had passed from the stage, began between the English and the French for supremacy in America.

181. Death of the King (1715).—It was amidst troubles, perplexities, and afflictions that Louis XIV's long and eventful reign drew to a close. The heavy and constant taxes necessary to meet the expenses of his numerous wars, to maintain an extravagant court, and to furnish means for the erection of costly palaces and various public buildings, had bankrupted the country, and the cries of his wretched subjects, clamoring for bread, could not be shut out of the royal chamber. Death, too, had invaded the palace, striking down the dauphin and also two grandsons of Louis, leaving as the nearest heir to the throne his great-grandson, a mere child. On the morning of Sept. 1, 1715, the Grand Monarch breathed his last, bequeathing to this boy of five years a kingdom overwhelmed with debt, and filled with misery, with threatening vices and dangerous discontent. He seemed at the last moment to be sensible of the mistakes and faults of his reign, for his dying charge to the little prince who was to succeed him was as

follows: "You will be a great king," he said to the child, "but your happiness will depend upon your submission to God, and the care which you take to relieve your people. For this reason you must avoid war as much as possible. It is the ruin of the people. Do not follow the bad example which I have set you. I have undertaken war too lightly, and have continued it from vanity. Do not imitate me, but be a pacific prince, and let your chief occupation be to relieve your subjects." ²²

The tidings of the king's death, instead of being received by his subjects with tears, was received throughout France with an outburst of rejoicing. A satirist of the time declared that "the people had shed too many tears during his life to have any left for his death."

182. The Court of Louis XIV. — History is becoming less and less the history of courts, and more and more the history of peoples; but, as the historian Martin says, under Louis XIV France was absorbed in the court, and the court in the king, so that to comprehend the age we must stand on the steps of the throne.

The court sustained by the Grand Monarch was the most extravagantly magnificent that Europe has ever seen. Never since Nero spread his Golden House over the burnt district of Rome, and, ensconcing himself amid its luxurious appointments, exclaimed, "Now I am housed as a man ought to be," had prince or king so ostentatiously lavished upon himself the wealth of an empire. Louis had half a dozen palaces, the most costly of which was that at Versailles. Here he created, in what was originally a desert, a beautiful miniature universe of which he was the center, the resplendent sun — he chose the sun as his emblem — around which all revolved and from which all received light and life. Upon the central building and its adjuncts he spent fabulous sums, — what would probably

²² Dangeau, xvi, 126, 128; quoted by Perkins, *France under the Regency*, p. 298.

be equal to more than a hundred million dollars with us. Here were gathered the beauty, wit, and learning of France. The royal household numbered over fifteen thousand persons, all living in costly and luxurious idleness at the expense of the people.

One element of this enormous family was the great lords of the old feudal aristocracy. Dispossessed of their ancient power and wealth, they were content now to fill a place in the royal household, — to be the king's pensioners and the elegant embellishment of his court. "A military staff on a furlough for a century or more, around a commander in chief who gives fashionable entertainments, is," says Taine, "the principle and summary of the habits of society under the ancient régime."

These *grandees* were ostensibly the servants of the monarch, the domestics of his household. They assisted him in making his toilet in the morning and in disrobing at night; for Louis never went to bed or arose save in the presence of a crowd of courtiers, great lords, officials of the kingdom, and foreign ambassadors.

But while we find in Louis's court all the forms of chivalry, the real spirit of chivalry was entirely lacking; men simply played their parts. "The greater part of the reign," says the French historian Anquetil, "may be regarded as a stage exhibition with magnificent setting, designed to excite wonder." The English statesman Bolingbroke expressed the same thing in the sententious phrase that Louis was "the best actor of Majesty that ever filled a throne."

And the life of the court besides being artificial was corrupt. Vice, however, was gilded. The most scandalous immoralities were made attractive by the glitter of superficial accomplishment and by exquisite suavity and polish of manner.

But, notwithstanding its insincerity and immorality, the brilliancy of the court of Louis dazzled all Europe. The

neighboring courts imitated its manners and emulated its extravagances. In all matters of taste and fashion France gave laws to the continent, and the French language became the court language of the civilized world.

183. Literature under Louis XIV.—Although Louis himself was not much of a scholar, he gave a most liberal encouragement to men of letters, thereby making his reign the Augustan Age of French literature. In this patronage Louis was not unselfish. He honored and befriended poets and writers of every class, because thus he extended the reputation of his court. These writers, pensioners of his bounty, filled all Europe with their praises of the great king, and thus made the most ample and grateful return to Louis for his favor and liberality.

Almost every species of literature was cultivated by the French writers of this era, yet it was in the province of the drama that the most eminent names appeared. The three great names here are those of Corneille (1606–1684), Racine (1639–1699), and Molière (1622–1673). “The stage on which Corneille, Molière, and Racine shone at once,” writes Martin, “blazed with a glory without parallel in the modern world and in Roman antiquity; we must go back to the best days of Athens to find thus, flourishing together, the two principal forms of the dramatic art.”

Corneille and Racine were writers of tragedy, Molière of comedy. Corneille is called the “Father of French Tragedy,” and Racine has been ranked by Hallam with Shakespeare. Molière was a dramatist and satirist of unmatched genius. With satire and raillery never surpassed in power and piquancy, he attacked the vices of the times, especially ridiculing the foibles and extravagances of the nobility and of society.²³

²³ In the eighteenth century French literature, which had attained a wonderful elegance, polish, and grace, was pressed into the service of philosophy. The thinkers and theorists of the age who had ideas on government, religion, or society which they desired to promulgate were not content to let their thoughts go before the world in plain attire, but they must needs labor to drape them in the

Among other world-renowned French writers, philosophers, prelates, and orators who adorned the age of Louis XIV were Descartes (1596-1650), the father of modern philosophy ; Pascal (1623-1662), the prodigy in mathematics and the author of the famous *Provincial Letters* ; La Bruyère (1645-1696), the novelist and unrivaled depicter of character and manners ; Madame de Sévigné (1626-1696), the brilliant letter writer, whose correspondence forms to-day a prized portion of French literature and constitutes a treasure of information for the court historian ; Bossuet (1627-1704), the eloquent court preacher and champion of divine-right kingship ; and Fénelon (1651-1715), the distinguished prelate and author of *The Adventures of Telemachus*, a disguised satire on the reign of Louis XIV.

184. Relation of the Reign of Louis XIV to the Revolution of 1789. — “ If it be asked,” says the historian Von Holst, “ who did the most towards the destruction of the ancient régime, the correct answer is, beyond all question, Louis XIV, its greatest representative.”

Louis discredited absolute monarchy by his shameful misuse of his unlimited power. His many wars and his extravagant expenditures on an idle and profligate court weighed France down with crushing and intolerable burdens. It was the vast mass of misery and suffering created by his acting on the monstrous doctrine that “ the many are made for the use of one,” that did much to prepare the minds and hearts of the French people for the great Revolution.

185. Decline of the French Monarchy under Louis XV (1715-1774). — The supremacy of the House of Bourbon passed away forever with Louis XIV. In passing from the reign of

most beautiful and seductive garb of expression and style. One of the chief vices of this philosophy was the impracticable character of its theories, — a vice attributed by Guizot to the absolute monarchy, which shut out from participation in the affairs of government all men of ability. The best theorizers are always men of large experience in practical matters. The mischief this philosophy wrought will be noticed in a subsequent chapter, when we come to speak of the causes of the French Revolution.

the Grand Monarch to that of his successor, we pass from the strongest and outwardly most brilliant reign in French history to the weakest and most humiliating. Louis XV was a despot without possessing any of those virtues which often redeem the odious measures of despotism. During his reign the French nation made a swift descent towards the abyss of the Revolution of 1789.

For the first eight years of the reign, affairs were in the hands of the Duke of Orleans, who was regent during the king's minority. He was a corrupt man, a man absolutely shameless in his vices. Probably Rome in the days of the worst Cæsars witnessed nothing in the way of reckless and riotous living to surpass what France witnessed under what is known as "the Regency."

A celebrated episode of this period was the financial experiment of John Law, a Scotchman who had gained the ear of the regent. His system involved the creation of a bank,—banks were at this time unknown in France, and the Bank of England had only recently been established,—large issues of paper money, and the formation of a gigantic trading association known as the Mississippi Company. The government lent its credit to the bank, and granted the company for settlement and exploitation the territory of Louisiana, the vast indefinite region in North America opened up to French enterprise by the explorations of La Salle. France now went wild in a fever of speculation. Rumors were spread abroad of the discovery of mountains of gold and precious stones in the territories of the company. The shares of the association rose by leaps and bounds to fabulous prices. The end was soon reached. The inflated scheme, which was to make everybody "rich and happy," collapsed, spreading broadcast bankruptcy and financial ruin, and passed into history as "The Mississippi Bubble."

In 1723 the prince's minority ended and he assumed the government. The atmosphere in which he had been brought

up had wholly corrupted a nature seemingly prone to evil. He was completely under the influence of his mistresses, of whom the most notorious was Madame de Pompadour. The loves, the hates, and the caprices of this woman were for nineteen years a chief factor in the decision of the weightiest matters of war and of peace. The highest appointments in the army and the navy were dictated by her. For a long series of years she was practically the prime minister of France.

The conditions surrounding the throne being of this nature, it is not surprising that under Louis XV the influence, power, and prestige of France sensibly declined. She took part, indeed, but usually with injury to her military reputation, in all the wars of this period. The most important of these were the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), which struggle brought into sudden prominence the rising state of Prussia; and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), known in America as the French and Indian War, which resulted in the loss to France of Canada in the New World and of her Indian empire in the Old.

Though thus shorn of her colonial possessions in all quarters of the globe, France managed to hold in Europe the provinces won for her by the wars and diplomacy of Louis XIV, and even made some fresh acquisitions of territory along the Rhenish frontier, besides gaining the island of Corsica in the Mediterranean, the birthplace of one who was soon to have much to do in shaping the destinies of France.

But, taken all together, the period was one of great national humiliation: the French fleet was almost driven from the sea; the martial spirit of the nation visibly declined; and France, from being the foremost of the states of Europe, became the least among the great powers.

Sources and Source Material.—There is a great mass of state papers, correspondence, memoirs, and other writings illustrative of this period of French history; but comparatively little of this material is accessible in a form adapted to the use of beginners in history. Chief among the autobiographical works which will both interest and instruct young readers are the *Memoirs of the Duke of Saint-Simon*, translated by Bayle St. John (New York, 1901), 4 vols. In this edition the original text is greatly compressed. Nowhere else can be found so lively and entertaining an account of life at court under Louis XIV and the Regency. For glimpses of other sides of the life of the times read the *Letters of Madame de Sévigné*, accessible in different editions. These delightful letters cover the last half of the seventeenth century.

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CHAPTER IX

THE STUARTS AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

(1603-1689)

I. THE FIRST TWO STUARTS

Reign of James the First (1603-1625)

186. Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland. — With the end of the Tudor line, James VI of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart, came to the English throne as James I of England. The accession of the House of Stuart brought England and Scotland under the same sovereign, though each country still retained its own legislature. The union of the two countries was symbolized by a new flag, upon which were blended the crosses of Saint George and Saint Andrew, the former the patron saint of England and the latter of Scotland.

187. The King. — Although, as we shall see in a moment, James had lofty notions of the “kingly dignity,” yet, as Hume says, never was there a sovereign “less qualified by nature to sustain it.” There was in truth nothing royal in James’s person or in his character. An unfortunate weakness in his limbs gave him an awkward, shambling gait. His eyes rolled in a manner most disconcerting to strangers; and a deformity of the mouth caused him to take his drink “very uncomely.” He was conceited and obstinate, and was charged with drunkenness and buffoonery. When angry he indulged in cursing and swearing, — was “a great deal too bold with God,” as a writer of that day puts it. He affected authorship, and wrote several books, one on witchcraft, in which he believed, and another on the use of tobacco, — just introduced into England

from America, — in which he did not believe.¹ The sycophants of his court called him the “British Solomon,” which drew from the French Duke of Sully the retort that he was the “wisest fool in Europe.”

He was constitutionally a coward, and would tremble at the sight of a drawn sword: “he naturally loved not the sight of a soldier, nor of any valiant man,” says a contemporary. His clothes were thickly padded as a precaution against assassination. This disposition inclined him to a peace policy, so that the history of his reign is signalized by no important wars. It also, in connection with his general femininity, earned for him the title of “Queen James,” while his predecessor was alluded to as “King Elizabeth.”

188. James's Conception of Kingship; the “Royal Touch.”

—James, like the other Stuarts who followed him on the English throne, was a firm believer in the doctrine of the divine right of kings. He held that hereditary princes are the Lord's anointed, and that their authority can in no way be questioned or limited by people, priest, or parliament. These are his own words: “It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do: good Christians content themselves with His will revealed in His word; so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that.”²

This theory of government of course placed the king above Parliament and the laws. Indeed, James expressly claimed the right to amend or to abrogate at his pleasure the laws of the realm. “General laws made publicly in Parliament” — it is James himself who is speaking — “. . . may be mitigated and suspended [by the king] from causes only known to him. . . . Although I have said a good king will frame all his actions to

¹ See his *A Counterblast to Tobacco*, edited by Edward Arber (English Reprints). See also Henderson's *Side Lights on English History*, pp. 38, 39, for an extract from his “*Dæmonologie*.”

² From the king's speech in the Star Chamber, 1616.

be according to law, yet is he not bound thereto, but of his good will and for good example giving to his subjects."

This doctrine found not a little support in the popular superstition of the "Royal Touch." The king was believed to possess the power—a gift transmitted through the royal line of England from Edward the Confessor—of healing scrofulous persons by the laying on of hands.³ James's son Charles is said to have touched a hundred thousand persons during his reign. "The political importance of this superstition," observes the historian Lecky, "is very manifest. Educated laymen might deride it, but in the eyes of the English poor it was a visible, palpable attestation of the indefeasible sanctity of the royal line. It placed the sovereignty entirely apart from the categories of mere human institutions."

Still stronger support for this Stuart conception of the unlimited authority of kings was derived from French theory and practice. The Stuarts were related to the French family of the Guises. They were in sympathy with French modes of thought. Further, Charles I had for wife a French princess, Henrietta Maria. These affiliations with France naturally brought the Stuarts under French influence. They imitated the Bourbons. They quoted them constantly, and strove to make the government of England like that of France, an absolute monarchy.

But the Commons of the English Parliament, and probably the majority of the English people, differed with their Stuart kings in their views concerning the nature of government, and particularly concerning the nature of the English government. In this difference of views lay hidden, as we shall learn, the germs of the civil war and of all that grew out of it,—the Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Revolution of 1689.

³ Consult Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i, chap. i. The French kings were also supposed to possess the same miraculous power, inherited, as most believed, from Louis the Saint.

189. The Gunpowder Plot (1605). — In the second year of James's reign was unearthed an extraordinary plot to blow up with gunpowder the Parliament building, upon the opening day of the session of the Houses, when King, Lords, and Commons would all be present, and thus to destroy at a single blow every branch of the government.

This conspiracy, known as the Gunpowder Plot, was entered into by some Catholics because they were disappointed in the course which the king and the Parliament had taken as regards their religion.⁴ The leader of the conspiracy was Guy Fawkes. Thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were secreted in one of the cellars beneath the chamber occupied by the Lords, and then the conspirators quietly awaited the assembling of Parliament.

The timely discovery of the plot was brought about by means of a letter of warning from one of the conspirators to a Catholic peer (his brother-in-law), begging him to absent himself from the opening of Parliament. "God and man," ran the mysterious message, "have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time; . . . for, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them."

The closing lines of the letter awakened a suspicion as to the nature of the plot; the vaults beneath the Parliament House were searched, and the terrible secret was discovered. Fawkes, who was keeping watch of the cellar, was arrested, and after being put to the rack, was executed. His chief

⁴ Though son of the Catholic Mary Stuart, James had been educated as a Protestant. At the opening of his reign some of the Puritan clergy presented to the king a paper called the Millenary Petition, from the alleged number of signers, praying for certain reforms in the Church. At a meeting known as the Hampton Court Conference (1604), James, after listening to the arguments of Anglican bishops and Puritan clergymen, decided in favor of the Anglican service and rites. The Puritans, and along with them the Catholics, were now subjected to persecution because of their refusal to conform to the Anglican worship and attend church services. Many Catholic priests were expelled from the realm.

accomplices were also seized and punished. The alarm created by the terrible plot led Parliament to enact some very severe laws against the Catholics.

190. Contest between James and the Commons; "the Sovereign King and the Sovereign People." — It has been seen what ideas James entertained of the kingly office. Such a view of royal authority and privileges was sure to bring him into conflict with Parliament, especially with the House of Commons. He was constantly dissolving Parliament and sending the members home, because they insisted upon considering subjects which he had told them they should let alone.

An incident vividly lights up the situation. A committee from the Commons was about to wait upon the king. "Place twelve armchairs," said James to his attendants; "I am going to receive twelve kings." What the king said in bitter irony was the simple truth. James, when he met the committee from the Commons, met men who were as sure that they had a divine right to rule England as he was that he had a divine commission to that same end. As the historian Guizot tersely expresses it, "Both king and people thought as sovereigns." Here were the conditions of an irrepressible conflict.

The chief matters of dispute between the king and the Commons were the limits of the authority of the former in matters touching legislation and taxation, and the nature and extent of the privileges and jurisdictions of the latter.

As to the limits of the royal power, James talked and acted as though his prerogatives were practically unbounded. He issued proclamations which in their scope were really laws, and then enforced these royal edicts by fines and imprisonment as though they were regular statutes of Parliament. Moreover, taking advantage of some uncertainty in the law as regards the power of the king to collect customs at the ports of the realm, he laid new and unusual duties upon imports and exports. James's judges were servile enough to sustain him in this course, some of them going so far as to say in effect that

“the seaports are the king’s gates, which he may open and shut to whom he pleases.”

Against all these usurpations of authority the Commons remonstrated vigorously, and by their attitude of determined opposition to the arbitrary course of their sovereign prevented the government of England from becoming an unlimited monarchy, in which the king, without the concurrence of Parliament, might make laws and levy taxes at pleasure.

As to the privileges of the Commons, that body insisted, among other things, upon their right to determine all cases of contested election of their members, and to debate freely all questions concerning the common weal, without being liable to prosecution or imprisonment for words spoken in the House. James denied that these privileges were matters of right pertaining to the Commons, and repeatedly intimated to them that it was only through his own gracious permission and the favor of his ancestors that they were allowed to exercise these liberties at all, and that if their conduct was not more circumspect and reverential he should take away their privileges entirely.

On one occasion, the Commons having ventured in debate upon certain matters of state which the king had forbidden them to meddle with, he, in reproving them, made a more express denial than ever of their rights and privileges, which caused them, in a burst of noble indignation, to spread upon their journal a brave protest, known as “The Great Protestation,” which declared that “the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defense of the realm and the Church of England . . . are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in Parliament” (1621).

When intelligence of this action was carried to the king, he angrily adjourned Parliament, sent for the journal of the House,

and with his own hands struck out the obnoxious resolution. Then he dissolved Parliament, and even went so far as to imprison several of the members of the Commons. In these high-handed measures we get a glimpse of the Stuart theory of government, and see the way paved for the final break between king and people in the following reign.

191. Colonies and Trade Settlements. — The reign of James I is signalized by the commencement of that system of colonization which has resulted in the establishment of the English race in almost every quarter of the globe.

In the year 1607 Jamestown, so named in honor of the king, was founded in Virginia. This was the first permanent English settlement within the limits of the United States. In 1620 some Separatists, or Pilgrims, who had found in Holland a temporary refuge from persecution, pushed across the Atlantic, and amidst heroic sufferings and hardships established the first settlement in New England, and laid the foundations of civil and religious liberty in the New World.

Besides planting these settlements in the New World, the English during this same reign established themselves in the ancient land of India. In 1613 the East India Company, which had been chartered by Elizabeth in 1600, established their first factory at Surat. This was the humble beginning of the gigantic English empire in the East. By the close of the century it had made settlements at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, the three most important centers of English population and influence in India at the present time.

In this connection must also be noticed the Plantation of Ulster in Ireland. The northern part of that island having been desolated by the Tyrone Rebellion (par. 107), and large tracts of land having been forfeited to the English crown, this land was now given by royal grant to English and Scotch settlers. Some of the Celtic clans were removed bodily, and assigned lands in other parts of the island. This movement began in 1610. Its aim was to Protestantize and Anglicize

the country. The end sought was in a good measure attained. In less than a century after the beginning of the colonization movement there were over a million Protestants of the Presbyterian sect settled in Ulster. The injustice and harshness of the treatment of the Irish natives — which was very like the treatment of the Indians in the New World at the hands of the colonists there — awakened among them a spirit of bitter hostility to the newcomers, which, intensified by fresh wrongs, has imbittered all the relations of Ireland and England up to our own day.

192. Literature. — One of the most noteworthy literary labors of the reign under review was a new translation of the Bible, known as *King James's Version*, published in 1611. This royal version is the one in general use at the present day.

The most noted writers of James's reign were a bequest to it from the brilliant era of Elizabeth. Sir Walter Raleigh, the petted courtier of Elizabeth, fell on evil days after her death. On the charge of taking part in a conspiracy against the crown, he was sent to the Tower, where he was kept a prisoner for thirteen years. From the tedium of his long confinement he found relief in the composition of a *History of the World*.⁵

The close of the life of the great philosopher Francis Bacon was scarcely less sad than that of Sir Walter Raleigh. He

⁵ Raleigh was finally set at liberty, but not pardoned. There was much of the romantic and adventurous in his nature, and he now proposed to mend his broken fortunes by imitating the undertakings of Cortes and Pizarro. One of his dreams was, that somewhere in South America there existed a sort of *El Dorado*, and he fitted out an expedition at his own expense to search for it. The expedition was very unfortunate. It sailed far up the great Orinoco River, but found nothing corresponding to Raleigh's dream, and did nothing save capture and burn a little Spanish settlement. For this act the Spanish court demanded, upon Raleigh's return to England, that he be punished as a pirate. James yielded to the demands of Spanish vengeance, and Raleigh was condemned to die — not, however, on the charge of piracy, but on the old charge for which he had suffered the long imprisonment. The old courtier's calmness was not disturbed by the near approach of death. When on the scaffold he lifted the ax, and feeling the edge with his thumb, said, "This is sharp medicine, but it is a sound cure for all diseases" (1618).

held the office of Lord Chancellor, and, yielding to the temptations of the corrupt times upon which he had fallen, accepted fees from the suitors who brought cases before him. He was impeached and brought to the bar of the House of Lords, where he confessed his fault, but asserted that the money he took never influenced his judgment. He appealed pathetically to his judges "to be merciful to a broken reed." He was sentenced to pay a heavy fine and to imprisonment in the Tower. But the king in pity released him from all the penalty and even conferred a pension upon him. He lived only five years after his fall and disgrace, dying in 1626.

Bacon must be given the first place among the philosophers of the English-speaking race. His system is known as the "Inductive Method of Philosophy." It insists upon experiment and a careful observation of facts as the only true means of arriving at a knowledge of the laws of nature.

The advance of science in this age was marked by William Harvey's (1578-1657) discovery and demonstration of the circulation of the blood, one of the most important of the physiological discoveries that illustrate the progress of medical science.⁶

Reign of Charles the First (1625-1649).

193. The Petition of Right (1628). — Charles I came to the throne with all his father's lofty notions about the divine right of kings. He made his own these words of Scripture: "Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou?"⁷ Consequently the old contest

⁶ Shakespeare died about the middle of the reign (in 1616). Several of his companion dramatists, who like himself began their career under Elizabeth, also outlived the queen, and did most of their work during the reign of her successor. The following dates may be of service: Ben Jonson (1573?-1637); Francis Beaumont (1584-1616); John Fletcher (1579-1625); Philip Massinger (1583-1640); John Ford (1586-1639?).

⁷ Eccles. viii. 4; cited by Charles on his trial in 1649.

between king and Parliament was straightway renewed. The first Parliament of his reign Charles dissolved speedily, because instead of voting supplies they persisted in investigating public grievances. His second Parliament met a similar fate. No sooner were the Houses assembled than the Commons carried up to the Lords articles of impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham, an ignorant, corrupt, and much detested favorite of the king, yet his chief minister and adviser. In the eyes of the Commons this insolent upstart was "the grievance of grievances," and they were determined that the control of the government — for Buckingham exercised almost royal power — should no longer rest in the hands of such a person. To save his favorite, and also to cut short further censures upon his government, Charles abruptly dissolved Parliament.

After the dissolution of his second Parliament, Charles endeavored to raise the money he needed to carry on the government, by means of benevolences and forced loans (par. 73). But all his expedients failed to meet his needs, and he was forced to fall back upon Parliament. The Houses met, and promised to grant him generous subsidies, provided he would approve a certain *Petition of Right* which they had drawn up. Next after Magna Charta, this document is the most important in the constitutional history of England. It simply reaffirmed the ancient rights and privileges of the English people as defined in the Great Charter and by the good laws of Edward I and Edward III. Four abuses were provided against: (1) the raising of money by loans, benevolences, taxes, etc., without the consent of Parliament; (2) imprisonment without cause shown; (3) the quartering of soldiers in private houses — a very vexatious thing; and (4) trial by martial law, that is, without jury.

Charles was as reluctant to assent to the petition as King John was to assent to Magna Charta; but he was at length forced to give sanction to it by the use of the usual formula, "Let it be law as desired" (1628).

The provisions of the Petition of Right were often violated by Charles and others of the Stuarts; nevertheless, it was a great advantage to the people to have their rights and privileges thus plainly stated, and to have their sovereigns bound by such a solemn compact; because despotism always seeks to hide itself under the forms of law, and when these are so explicit that everybody knows just what is allowed and what is forbidden, very much has been gained in the way of preventing the violation by a tyrannical ruler of the liberties of his subjects.

194. Charles rules without Parliament (1629-1640). — It soon became evident that Charles was utterly insincere when he gave his assent to the Petition of Right. He had no more thought of governing in good faith according to this solemn agreement between himself and his people than King John had of observing the terms of Magna Charta. He immediately violated its provisions in attempting to raise money by forbidden taxes and loans. For eleven years he ruled without parliaments, thus changing the government of England from a government by King, Lords, and Commons to what was in effect an absolute and irresponsible monarchy, like that of France or of Spain.

Prominent among Charles's most active agents were his ministers, Thomas Wentworth, later Earl of Strafford (the Duke of Buckingham had been assassinated in 1628), and William Laud, Bishop of London, both of whom earned unenviable reputations through their industry and success in building up the absolute power of their master upon the ruins of the ancient institutions of English liberty. Wentworth devoted himself to establishing the royal despotism in civil matters; while Laud, who was finally made Archbishop of Canterbury, busied himself chiefly with exalting above all human interference the king's prerogatives in religious affairs as the supreme head of the Church in England.

All these high-handed and tyrannical proceedings of Charles and his agents were enforced by three iniquitous courts of

usurped and arbitrary jurisdiction. These were known as the "Council of the North," the "Star Chamber," and the "High Commission Court."⁸

The first was a tribunal established by Henry VIII, and now employed by Wentworth as an instrument for enforcing the king's despotic authority in the turbulent northern counties of England. The Star Chamber was a court organized by Henry VII, which at this time dealt chiefly with criminal cases affecting the government, such as riot, libel, and conspiracy. The High Commission Court was a tribunal of forty-four commissioners, created in Elizabeth's reign to enforce the acts of supremacy and uniformity.

All of these courts sat without jury, and being composed of the creatures of the king, were of course his subservient instruments. Often their decisions were unjust and arbitrary, their punishments harsh and cruel.

195. John Hampden and Ship Money (1637-1638).—Among the illegal taxes levied during this period of tyranny was a species known as "ship money," so called from the fact that in early times the kings, when the realm was in danger, called upon the seaports and maritime counties to contribute ships and ship material for the public service. Charles and his agents, in looking this matter over, conceived the idea of extending this tax over the inland as well as the seaboard counties.

Among those who refused to pay the tax was a country gentleman, named John Hampden. The case was tried in the Court of Exchequer, before all the twelve judges. All England watched the progress of the suit with the utmost solicitude. The question was argued by able counsel both on the side of Hampden and of the crown. Judgment was finally rendered in favor of the king, although five of the

⁸ All these courts had grown out of the executive power of the crown, and therefore were not controlled by the rules of procedure governing the regular courts; they did not form part of the judiciary.

twelve judges stood for Hampden. The case was lost ; but the people, who had been following the arguments, were fully persuaded that it went against Hampden simply for the reason that the judges stood in fear of the royal displeasure should they dare to decide the case adversely to the crown.

The arbitrary and despotic character which the government had now assumed in both civil and religious matters, and the hopelessness of relief or protection from the courts, caused thousands to seek in the New World that freedom and security which was denied them in their own land. A somewhat doubtful tradition tells how Hampden himself and Oliver Cromwell, of whom we shall hear much hereafter, were among those who, seeing no hope of the restoration of liberty in England, had resolved to emigrate to America, but, when just ready to go on shipboard, were detained by an order forbidding any person to leave the kingdom without a royal license. If this be true, despotism here overreached itself, — Charles detained his own executioner.

196. The Bishops' War (1639). — England was ready to rise in open revolt against the unbearable tyranny. Events in Scotland hastened the crisis. The king was attempting to impose the English liturgy (slightly modified) upon the Scotch Presbyterians. A Sabbath was set on which the liturgy should be introduced in all the churches. To the Scotch this seemed little short of a restoration of the "Popery" they had renounced. Tradition tells how at Edinburgh the attempt of the bishop to read the service led to a riot, one of the worshipers, Janet Geddes by name, flinging her stool at the bishop's head.⁹ The spirit of resistance spread. All classes, nobles and peasants alike, bound themselves by a solemn covenant to resist to the very last every attempt to make innovations in their religion.

⁹ The "flight of Jenny's stool" holds some such place in the story of the English Revolution as the throwing of the tea into Boston Harbor holds in the story of the American Revolution.

The king resolved to crush the movement by force. The Scotch accepted the challenge with all that ardor which religious enthusiasm never fails to inspire. Charles soon found that war could not be carried on without money, and was constrained to summon Parliament in hopes of obtaining a vote of supplies.

But instead of making the king a grant of money, the Commons first gave their attention to the matter of grievances, whereupon Charles dissolved the Parliament. The Scottish forces crossed the border, and the king, helpless, with an empty treasury and a seditious army, was forced again to summon the two Houses.

197. The Long Parliament. — Under this call met on Nov. 3, 1640, the Parliament which, from the circumstance of its sitting for twelve years, and legally existing for nearly twenty, became known as the "Long Parliament." A small majority of the members of the Commons of this Parliament were stern and determined men, men who fully realized the danger in which the traditional liberties of Englishmen were set, and who were resolved to put a check to the despotic course of the king.

Almost the first act of the Commons was the impeachment of Strafford, as the most prominent instrument of the king's tyranny and usurpation. He was finally condemned by a bill of attainder¹⁰ and sent to the block.

To secure themselves against dissolution before their work was done, the Houses passed a bill which provided that they should not be adjourned or dissolved without their own consent. The three arbitrary courts of which we have spoken, the High Commission Court, the Council of the North, and the Star Chamber, were abolished. Finally an act was passed declaring the illegality of ship money and annulling the judgment against John Hampden "as contrary to and against the laws and statutes of this realm."

¹⁰ See par. 90, n. 19. Laud was executed in 1645.

198. The Insurrection in Ireland (1641). — The situation was critical; it was rendered still more so by an uprising in Ireland.¹¹ Taking advantage of the quarrel between Charles and his Parliament, the Irish Catholics rose in revolt. The aim of the insurrection was to wipe out the colony planted in the reign of James I (par. 191), and to bring to an end Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. Von Ranke characterizes the insurrection as one of the most cruel of which we have record. It was cruel because the native Irish were stirred not only by deep race enmity, but also by bitter religious hatred. Neither age nor sex was spared. Thousands of the English and Scotch settlers perished miserably. It was not long before an English Protestant army made savage reprisals (par. 209).

199. Charles's Attempt to seize the Five Members. — An imprudent act on the part of Charles now precipitated the nation into the gulf of civil war, towards which events had been so rapidly drifting. With the design of overawing the Commons, the king made a charge of treason against five of the leading members, among whom were Hampden and Pym, and sent officers to effect their arrest; but the accused were not to be found. The next day Charles himself, accompanied by armed attendants, went to the House, for the purpose of seizing the five members; but, having been forewarned of the king's intention, they had withdrawn from the hall. The king was not long in realizing the state of affairs, and with the observation, "I see the birds have flown," withdrew from the chamber.

¹¹ It was just after the outbreak of the revolt that the Commons drew up and published what is known as "The Grand Remonstrance." For the text of this important document and the accompanying petition, see Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, vol. ii, pp. 202-232. The special student of this period will be interested in a careful study entitled "The Genesis of the Grand Remonstrance," by Henry Lawrence Schoolcraft (University of Illinois Publications, New Series, vol. i, No. 7). The Grand Remonstrance was carried by a very narrow majority. Nearly half of the Commons joined the king at Oxford. It is only by remembering this that we can understand how evenly the kingdom was divided.

Charles had taken a fatal step. The nation could not forgive the insult offered to its representatives. With the watchwords, "Privilege of Parliament," and "To your tents, O Israel," all London rose in arms. The threatened members were conveyed to the Parliament building by way of the Thames, which was crowded with boats filled with armed men. The king, frightened by the storm which his rashness had raised, fled from the city to York, "deserted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse for the fatal measure into which he had been hurried." From the flight of Charles from London may be dated the beginning of the civil war (Jan. 10, 1642).

Having now traced the events which led up to this open strife between the king and his people, we shall pass very lightly over the incidents of the struggle itself, and hasten to speak of the Commonwealth, to the establishment of which the struggle led.

The Civil War (1642-1649)

200. The Beginning. — After the flight of the king, negotiations were entered into between him and Parliament with a view to a reconciliation. The demands of Parliament were that the militia, the services of the Church, the education and marriage of the king's children, and many other matters should be subject to the control of the two Houses. In making all these demands Parliament had manifestly gone to unreasonable lengths; but their distrust of Charles was so profound that they were unwilling to leave in his hands any power or prerogative that might be perverted or abused.

Charles refused, as might have been and was expected, to accede to the propositions of Parliament, and unfurling the royal standard at Nottingham, called upon all loyal subjects to rally to the support of their king (Aug. 22, 1642).

201. The Two Parties. — The country was now divided into two great parties. Those that enlisted under the king's standard — on whose side rallied, for the most part, the nobility, the gentry, and the clergy — were known as Royalists, or Cavaliers; while those that gathered about the Parliamentary banner, the townsmen and the yeomanry, were called Parliamentarians, or Roundheads, the latter term being applied to them because many of their number cropped their hair close to the head, simply for the reason that the Cavaliers affected long and flowing locks. The most noted leader of the Royalists was the king's nephew, Prince Rupert, a dashing cavalry officer; the commander of the Parliamentary forces was the Earl of Essex. The Cavaliers favored the Established Episcopal Church, while the Roundheads were Puritans. During the progress of the struggle the Presbyterians and Independents (later Congregationalists) became the leading factions in the Puritan party.

202. Oliver Cromwell and his "Ironsides." — The war had continued about three years¹² when there came into prominence among the officers of the Parliamentary forces a man of destiny, one of the great characters of history, — Oliver Cromwell. During the early campaigns of the war, as colonel of a troop of cavalry, he had exhibited his rare genius as an organizer and disciplinarian. His regiment became famous under the name of "Cromwell's Ironsides." It was composed entirely of "men of religion." Swearing, drinking, and the usual vices of the camp were unknown among them. They advanced to the charge with the singing of psalms. During all the war the regiment was never once beaten.

203. The "Self-Denying Ordinance" and the "New Model" (1645). — The military operations of these earlier years of the war had revealed fatal defects in the Parliamentary army.

¹² The first skirmish of the war was at Edgehill (1642), but the most important engagement of these earlier years was the battle of Marston Moor (1644), in which the Royalists suffered a severe defeat.

It was composed of local bands, was irregularly paid, and was in large part officered by persons who had received their commissions because of their social rank. The soldiers were mutinous, and at critical moments were apt to go home, for "their hearts were in their shops." Many of them had "little zeal for religion"; and in the opinion of one of their officers, who wrote the Commons about their conduct, were "fit only for a gallows here and a hell hereafter." Such an army could never beat the Royalists.

The leaders in the Commons got rid of the titled inefficient by means of a measure known as the "Self-Denying Ordinance," which required that members of either House holding commands in the army should resign within forty days. At the same time they created a new army of twenty-one thousand men, called the "New Model." It differed from the earlier Parliamentary force as a regular army differs from militia. Sir Thomas Fairfax was created commander-in-chief, and Cromwell, "the best cavalry officer in England," was made lieutenant-general, which gave him command of the horse.¹³

Religious opinions had not been made a test for admission to the new army; but as a matter of fact its officers were for the most part Independents, and in the course of time the army through their influence became such a body of religious enthusiasts as the world had not seen since Godfrey led his crusaders to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. A great part of the men were fervent, God-fearing, psalm-singing Puritans. When not fighting, they studied the Bible, prayed, and sang hymns. From Cromwell down to the lowest soldier of the "New Model," every man felt called of the Lord to strike down all forms of tyranny in Church and State.

204. The Battle of Naseby (1645).—The temper of the "New Model" was soon tried in the battle of Naseby, the

¹³ There were two Self-Denying Ordinances; the second, unlike the first, did not permanently disqualify for office. Cromwell, like the others concerned, gave up his post, but was almost immediately reappointed.

decisive engagement of the war. The Royalists were beaten, and their cause was irretrievably lost. Charles escaped from the field, and ultimately fled into Scotland, thinking that he might rely upon the loyalty of the Scots to the House of Stuart; but on his refusing to sign the Covenant and certain other articles, they gave him up to the English Parliament.

205. "Pride's Purge" (1648). — Now, there were many in the Parliament who were in favor of restoring the king to his throne on the basis of conditions which he himself had proposed, that is to say, without requiring from him any sufficient guaranties that he would in the future rule in accordance with the constitution and the laws of the land. The Independents, that is to say Cromwell and the army, saw in this possibility the threatened ruin of all their hopes and the loss of all the fruits of victory. A high-handed measure was resolved upon, — the exclusion from the House of Commons of all those members who favored the restoration of Charles.

Accordingly an officer by the name of Pride was stationed at the door of the hall to exclude or to arrest the members obnoxious to the army. One hundred and forty-three members were thus kept from their seats, and the Commons became reduced to about fifty representatives. This performance was appropriately called "Pride's Purge." "The minority had now become the majority." But that is not an approved way of creating a majority.

206. Trial and Execution of the King (Jan. 30, 1649). — The Commons thus "purged" of the king's friends now passed a resolution for the immediate trial of Charles for treason. A High Court of Justice, comprising one hundred and thirty-five members, was organized, before which Charles was summoned. Appearing before the court, he denied its authority to try him, consistently maintaining that no earthly tribunal could rightly question his acts. But the trial went on, and before the close of a week he was condemned to be executed "as a tyrant,

traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation."

In a few days the sentence was carried out. Charles bore himself in the presence of death with great composure and dignity. On the scaffold he spoke these words, the sincerity of which cannot be doubted: "For the people truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever; but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having government: . . . it is not in their having a share in the government; that is nothing pertaining to them."

As the gray head of the king fell beneath the ax, and was held aloft by the executioner, with the words, "This is the head of a traitor," a shudder ran through the vast assemblage that pressed about the foot of the scaffold. The English people had never before witnessed such a scene,—the head of their king in the hands of an executioner; nor was the scene to have a parallel in all their subsequent history. Now that the deed was done, even the perpetrators themselves seemed horror-stricken.

Regarding the question whether Cromwell and the other leaders of the army in taking the life of their sovereign went to greater lengths than justice or their own safety demanded, many and conflicting judgments have been rendered. In view of the difficulties and prejudices which still surround the question, we may well pass the subject with the words quoted by Lamartine in closing his story of the Queen of Scots: "We judge not; we only relate."

II. THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE (1649-1660)

207. Establishment of the Commonwealth. — A few weeks after the execution of Charles, the Commons voted to abolish the office of king as "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people," and

also to do away with the House of Lords, as likewise “useless and dangerous to the people of England,” and to establish a free state under the name of “The Commonwealth.” A new Great Seal was made with this legend and date: “In the first year of freedom, by God’s blessing restored, 1648.”¹⁴ The executive power was lodged in a Council of State, composed of forty-one persons. Of this body the eminent patriot Sir Henry Vane was the leading member.

208. Troubles of the Commonwealth.—The republic thus born of mingled religious and political enthusiasm was beset with dangers from the very first. The execution of Charles had alarmed every sovereign in Europe. Russia, France, and the Dutch Republic¹⁵ all refused to have any communication with the ambassadors of the Commonwealth. The Scots, who too late repented of having surrendered their sovereign into the hands of his enemies, now hastened to wipe out the stain of their disloyalty by proclaiming his son their king, with the title of Charles the Second. The Royalists in Ireland declared for the prince; while the Dutch began active preparations to assist him in regaining the throne of his unfortunate father. In England itself the Royalists were active and threatening.

209. War with Ireland (1649–1652).—The Commonwealth, like the ancient republic of Rome, seemed to gather strength and energy from the very multitude of surrounding dangers. Cromwell was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and sent into that country to crush the Royalist party there. With his Ironsides he made quick and terrible work of the suppression of the Catholic Royalists. Having taken by storm the town of Drogheda, which had refused his summons to surrender, he massacred the entire garrison, consisting of three thousand men (1649). About a thousand who had sought asylum in a

¹⁴ According to the method of reckoning then in vogue, the year 1648 did not end until March 24.

¹⁵ William II, the Stadtholder of all the Dutch provinces except Friesland, was the son-in-law of Charles I. He died in 1650; after his death Dutch affairs came into the hands of the celebrated John De Witt.

church were butchered there without mercy. The capture of other towns was accompanied by massacres little less terrible. The following is his own account of the manner in which he dealt with the captured garrisons: "When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for Barbadoes."

Cromwell's savage cruelty in his dealings with the Irish is an indelible stain on his memory. To his own conscience, however, he justified his acts. He seemed to regard himself as another Samuel called by the Lord to hew Agag in pieces. In a dispatch which narrates his slaughters, he says, "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches who have imbued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future."

The Catholic Royalists having been defeated, the best lands of the island were confiscated and granted to English and Scotch settlers, after the manner of the colonization of Protestant immigrants in Ulster in the reign of James I (par. 191). This method of securing Protestant ascendancy in the island is what English history designates as the "Cromwellian settlement," but which Irish resentment calls the "Curse of Cromwell." The religious ferocity of this Puritan settlement of Ireland fanned fiercely the flame of hatred which earlier wrongs had kindled in the hearts of the Irish people against their English conquerors, — a flame which has not yet burned itself out.¹⁶

210. War with Scotland (1650-1651). — Cromwell was called out of Ireland by the Council to lead an army into Scotland. The terror of his name went before him, and the people fled as he approached. At Dunbar he met the Scotch

¹⁶ Between the years 1641 and 1652 over half a million inhabitants of the island were destroyed or banished; Prendergast (*Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 177) affirms that during these years and those immediately following five-sixths of the population perished. "A man might travel," he says, "for twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature."

army. The pious enthusiasm of the Puritan is displayed in the words with which Cromwell urged his men on to the charge. It was early morning when the battle opened, and the sun was just clearing away the mist that covered the lowlands: "Let God arise," he cried, "and let his enemies be scattered! like as the mist vanisheth, so shall thou drive them away!" And before the terrible onset of the fanatic Roundheads the Scots were scattered like chaff before the wind. Ten thousand were made prisoners, and all the camp train and artillery were captured (1650).

The following year, on the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell gained another great victory over the Scottish army at Worcester, and all Scotland was soon after forced to submit to the authority of the Commonwealth. Prince Charles, after many adventurous experiences, escaped across the Channel into Normandy.

211. War with the Dutch (1652-1654).—With the authority of the Commonwealth acknowledged throughout the British Isles, the Parliament sought to increase the power and influence of the republic and to benefit English commerce by an alliance with the Dutch; but as such a confederation as that proposed would have made the Netherlands little more than a province of the English Commonwealth, the Dutch refused, rather contemptuously, to enter into the arrangement. The English Parliament thereupon passed a measure known as the "Navigation Act" (1651), which forbade foreign ships to bring into England any products or manufactures save those of their own country. This was a blow aimed at the Dutch, whose ships brought to the English docks the products of every land on the globe, including the English colonies in America.

In the war which ensued the English found a worthy foe in the stout Dutch sailors. That they were able to wage war with them on anything like equal terms was due largely to the foresight and energy of Sir Henry Vane, who was the real head of the English government from 1649 to 1653, and who in the

carrying out of his policy to build up the navy as a counterpoise to the army, which was overshadowing the civil authority and threatening the establishment of a military dictatorship, had greatly developed and strengthened the sea power of England. After the rival fleets had inflicted great injury and loss upon each other in many a stubborn sea-fight, the two republics were reconciled (1654).

212. Cromwell ejects the Long Parliament (1653). — While the Dutch war was going on, the Parliament that provoked it had come to an open quarrel with the army. Cromwell demanded of Parliament their dissolution, and the calling of a new body. This they refused; whereupon, taking with him a body of soldiers, Cromwell went to the House, and after listening impatiently for a while to the debate, suddenly sprang to his feet, and with bitter reproaches exclaimed: "I will put an end to your prating. Get you gone; give place to better men. You are no Parliament. The Lord has done with you." At a prearranged signal his soldiers rushed in. The hall was cleared. Picking up the speaker's mace, Cromwell contemptuously asked, "What shall be done with this bauble?" "Take it away," he ordered. Then the soldiers withdrew from the hall and the door was locked.

In such summary manner the Long Parliament, or the "Rump Parliament," as it was called in derision after Pride's Purge, was dissolved, after having sat for twelve years. So completely had the body lost the confidence and respect of all parties that scarcely a murmur was heard against the illegal and arbitrary mode of its dissolution.

213. The Little Parliament and the Establishment of the Protectorate (1653). — It is difficult to determine exactly what at this time were Cromwell's feelings and aims. It is probable, however, that his thoughts were upon the crown. What was passing in his mind we may guess from a question put by him to a friend and councilor: "What if a man should take upon him to be king?" It is true that, a few years after this, when

the crown was offered him by a subservient Parliament, he refused to accept it, even as Caesar, while coveting, pushed aside the crown proffered by Antony; but the refusal was prompted by prudence, for, like the Roman usurper, he too heard the murmurs of the people. He knew very well that to attempt to restore the monarchy would be to alienate the army and the republican party throughout the nation. Such a movement could not have failed to stir up the most dangerous opposition among religious fanatics who were so violently opposed to even the name of "king" that in the use of the Lord's Prayer they would not say "thy kingdom come," but prayed instead "thy *commonwealth* come."

What Cromwell really did was to call together a new Parliament, or more properly a convention, summoning, so far as he might, only religious, God-fearing men. "These men," said he, "will hit it, and these men will do it to the purpose, whatever can be desired."

The "Little Parliament," as sometimes called, consisted of one hundred and fifty-six members, mainly religious zealots, who spent much of their time in Scripture exegesis, prayer, and exhortation. Among them was a London leather merchant, named Praise-God Barebone, who was especially given to these exercises. The name amused the people, and as the exhorter was a fair representative of a considerable section of the convention, they nicknamed it "Barebone's Parliament," by which designation it has passed into history.

The Little Parliament sat only five months, and then, resigning all its authority into the hands of Cromwell, dissolved itself.

A sort of constitution, called the "Instrument of Government,"¹⁷ was now drawn up by a council of army officers and

¹⁷ For the text of this important document see Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 405-417. The second Parliament that assembled under the Instrument of Government changed it essentially by a body of amendments known as "The Humble Petition and Advice" (1657). It was at this time that Cromwell was petitioned to assume the title of king.

approved by Cromwell. This instrument, the first of written constitutions, provided for a Parliament consisting of a single House, a Council of State, an executive or president serving for life and bearing the title of "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Under this instrument, Cromwell became Lord Protector for life.

214. The Protectorate (1653-1659). — Cromwell's power was now almost unlimited. He was virtually a dictator, for he had the power of the army behind him. The nation was practically under martial law. The Protector summoned, winnowed, and dissolved Parliament at pleasure. He could get together no body of men who could or would work smoothly with him. "The Lord judge between me and you," were his words of dismissal to his last obstinate Parliament.

For five years Cromwell carried on the government practically alone. His rule was arbitrary but enlightened. He gave England the strongest government she had had since the days of Wolsey and of Elizabeth, a government which, while securing obedience and prosperity at home, won the fear and respect of foreign powers, so that Cromwell addressing Parliament could truthfully declare, "I dare say that there is not a nation in Europe but is willing to ask a good understanding with you."

Cromwell's aim was "to make England great and to make her worthy of greatness." This worthiness he, zealous Puritan as he was, conceived could be acquired by England only as her affairs were conducted by godly men and in accord with the plain precepts of Scripture.

Further, in Oliver's mind, the English nation could be God's own people and worthy of greatness only as England upheld the Protestant cause in Europe. It was this religious persuasion which led him to become the protector of Protestantism wherever imperiled. He interposed successfully in behalf of the Huguenots in France, and secured for them a respite from harassment; he obliged the Duke of Savoy to

cease his cruel persecution of the Vaudois; and caused the Pope to be informed that if the Protestants continued to be molested anywhere—Cromwell laid the blame of everything done against Protestant interests at the door of the Papacy—the roar of English guns would speedily awaken the echoes of St. Angelo.

But with Cromwell religious motives were strangely mingled with material ones. As his biographer Gardiner observes, “Oliver’s day of rule lay between two worlds—the world in which the existence of Protestantism had been really at stake . . . and the world of trade and manufacture, which was springing into being.”

It was with the double aim of making England great on the sea and of crippling the champion of Catholicism, that Cromwell entered into an alliance with France against Spain. During a great part of his rule the Protector was fighting this old-time foe of England and of Protestantism. He captured her treasure ships within sight of the ports of the peninsula, wrested from her the island of Jamaica in the West Indies, and secured the cession of the important seaport of Dunkirk on the Straits of Dover.

215. Cromwell’s Death. — Notwithstanding Cromwell was a man of immovable resolution and iron spirit, still he felt sorely the burdens of his government, and was deeply troubled by the anxieties of his position. In the midst of apparent success he was painfully conscious of utter failure. He had wished to establish a permanent government by “a single person” and Parliament, with himself as the recognized constitutional head of the state. Instead, he found himself a military usurper, whose title was simply the title of the sword. His government, we may believe, was as hateful to himself as to the great mass of the English people. He lived in constant fear of the dagger. As precautions against assassination, he surrounded himself with guards, wore armor beneath his outer garments, and slept in a different chamber almost every night.

With his constitution undermined by overwork and anxiety, fever attacked him, and with gloomy apprehensions as to the terrible dangers into which England might drift after his hand had fallen from the helm of affairs, he lay down to die, passing away on the day which he had always called his "fortunate day" — the anniversary of his birth, and also the anniversary of his great victories of Dunbar and Worcester (Sept. 3, 1658). Almost his last words were: "My work is done; yet God will be with his people."

As when the great Napoleon lay dying at Saint Helena the island was shaken by a fierce tempest, so now the elements seemed to be in sympathy with the restless soul of Cromwell. "A storm which tore roofs from houses and leveled huge trees in every forest seemed a fitting prelude to the passing away of his mighty spirit." But the enemies of the Protector believed that the tempest was raised by the devil, who had come for Oliver's soul.

216. Richard Cromwell (1658-1659).— Cromwell with his dying breath — so it was given out — had designated his son Richard as his successor in the office of the Protectorate. Richard was exactly the opposite of his father, — timid, irresolute, and irreligious. The control of affairs that had taxed to the utmost the genius and resources of the father was altogether too great an undertaking for the incapacity and inexperience of the son. No one was quicker to realize this than Richard himself, and after a rule of a few months, yielding to the pressure of the army, whose displeasure he had incurred, he resigned his office, and, after spending a short time on the continent, sought amidst the retirements of rural life that ease and quiet so congenial to his disposition.

217. The Restoration (1660).— For some months after the fall of the Protectorate the country trembled on the verge of anarchy. The gloomy outlook into the future, and the unsatisfactory experiment of the Commonwealth, caused the great mass of the English people earnestly to desire the restoration

of the monarchy — in truth, the majority of the nation had never desired its abolition. Charles Stuart, towards whom the tide of returning loyalty was running, was now in Holland. General Monk, the commander of the army in Scotland and the representative of Scottish sentiment, marched south to London, and assumed virtual control of affairs. The Long Parliament, including the members ejected by Pride (par. 205), now reassembled, and by resolution declared that “according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons.” An invitation was sent to Prince Charles to return to his people and take his place upon the throne of his ancestors.

Amid the wildest demonstrations of joy, Charles stepped ashore on the island from which he had been for nine years an exile. As he observed the extensive preparations made for his reception, and received from all parties the warmest congratulations, he remarked with pleasant satire, “Surely it is my own fault that I have remained these years in exile from a country which is so glad to see me.”

218. Why the Puritan Revolution failed. — The Puritan Revolution, like almost all first attempts at reform or revolution, had failed. To assign the deeper causes of this failure, whether in circumstances or in the personal character of Cromwell or of other leaders of the movement, would be a difficult thing to do; but without much hesitation we may say that one of the near-lying causes of the failure was that the Puritans committed the fault — which has been declared to be almost always the fault of revolutionists — of going too fast and too far. At the outset the Revolution had for its aim simply the setting of reasonable restrictions upon the exercise of the royal authority. Very soon, however, the kingly office, the hereditary House of Lords, and the Episcopal Church had been abolished. Each of these extreme measures raised up many implacable enemies of the Revolution.

Again, the Puritans in endeavoring to set up the kingdom of heaven at a stroke and by force had done violence to religion. The result was a régime of cant and hypocrisy, — the vices which always spring up when it is made more profitable for one to repeat meaningless phrases or to utter bare falsehoods than to speak the truth.

Then again, Puritanism, even when sincere, had got far away from English good sense. The Puritan regulations respecting harmless amusements, the observance of the Sabbath, and a hundred other matters, were extreme and absurd, and well calculated to provoke the scoff of the godless. So while in some directions the Puritans were merely in advance of the mass of the English people, in others they had gone far aside from the path that England was treading or was ever going to tread. Hence Puritanism was bound to fail.

But to leave the matter thus would be misleading. In a deeper sense Puritanism did not fail. "What of heroism, what of eternal light," says Carlyle, "there be in a man and his life, . . . remains forever a new divine portion of the sum of things." And so was it with Puritanism. What of heroism and of truth there was in it — and there was much of both — was added to the sum of English history. Much that is best and truest in the life of England to-day and of Greater England beyond the seas, strikes its roots deep in the Puritanism of the seventeenth century.

219. Puritan Literature; it lights up the Religious Side of the English Revolution. — In dealing with the writings of any given period we have regarded them rather from an historical than a literary point of view. We have made use of them to interpret the real spirit of the age under review; for the best and truest literature of any period is simply a reflection of the manners, customs, thoughts, feelings and convictions, hopes and strivings, of the times.

Now, no epoch in history receives a fresher illustration from the study of its literature than that of the Puritan Revolution.

To neglect this, and yet hope to gain a true conception of that wonderful episode in the life of the English people by an examination of its outer events and incidents alone, would, as Green declares, be like trying to form an idea of the life and work of ancient Israel from *Kings* and *Chronicles*, without *Psalms* and *Prophets*. The true character of the English Revolution, especially upon its religious side, must be sought in the magnificent epic of Milton and the unequaled allegory of Bunyan.

Both of these great works, it is true, were written after the Restoration, but they were both inspired by that spirit which had struck down despotism and set up the Commonwealth. The epic was the work of a lonely, disappointed republican; the allegory, of a captive Puritan.

Milton (1608-1674) stands as the grandest representative of Puritanism. After the death of Charles I he wrote a famous work in Latin entitled *The Defense of the English People*, in which he justified the execution of the king. This work produced a profound impression throughout Europe. His *Areopagitica*, or *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*, written some years earlier, is an eloquent plea for freedom of opinion and of teaching.

The Restoration forced Milton into retirement, and the last fourteen years of his life were passed apart from the world. It was during these years that, in loneliness and blindness, he composed the immortal poems *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. The former is the "Epic of Puritanism." All that was truest and grandest in the Puritan character found expression in the moral elevation and religious fervor of this the greatest of Christian epics.

John Bunyan (1628-1688) was a Puritan nonconformist. After the Restoration he was imprisoned for twelve years in Bedford jail, on account of nonconformity to the established worship. It was during this dreary confinement that he wrote his *Pilgrim's Progress*, the most admirable allegory in English

literature. The habit of the Puritan, from constant study of the Bible, to employ in all forms of discourse its language and imagery, is best illustrated in the pages of this remarkable work. Its fervent spirit and language have both been caught from a long and devout study of the Holy Word. Here, as nowhere else, we learn what realities to the Puritan were the Scriptural representations of sin, repentance, and atonement, of heaven and hell.

III. THE RESTORED STUARTS

1. *Reign of Charles the Second* (1660-1685)

220. Character of the King. — The title of “Merry Monarch,” which was familiarly applied to Charles II, very aptly describes his character. He was sagacious and cautious, easy in manners and engaging in conversation; but was prodigal, cynical, heartless, unprincipled, and shamefully licentious. He was “an idler,” who “hated the very sight or thought of business.”

Had he not been so indolent, he would have made a typical despot. As it was, he preferred his ease and amusement to the exertion and danger incident to the prosecution of schemes of tyranny among a people traditionally jealous and watchful of their rights and liberties.

221. Punishment of the Regicides. — By act of Parliament a general pardon was extended to all who had taken part in the late rebellion, except Sir Henry Vane and certain of the judges who had condemned Charles to the block. Thirteen of these were executed with revolting cruelty, their hearts and bowels being cut out of their living bodies. Others of the regicides were condemned to imprisonment for life. Vane was finally executed. Death had already removed the other great leaders of the rebellion, Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, beyond the reach of Royalist hate; so vengeance was

taken upon their bodies. These were dragged from their tombs in Westminster Abbey, hauled to Tyburn, and there on the anniversary of Charles's execution were hanged, and afterwards beheaded (1661).

222. The "New Model" is disbanded. — This same Parliament, mindful of how the army had ruled preceding ones, took care to disband, as soon as possible, the "New Model." "With them," says the historian Green, "Puritanism laid down the sword. It ceased from the long attempt to build up a kingdom of God by force and violence, and fell back on its truer work of building up a kingdom of righteousness in the hearts and consciences of men."¹⁸

223. The Conventicle and Five-Mile Acts. — Early in the reign the services of the Anglican Church were restored by Parliament, and harsh laws were enacted against all non-conformists. Thus the Conventicle Act (1664) made it a crime, punishable by fine, imprisonment, or transportation, for five persons or more, "over and above those of the same household," to gather in any house or in any place for worship, unless the service was conducted according to the forms of the Church of England.

The Five-Mile Act (1665) forbade any nonconformist minister who refused to swear that it is unlawful to take arms against the king under any circumstances, and that he never would attempt to make any change in church or state government, to approach, "unless only in passing upon the road," within five miles of any city, corporate town, or borough sending members to Parliament, or of any place where he had

¹⁸ While Charles was not altogether averse to disbanding the Puritan soldiers of the Commonwealth, he was resolved not to do without an army, the importance of which to a sovereign who would rule independently he well understood. Accordingly, on the pretext that the disturbed state of the realm demanded special precautions on the part of the government, he retained in his service three carefully chosen regiments, to which he gave the name of Guards. These, very soon augmented in number, formed the nucleus of the present standing army of England.

once ministered. This harsh act forced hundreds to give up their homes in the towns, and, with great inconvenience and loss, to seek new ones in out-of-the-way country places.

224. The Covenanters. — In Scotland the attempt to suppress conventicles and introduce Episcopacy was stoutly resisted by the Covenanters (par. 196), who insisted on their right to worship God in their own way. They were therefore subjected to persecutions most cruel and unrelenting. They were hunted by English troopers over their native moors and among the wild recesses of their mountains, whither they secretly retired for prayer and worship. The tales of the sufferings of the Scotch Covenanters at the hands of the English Protestants are only equaled by the tales of the wrongs and cruelties inflicted upon the Vaudois of the Alps by the French Catholics.

225. The Dutch War, the Fire, and the Plague. — The years from 1664 to 1667 were crowded with calamities, — with war, plague, and fire. The poet Dryden not inaptly calls the year 1666, in which the Great Fire at London added its horrors and losses to those of pestilence and war, the *Annus Mirabilis*, or “Year of Wonders.”

The war alluded to was a struggle between the English and the Dutch, which grew out of commercial rivalries (1664–1667). In the first year of this contest the English took New Amsterdam in America away from the Dutch, and changed its name to New York in honor of the king’s brother, the Duke of York. In the year 1667 the Dutch fleet entered the estuary of the Thames, burned some English ships, and threatened London. This was the first time a hostile vessel had floated on that river since the days of the Vikings. The English felt deeply the humiliation. It was, writes a contemporary, John Evelyn, “a dreadful spectacle as ever Englishman saw, and a dishonor never to be wiped off.”

Early in the summer of 1665 the city of London was swept by a woeful plague, the most terrible visitation the city had known since the Black Death in the Middle Ages. Within

six months one hundred thousand of the population perished. The panic-stricken people fled from the place, and grass grew in the streets.

The plague was followed the next year by a great fire, which destroyed over thirteen thousand houses, eighty-nine churches, and a vast number of public buildings. The fire was afterwards acknowledged to be, like the Great Fire at Rome in Nero's reign, a blessing in disguise. It destroyed so completely the germs of the plague that lurked in the filthy quarters swept by the flames, that London has never had another visitation of the pestilence, although before the conflagration it usually broke out with greater or less violence every thirty or forty years. The burned districts were also rebuilt in a more substantial way, with broader streets and more airy residences, so that London became a more beautiful and healthful city than would have been possible without the fire.

One of the churches destroyed was Saint Paul's Cathedral, which was rebuilt with great magnificence. It is one of the most imposing edifices ever raised for Protestant worship. Its designer was the great architect, Sir Christopher Wren, near whose tomb within the building is this inscription: *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*, "If you seek his monument, look around."

226. Charles's Intrigues with Louis XIV. — Although Charles before landing in England had promised "on the word of a king" that he would respect and maintain all the rights and privileges of English citizens and of the Parliament,¹⁹ still throughout almost the whole of his reign he was plotting with Louis XIV of France against the liberties and the religion of his own subjects. He inclined to the Catholic worship, and wished to reëstablish the Catholic Church, because he thought it more favorable than the Anglican to such a scheme of government as he aimed to set up in England. In the year 1670

¹⁹ The Declaration of Breda, April 4, 1660.

he made a secret treaty with the French king, the terms and objects of which were most scandalous. In return for aid which he was to render Louis in an attack upon Holland, he was to receive from him a large sum of money, and, in case his proposed declaration in favor of the restoration of the Catholic Church produced any trouble in the island, the aid of French troops. But Charles's naturally vacillating and indolent disposition, together with his fear of the resentment of his Protestant subjects, prevented the consummation of these schemes. These clandestine negotiations, however, became an open secret, enough leaking out respecting them to render the people very uneasy and suspicious.

The excitement produced by the supposed plot led Parliament to pass what was called the Test Act, which excluded Catholics from the House of Lords. (They had already been shut out from the House of Commons by the oath of supremacy, which was required of commoners though not of peers.) The disability created by this statute was not removed from Catholics until the nineteenth century,—in the reign of George the Fourth.

Besides shutting Catholic peers out of Parliament, there was a large party in both Houses who were determined to exclude the Duke of York from the throne. Those in favor of the measure of exclusion were called Whigs, those who opposed it Tories. We cannot, perhaps, form a better general idea of the maxims and principles of these two parties than by calling the Whigs the political descendants of the Roundheads, and the Tories of the Cavaliers. Later in English history they became known respectively as Liberals and Conservatives.

227. The Popish Plot (1678).—This excited state of the public mind, owing to the continuance of the king's intrigues with Louis, led to a serious delusion and panic. A rumor was started that the Catholics had planned for England a Saint Bartholomew's Day. The king, the members of Parliament, and all Protestants were to be massacred, the Catholic Church

was to be reëstablished, and the king's brother James, the Duke of York, a zealous Catholic, was to be placed on the throne. Each day the reports of the conspiracy grew more wild and exaggerated. Informers sprang up on every hand, each with a more terrifying story than the preceding. One of these witnesses, Titus Oates by name, a most infamous person, gained an extraordinary notoriety in exposing the imaginary plot. Many Catholics, convicted solely on the testimony of perjured witnesses, became victims of the delusion and fraud.

228. The Habeas Corpus Act (1679). — The year following the Popish Plot the Parliament passed the celebrated Habeas Corpus Act. This statute was intended to render more effectual the ancient and valued writ of habeas corpus, which was designed to protect the personal liberty of Englishmen, but which the king's courts and sheriffs were rendering well-nigh useless through their evasions and shifts. The law, which is based on articles of Magna Charta, is so carefully and ingeniously drawn that it is almost impossible for its provisions to be evaded in any way. It gives every person almost absolute security against illegal detention in prison, and is the strongest safeguard against the attempts of a despotic ruler upon the liberty of those who may have incurred his displeasure. It has been the model of all laws of like import throughout the Anglo-Saxon world.

2. Reign of James the Second (1685-1688)

229. James's Accession; his Despotic Course. — After a reign of just one quarter of a century, Charles died in 1685, and was followed by his brother James, whose rule was destined to be short and troubled.²⁰

²⁰ James was barely seated upon the throne before the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II, who had been in exile in the Netherlands, asserted his right to the crown, and at the head of a hundred men invaded England.

James, like all the other Stuarts, held exalted notions of the divine right of kings to rule as they please, and at once set about carrying out these ideas in a most reckless manner. Notwithstanding he had given solemn assurances that he would uphold the Anglican Church, he straightway set about the reëstablishment of the Catholic worship. He instituted the Catholic service in the royal chapel, and encouraged monks and friars, who now began to swarm in the cities, where their garb had not been seen for a long time. He arbitrarily prorogued and dissolved Parliament. The standing army, which Charles had raised to ten thousand men, he increased to twenty thousand, and placed Catholics in many of its most important offices. He formed a league against his own subjects with Louis XIV, — became, in a word, his pensioner, and reduced England to the degrading position of a dependency of France. The High Commission Court of Elizabeth, which had been abolished by Parliament, was practically restored in a new ecclesiastical tribunal presided over by the infamous Jeffreys.

The despotic course of the king raised up enemies on all sides. No party or sect, save the most zealous Catholics, stood by him. The Tory gentry were in favor of royalty indeed but not of tyranny. Thinking to make friends of the Protestant dissenters, James issued a decree known as the Declaration of Indulgence, whereby he suspended all the laws against nonconformists. This edict all the clergy were ordered to read from their pulpits. Almost to a man they refused to do so. Seven bishops even dared to send the king a petition and remonstrance against his unconstitutional proceedings.

Thousands flocked to his standard, but in the battle of Sedgemoor (1685) he was utterly defeated by the royal troops. Terrible vengeance was wreaked upon all in any way connected with the rebellion. The notorious Chief Justice Jeffreys, in what were called the "Bloody Assizes," condemned to death 320 persons, and sentenced 841 to transportation. Jeffreys conducted the so-called trials with incredible brutality. See Colby's *Selections from the Sources of English History*, No. 81.

The petitioners were thrust into the Tower, and soon afterward were brought to trial on the charge of "seditious libel." The nation was now thoroughly aroused, and the greatest excitement prevailed while the trial was progressing. Judges and jury were overawed by the popular demonstration, and the bishops were acquitted. The news of the result of the trial was received not only by the people, but by the army as well, with shouts of joy, which did not fail to reach even the dull ears of the king.

230. The Revolution of 1688 and the Declaration of Rights.

—The crisis which it was easy to see was impending was hastened by the birth of a prince, as this cut off the hope of the nation that the crown upon James's death would descend to his daughter Mary, now wife of the Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland. The prospect of the accession in the near future of a Protestant princess reconciled the people to the misgovernment of their present despotic and Catholic sovereign. The appearance upon the stage of an infant heir gave a wholly different look to affairs, and, as we have said, destroyed all hope of matters being righted by the ordinary course of events.

This led the most active of the king's enemies to resolve to bring about at once what they had been inclined to wait to have accomplished by his death. They sent an invitation to the Prince of Orange to come over with such force as he could muster and take possession of the government, pledging him the united and hearty support of the English nation. William accepted the invitation, notified the world in a manly address that he was going to protect the liberties of England, and straightway began to gather his fleet and army for the enterprise.

Meanwhile King James, in his blind and obstinate way, was rushing headlong upon his own destruction. He seemed absolutely blind to the steady and rapid drift of the nation towards the point of open resistance and revolution. At last,

when the sails of the Dutch fleet were spread for a descent upon the English shores, the infatuated despot suddenly realized, what he seems to have been utterly oblivious to before, that absolute ruin was impending over his throne. He now adopted every expedient to avert the threatened evil. He restored to cities the charters he had wrongfully taken from them, reinstated magistrates in the positions from which they had been unjustly deposed, attempted to make friends with the bishops, and promised to sustain the Anglican Church and rule in accordance with the constitution of the realm.

All concessions and promises, however, were in vain. They came too late. The king was absolutely deserted; army and people went over in a body to the Prince of Orange, whose fleet had now touched the shores of the island. Flight alone was left him. The queen with her infant child was secretly embarked for France, where the king soon after joined her. It would have been easy to have detained him in England, but the people had no wish to see another royal execution, and so the way for his escape was left open. The last act of the king before leaving England was to disband the army and fling the Great Seal into the Thames.

In France the self-exiled monarch and his family were kindly received by Louis, who kept up for them the shadow of a court in one of the royal palaces near the capital.

For a moment after the king's flight all things trembled on the verge of anarchy; England was without a government. The army having been disbanded by James, the lawless and abandoned, with all restraint removed, were ready for riot and plunder. But English self-restraint and love of order soon triumphed over panic and passion, and the threatened dissolution of society was averted. The peers in London assumed the responsibility of temporarily directing matters, and thus affairs were secured, while pressing messages to the Prince of Orange urged him to hasten to London to assume the government.

Almost the first act of the prince was to issue a call for a convention to provide for the permanent settlement of the crown. This body met Jan. 22, 1689, and after a violent debate declared the throne to be vacant through James's misconduct and flight. They then resolved, since William had expressed an unwillingness to rule simply as regent for his wife,²¹ and she had also declined to take the crown alone, to confer the royal dignity upon both as joint sovereigns of the realm.²²

But this convention did not repeat the error of the Parliament that restored Charles II and give the crown to the prince and princess without proper safeguards and guaranties for the conduct of the government according to the ancient laws of the kingdom. They drew up the celebrated Declaration of Rights, which plainly rehearsed all the old rights and liberties of Englishmen; denied the right of the king to lay taxes or maintain an army without the consent of Parliament; and asserted that freedom of debate was the inviolable privilege of both the Lords and the Commons. William and Mary were required to accept this declaration, and to agree to rule in accordance with its provisions, whereupon they were declared King and Queen of England (Feb. 13, 1689).

In such manner was effected what is known in history as "the Revolution of 1688."

Literature of the Restoration

231. The Reaction from Puritanism; Record of this Reaction in the Literature of the Period. — The reigns of the restored Stuarts mark the most corrupt period in the life of English society. The low standard of morals, and the general profligacy in manners, especially among the higher classes, are in

²¹ William by his own right stood next in succession to Mary and Anne.

²² But the royal power was to be "executed by the said Prince of Orange, in the name of the prince and princess during their lives."

part attributable to the demoralizing example of a shockingly licentious and shameless court; but in a larger measure, perhaps, should be viewed as the natural reaction from the over-stern, repellant Puritanism of the preceding period. The Puritans undoubtedly erred in their indiscriminate and wholesale denunciation of all forms of harmless amusement and innocent pleasure. They not only rebuked gaming, drinking, and profanity, and stopped bear baiting,²³ but they closed all the theaters, forbade the Maypole dances of the people, condemned as paganish the observance of Christmas, frowned upon sculpture as idolatrous and indecent, pronounced it irreligious to eat mince pie, and considered any color or adornment in dress as utterly incompatible with a proper sense of the seriousness of life.

Now all this was laying too heavy a burden upon human nature. The revolt and reaction came, as come they must. Upon the Restoration, society swung to the opposite extreme. In place of the solemn-visaged, psalm-singing Roundhead, we have the gay, roistering Cavalier. Faith gives place to infidelity, sobriety to drunkenness, purity to profligacy, economy to extravagance, Bible study, psalm singing, and exhorting to theater going, profanity, and carousing.

The literature of the age is a perfect record of this revolt against the "sour severity" of Puritanism, and a faithful reflection of the unblushing immorality of the times.

The book most read and praised by Charles II and his court, and the one that best represents the spirit of the victorious party, is the satirical poem of *Hudibras* by Samuel Butler. The poem narrates the exploits of Sir Hudibras, a pious, hypocritical Presbyterian justice of the peace, and his clerk Ralph, an obstinate, fanatical Independent, who conceive it their duty to undertake a crusade against the games and amusements of the people, in the prosecution of which enterprise they meet with

²³ Macaulay humorously insists that the Puritans opposed bear baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectator.

many and ludicrous misadventures. The object of the work is to satirize the cant and excesses of Puritanism, just as the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes burlesques the extravagances and follies of chivalry. Butler, however, displays a spirit of vindictiveness and hatred towards the object of his wit of which we find no trace in the good-natured Spanish humorist.

So immoral and indecent are the works of the writers for the stage of this period that these authors have acquired the designation of "the corrupt dramatists." Holding a prominent place among them was the poet Dryden.

IV. REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY (1689-1702)

232. The Bill of Rights (Dec. 16, 1689). — The Revolution of 1688 and the settlement of the crown upon William and Mary marks an epoch in the constitutional history of England. It settled forever the long dispute between king and Parliament—and settled it in favor of the latter. The Bill of Rights, which was substantially the articles of the Declaration of Rights framed into a law, and which was one of the earliest acts of the first Parliament under William and Mary, in effect "transferred sovereignty from the king to the House of Commons."

By shutting out James from the throne and bringing in William, and by the exclusion of Catholic heirs from the succession, it plainly announced that the kings of England derive their right and title to rule not from the accident of birth, but from the will of the people, and that Parliament may depose any king, and, excluding from the throne his heirs, settle the crown anew in another family. This uprooted quite thoroughly the pernicious doctrine that princes have a divine and inalienable right to the throne of their ancestors, and when once seated on that throne rule simply as the vicegerents of God, above all human censure and control. We shall hear constantly less and less in England of this theory of government which for

so long a time overshadowed and threatened the freedom of the English people.²⁴

The separate provisions of the bill, following closely the language of the Declaration, denied the dispensing power of the crown, — that is to say, the authority claimed by the Stuarts of annulling a law by a royal edict ; forbade the king to usurp the functions of the courts of justice, to levy taxes, or to keep an army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament ; asserted the right of the people to petition for redress of grievances and freely to choose their representatives ; reaffirmed, as one of the ancient privileges of both Houses, perfect freedom of debate ; provided that excessive bail should not be required ; and demanded that Parliament should be frequently assembled.

Mindful of Charles's attempt to reëstablish the Catholic worship, the framers of this same famous Bill of Rights further declared that all persons holding communion with the Church of Rome or uniting in marriage with a Catholic, should be "forever incapable to possess, inherit, or enjoy the crown and government of the realm." Since the Revolution of 1688 no Catholic has worn the English crown.

All of these provisions now became inwrought into the English Constitution, and from this time forward were recognized as part of the fundamental law of the realm.

233. Settlement of the Revenue. — The articles of the Bill of Rights were made effectual by appropriate legislation. One thing which had made the Tudors and Stuarts so independent of Parliament was the custom which prevailed of granting to each king, at the beginning of his reign, the ordinary revenue of the kingdom during his life. This income, with what could be raised by gifts, benevolences, monopolies, and similar expedients, had enabled despotically inclined sovereigns to

²⁴ There were revivals of it, in so far as it concerned the hereditary rights of princes, even after the accession of the Hanoverians (1714), the doctrine being defended by the High Church party.

administer the government, wage war, and engage in any wild enterprise just as individual caprice or ambition might dictate. All this was now changed. Parliament, instead of granting William the revenue for life, restricted the grant to a single year, and made it a penal offense for the officers of the treasury to pay out money otherwise than ordered by Parliament. William was much displeased at this arrangement, and complained that Parliament imposed less confidence in him, the preserver of their liberties, than they had placed in the Stuart tyrants. But the Houses were right, and they stood by their resolve.

We cannot overestimate the importance of this change in the English Constitution. It is this control of the purse of the nation which has made the House of Commons—for all money bills must originate in the Lower House—the actual seat of government, constituting them the arbiters of peace and war. By simply refusing to vote supplies, they can paralyze instantly the arm of the king. The necessity, too, of securing the grant of the revenue compels the sovereign to summon Parliament annually. Thus the frequent calling together of the Lords and Commons is indirectly provided for.

234. The Mutiny Act. — The fruits of the revolution were still further secured by what is known as the Mutiny Act. By this measure the power of punishing mutiny or desertion by court-martial is given to the king for one year only.²⁵ This act has to be renewed annually, otherwise the army would fall to pieces. In this way the army is brought under the control of Parliament, and the frequent assembling of the representatives of the nation again indirectly secured.

Thus was the English Constitution, which had been so dangerously impaired by the violence and tyranny of the later Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts, restored by the revolutions of 1642 and 1688. Thus was every possible

²⁵ The first Mutiny Act was passed early in 1689, and was to be operative for six months only.

safeguard placed about the rights and liberties of the English people, and thereby were the future stability and strength of the English government and the growth and prosperity of the nation secured.²⁶

235. James attempts to recover the Throne : Battle of the Boyne (1690). — The first years of William's reign were disturbed by the efforts of James to regain the throne which he had abandoned. In these attempts he was aided by Louis XIV, and by the Jacobites,²⁷ the name given to the adherents of the exile king. An uprising in Scotland in the interest of James was quickly crushed ; but the suppression of the Jacobite party in Ireland was a more difficult work. There the Catholics rallied enthusiastically about the Stuart banner. James himself went over to the island, and Louis aided the movement with arms and soldiers. In 1690 William assumed the personal direction of the campaign against the insurrectionists, and in the decisive battle of the Boyne gained a great victory over them.

The results of the battle of the Boyne broke the spirit of the revolt, and soon all Ireland acknowledged the authority of William. The Protestant Irish, or Orangemen, as they are called, still keep fresh the memory of the great victory by the celebration, even in the cities of the New World, of the anniversary of the event.

236. Plans and Death of William. — The motive which had most strongly urged William to respond to the invitation of the English revolutionists to assume the crown of England,

²⁶ The most important constitutional matter of William's reign after those mentioned in the text was the passage by Parliament of the Act of Settlement (June 12, 1701), which was "an Act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject." The most important articles of this Act, after that determining the succession, were one providing that after the accession of the House of Hanover no one should wear the crown unless a communicant of the Anglican Church, and another providing that the judges should hold office during good behavior, not simply at the will of the king, as hitherto.

²⁷ From *Jacobus*, Latin for "James."

was his desire to turn the arms and resources of that country against the great champion of despotism and the dangerous neighbor of his own native country, Louis XIV of France.

The conduct of Louis in lending aid to James in his attempt to regain his crown had so enraged the English that they were quite ready to support William in his wars against him, and so the English and Dutch sailors fought side by side against the common enemy in the War of the Palatinate (par. 178).

A short time after the Peace of Ryswick, broke out the War of the Spanish Succession (par. 179). William, as the uncompromising foe of the aggressive French king, urged the English to enter the war against France. An insolent and perfidious act on the part of Louis caused the English people to support their king in this plan with great unanimity and heartiness. The matter to which we refer was this. James II having died at just this juncture of affairs, Louis, disregarding his solemn promises, at once acknowledged the late king's son (par. 230), known in history as the "Old Pretender," as "King of Great Britain and Ireland."

Preparations were now made for the war thus provoked by the double sense of danger and insult. In the midst of these preparations William was fatally hurt by being thrown from his horse (1702).

A contemporary, Bishop Burnet, in his *History of his Own Times*, speaks as follows of King William and his place among English sovereigns: "I considered him as a person raised up by God to resist the power of France and the progress of tyranny and persecution. . . . After all the abatements that may be allowed for his errors and faults, he ought still to be reckoned among the greatest princes that our history, or indeed that of any other, affords."²⁸

²⁸ Mary had preceded William, having died in 1694, and as they left no children, the crown descended to the Princess Anne, Mary's sister, the wife of Prince George of Denmark.

Sources and Source Material. — The contemporary discussion concerning the origin and basis of government can be traced in the following three works, all of which are to be found in Morley's Universal Library: HOBBS' *Leviathan* (1651), FILMER'S *Patriarcha* (1680), and LOCKE'S *Two Treatises on Government* (1690). Hobbes' work was first published in 1651, at a time when, in the words of the author, England "was boiling hot with questions concerning the right of dominion and the obedience due from subjects." Hobbes believed absolute monarchy to be the best form of government, but he did not base it on divine right. For a word respecting Filmer's celebrated work in defense of divine-right monarchy, see "Sources" for Chapter VII. In opposition to Filmer, Locke holds government to be made "by contrivance and consent of men." Along with these three works may be read MILTON'S *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*.

After these works of special scope and aim, the student who would make a careful study of the period should turn to the *Calendars of State Papers* (now complete for the Civil War, the Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and a part of the reign of Charles II); CLARENDON'S *History of the Rebellion; The Life of King James the Second*, edited by J. S. Clarke (London, 1816); and BURNET'S *History of his Own Times* (1659-1713). For extended observations on the last three works and an appreciation of their value as primary sources of information, consult Ranke's *History of England*, vol. vi, Appendix. Of the utmost importance for the period of the Civil War and the Commonwealth are *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, 2 vols., edited by Thomas Carlyle. In Forster's *Sir John Eliot* will be found much source material; in particular, extracts from the speeches of Eliot. LUDLOW'S *Memoirs* are of special interest and value. The writer was opposed to the arbitrary government of the Stuarts as well as to the usurpation of Cromwell.

Many of the most important documents and state papers of the period, together with valuable excerpts from contemporary writings, will be found in the following collections of source material; Henderson's ***Side Lights on English History*, pp. 33-214; Lee's *Source-Book of English History*, pp. 335-438; Colby's *Selections from the Sources of English History*, Nos. 68-85; Kendall's *Source-Book of English History*, chaps. xi-xv; Adams and Stephens's *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, pp. 326-479; Gee and Hardy's *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, Nos. 88-124; Prothero's *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, pp. 250-439; Gardiner's *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660*, Stubbs's *Select Charters* (contains the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement); and *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 6,

19, 23-28, 57, 60-63. For the social life of the times, with side lights upon political affairs, there are PEPYS's *Diary and Correspondence*, for the years 1659-1669, and EVELYN's *Diary and Correspondence*, covering the long period from 1641-1705.

Secondary Works. — GARDINER (S. R.), ***History of England*, from the accession of James I to the outbreak of the Civil War (revised ed., 1883-1884), 10 vols; *History of the Great Civil War* (ed. of 1893), 4 vols.; *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, 3 vols.; ***Oliver Cromwell*, and *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution*, 1603-1660 (Epochs of Modern History). Dr. Gardiner made this period especially his own. His works are of the highest authority and value. RANKE (L.), ***History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1875), 6 vols. NEAL (D.), *The History of the Puritans*, 2 vols. (reprint, New York, 1855). This work was first published in 1732-1733. MACAULAY (T. B.), *The History of England from the Accession of James II*; also his *Essays* on Milton and John Hampden. MASSON (D.), *The Life of John Milton*, 5 vols. GUIZOT (F. P. G.), *History of Civilization in Europe*, lect. xiii; and the *History of the English Revolution*. GOLDWIN SMITH, *Three English Statesmen* — for two admirable lectures on Pym and Cromwell; MORLEY (J.), *Oliver Cromwell*; FORSTER (J.), *Sir John Eliot*, 2 vols.; HARRISON (F.), *Oliver Cromwell*, and TRAILL (H. D.), *William the Third* — the two last in the "Twelve English Statesmen" series. HALE (E.), *The Fall of the Stuarts*, and AIRY (O.), *The English Restoration and Louis XIV* — both in "Epochs of Modern History" series. WAKEMAN (H. O.), *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, chaps. xvi and xvii; and *The Church of the Puritans* (Epochs of Church History). PRENDERGAST (J. P.), *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*. Nor should the admirable articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* be overlooked. Consult also bibliography for Chapter III; in the extended histories, the single-volume text-books, and the constitutional works there named, will be found sections and chapters covering the period under present discussion.

CHAPTER X

THE RISE OF RUSSIA: PETER THE GREAT (1682-1725)

237. General Remarks. — We left Russia at the close of the Middle Ages a semi-savage, semi-Asiatic power, so hemmed in by barbarian bands and hostile races as to be almost entirely cut off from intercourse with the civilized world.¹ In the present chapter we shall tell how her boundaries were pushed out to the sea on every side, — to the Caspian, to the Euxine, and to the Baltic, — and how she was initiated as a member of the European family of nations. The main interest of our story will gather about Peter the Great, whose almost superhuman strength and energy it was that first lifted the great barbarian nation to a prominent place among the Western states.

238. Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584). — The most noteworthy name among the rulers of Russia after the opening of the modern era is that of Ivan IV, surnamed “the Terrible,” on account of his many cruel and revengeful acts. While yet a child of thirteen years he caused a boyar, or noble, who had offended him to be torn in pieces in his presence by dogs. Towards the close of his reign he killed his eldest son with a blow of his iron staff. At Novgorod, in punishment for a supposed conspiracy of the nobles, he put to death over fifteen hundred persons. He had “spasms of remorse” for his deeds, and then would clothe himself in the garb of a penitent, march in the priestly processions, pray himself and ask the prayers of others for the repose of the souls of his victims. At one time he made out a list of over thirty-four hundred persons whom he had killed, and asked for them the special prayers of the Church. But in judging Ivan we ought, as

¹ See *The Middle Ages*, pars. 376-378.

Ram baud fairly urges, to try him by the standards of his own time, and not to forget that "the sixteenth century is the century of Henry the Eighth, of Ferdinand the Catholic, of Catherine de' Medici, of the Inquisition, and of Saint Bartholomew."

But Ivan, despite his terribly cruel disposition, did much to extend and consolidate the Russian dominions. He wrested from the Tartars Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1554), and thus gained possession of the entire length of the Volga, — the most important highway of commerce within the Russian empire, — and extended the limits of his dominions to the shores of the Caspian. "In the Russian annals," says Ram baud, "the expedition to Kazan occupies the same glorious place as the defeat of Abderrahman in the history of the Franks."² From that day to this Russia has steadily pushed the Turanian peoples back from their conquests in Europe, and as steadily encroached upon their domains in Asia.

Ivan also attempted to force his way through to the Baltic and to the Black Sea, but Russia had not yet sufficient strength for these great undertakings. They were reserved for the energy and genius of Peter the Great and Catherine II. Before the death of Ivan, however, the Ural Mountains were explored and their great mineral resources discovered, and the conquest of Siberia was fairly begun.

During this reign an exploring expedition from England, while searching for a northeast passage to China, discovered the White Sea. The result of the expedition was the founding of the port of Archangel, through which place the English began to carry on trade with Russia. Embassies were exchanged, and Ivan proposed to marry a cousin of Queen Elizabeth, and further sought to conclude a treaty with the queen whereby each should engage to give the other an asylum in case rebellion or misfortune of any kind should drive either of them into exile. Elizabeth replied graciously, but declined to enter into the reciprocal arrangement, explaining to the

² See *The Middle Ages*, par. 91.

prince that there were, "by the grace of God, no dangers of the sort in her dominions."

In 1547 Ivan assumed at his coronation the title of Tsar.³ In adopting this imposing title it was Ivan's purpose not only to proclaim the new dignity and power with which favoring fortune had invested the Grand Princes of Moscow, but also to give expression to the idea that the Muscovite rulers were the heirs and successors of the Cæsars of Constantinople. He maintained that "if Constantinople had been the second, Moscow was the third Rome, — the living heir of the Eternal City."

239. The Conquest of Siberia. — One of the most important matters relating to Russian history during the seventeenth century is the conquest of Siberia, to which enterprise we have just referred as having been commenced under Ivan the Terrible. This immense region was brought under Russian domination in very much the same way that, during the preceding century, so large a part of the New World was annexed to the Spanish crown. It was explored, conquered, and colonized by just such bands of adventurers as took possession of Mexico and Peru; only here it was not gold and silver, the wealth of barbaric empires, but furs and walrus ivory that drew on the hunters and freebooters. The conquest, or exploration, or colonization, by whichever name it may be preferred to designate this march of Russia upon Asia, was begun in 1580, and in little more than half a century — by 1639 — the Cossack horsemen were standing upon the eastern shores of Asia and gazing out upon the Pacific.⁴

³ This was the title given by Russian writers to potentates, in particular to the Cæsars of Rome and of Constantinople. Ivan III (1462-1505) had made use of the title in his correspondence, but Ivan IV was the first Russian prince upon whom the title was formally bestowed at his coronation.

⁴ It was almost exactly one century later, in 1741, that the explorer Bering, having sometime before discovered the strait which bears his name, sighted the tall form of Mount St. Elias, and by right of discovery added the northwestern portion of North America — what is now Alaska — to the possessions of the Tsar.

The conquest or occupation of Northern Asia having been effected in the manner indicated, — the Tsar often having only the vaguest idea of what was going on while half a continent was being taken possession of in his name, — it was inevitable that the record of the work should, like that of the Spanish conquests in the New World, be one of crime, oppression, and outrage. In the name of the Tsar the representatives of Russian civilization “slew, plundered, and burned their way from one side of Asia to the other without pity or remorse.”

It remained for Russia to complete during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the work begun in the seventeenth, — to explore the Siberian coast line ; to establish the Russian boundary in the valley of the Amur ; to follow the Siberian rivers to their sources among the Altai Mountains, and to take possession of the rich mineral-bearing regions about their heads ; to beat into subjection the Khans of Turkestan, and to push the Russian frontier as far as possible towards Persia and India.

240. Beginning of the House of Románov (1613). — The line of the old Norseman Rurik ended in 1598. Then followed a period of confusion and of foreign invasion, known as the Troublous Times, during which the Poles, the hereditary enemies of the Russians, constantly invaded Muscovy and distressed the people, after which, in 1613, Michael Románov, the first of the family that bears his name, was chosen Tsar. The dynasty thus founded has held the throne up to the present time.

241. Accession of Peter the Great (1682). — For more than half a century after the accession of the Románovs there is little either in the genius or the deeds of any of the line calculated to draw our special attention. But towards the close of the seventeenth century there ascended the Russian throne “a man of miracles” — a man whose genius and energy and achievements instantly drew the gaze of the world, and who has elicited the admiration and wonder of all succeeding

generations. This was Peter I, later to be known as Peter the Great, one of the most remarkable characters of history.

When Peter came to the throne in 1682 he was only ten years of age, so the government was conducted by his step-sister Sophia in the name of Peter and of a blind, imbecile, elder half-brother, named Ivan, whom the Streltsi, or Moscow militia, insisted should share the sovereignty with Peter.

242. His Boyhood. — Peter was a strong, eager boy, with a bent for mechanics and military and naval affairs. He was constantly devising ingenious fireworks, arranging sham fights with play soldiers, and engaging in boat building, thus in every way possible illustrating the proverb that the boy is father of the man.

When he was only eleven years of age he organized a play regiment of his comrades. At a great expenditure of labor he caused a fort to be built, in order that his young soldiers might be exercised in all the maneuvers of a regular siege and assault. This play regiment and this mimic war were the beginning of the reorganized Russian army, and the precursor of campaigns that concerned the world.

Peter's interest in naval affairs was greatly increased by a discovery which he made in 1688 while wandering over one of his estates. In an old building, stowed away amidst heaps of rubbish, he found an old English boat, which, in answer to his inquiries, he was told would go both with and against the wind.⁵ He at once had the boat repaired, and, launching it upon a convenient stream, with his own hand upon the helm eagerly navigated it up and down the river. Very soon Peter had mechanics at work making others upon the same model. This was the beginning of the Russian navy. The little model is still carefully preserved at St. Petersburg, and is known as the "Grandsire of the Russian Fleet."

In 1689, when only seventeen years of age, Peter, convinced that Sophia was intriguing to secure the crown for herself,

⁵ The Russians at this time had only rude flat-bottomed boats.

caused her to be deposed and shut her up in a convent, while he, in connection with Ivan,⁶ who naturally yielded to his stronger brother in everything, assumed the responsibilities of government.

243. Peter's Character. — Now that Peter has come to manhood and has stepped upon the stage to play his great part in the drama of history, we must seek to learn what sort of man he was.

Like Philip II of Spain, Peter was the true child of his race. In him all the forces of the Russian race life seem to have been concentrated. "Never," says his latest biographer, "never have the collective qualities of a nation, good and bad, the heights and depths of its scale of morality, every feature of its physiognomy been so summed up in a single personality, destined to be its historical type. . . . Peter is Russia — her flesh and blood, her temperament, her virtues, and her vices."⁷

Peter has been likened to the legendary heroes of the Russian and the Gothic race. He was a man of elemental forces and passions. He had fits of Berserker rage, — wild frenzies during which the life of no one about him was safe. He indulged in astonishing drinking bouts, and delighted in buffoonery and coarse jests.

But though Peter was a savage, still, in the words of one of his biographers, he was "one of the most interesting savages that ever lived." Over against his vices were set many virtues. He worked strenuously at his kingly trade, not alone from sheer love of work but because work was to him a duty. He was not without truly royal thoughts, like those of the best of the enlightened despots, in regard to the nature of the kingly office. He is said to have uttered this sentiment: "I am the first servant of my people." And this was not a mere sentiment with him, as the following story witnesses. One

⁶ Ivan died in 1696.

⁷ Waliszewski, *Peter the Great*, p. 69.

day he visited a park which he had made, and was surprised to find no one in it. "Do the people suppose," he inquired, "that I have set so many hands at work and spent so much money simply for my own benefit?" And then he ordered proclamation to be made that the park belonged to the people and that they were to use it as their own.

Indicative of the same honorable feeling are the words which broke from him, as late in life, with what Carlyle would call his "great spell of work" almost over, he stood at the tomb of the renowned prime minister of France, Richelieu. "Thou great man," he is said to have exclaimed, "I would have given thee half of my dominion to have learned of thee how to govern the other half."

But it will be best if we allow the character of our hero to disclose itself in his acts, his endeavors, and his achievements. Let us resume the narrative.

244. The State of Russia when Peter assumed the Government. — In order to understand what Peter did for Russia we must acquaint ourselves with the condition of the country when he took into his hands the shaping of its destinies.

In the first place, we should note the geographical isolation of Russia. At this time she possessed only one seaport, Archangel, on the White Sea, which harbor for a large part of the year is sealed against vessels by the extreme cold of that high latitude. The Tartars and Turks cut her off from the Black Sea; the territories of the Swedes and the Poles intervened between her and the Baltic.⁸ All her trade with Western Europe was carried on through intermediaries. She looked towards Asia, to which continent she in fact belonged. When in 1648 the European states readjusted their affairs in the great Westphalian peace, Russia had no lot or part in the convention, not simply because she had stood aloof from the Thirty Years' War, but also because she was not then regarded as forming a part of Europe.

⁸ The student should study carefully the accompanying map, facing p. 280.

In the second place, we should recall how Russia had been actually Asiaticized through her long subjection to the Mongol hordes. That tide of conquest, it is true, had now ebbed. But "the flood," as Waliszewski says, "receding from the soil had left behind it, like a heavy deposit, all its stable elements — forms of government, customs, and habits of thought." The Russia which had emerged was, as our author says, essentially Asiatic and barbarous.

245. Peter's Task ; his Programme not wholly Original. — Peter's task was to break Russia's isolation and to undo the work of the Tartar conquerors, — to make again European what they had made Asiatic.

Hence one essential part of Peter's programme was to wrest the Euxine from the hands of the Turks and the eastern shores of the Baltic from the grasp of the Swedes. Thus would he gain for Russia her first great need, — access to the sea. Thus would he break that isolation which had done so much to keep Russia in the rear of the nations of Western Europe in the march of progress.

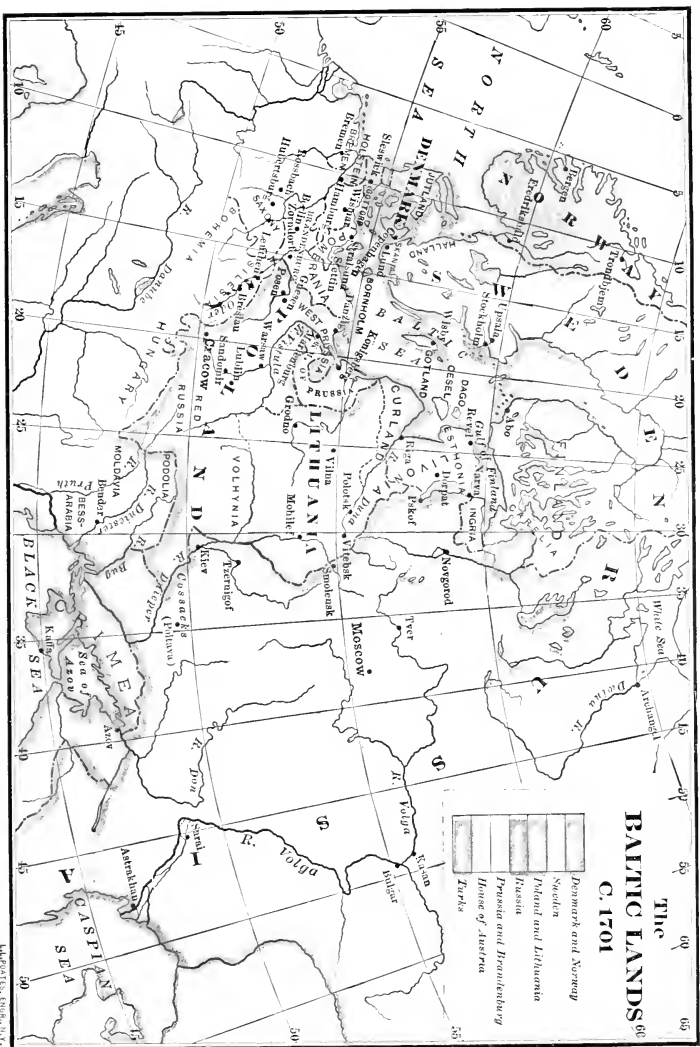
Another essential article of Peter's policy was the introduction into Russia of the ideas, customs, arts, and industries of Western Europe — in a word, to make Russia in her thoughts, ideals, and institutions, a member of the European family of nations.

This programme of Peter's, it should be noted, was not wholly original with him. Russia had gradually been preparing for his advent. Her expansion towards water frontiers had already begun. The Caspian had been reached ; Siberia had been overrun and a firm foothold secured on the Pacific shore. Thus Peter simply gave a fresh impulse to an expansion movement already well under way.

It was the same in regard to Peter's internal reforms. The relation of Russia in the seventeenth century to Western civilization was essentially like that of China at the present day. There was here a great mass of Oriental conservatism in

The BALTIC LANDS C. 1701

- Denmark and Norway
- Sweden
- Poland and Lithuania
- Russia
- Prussia and Brandenburg
- Home of Austria
- Turks



which was working the leaven of Western ideas, causing in some minds a great fermentation and calling into existence a party of reform and progress. At Moscow there was a large settlement of foreigners, including German and other merchants, and adventurers from almost every land of the West. It was in the free air of this foreign suburb that Peter, while yet a mere boy, overjoyed to escape from the suffocating atmosphere of the palace, spent much of his time, and here it was that he got his advanced ideas. Among the foreign residents of the palace with whom Peter fraternized were the Swiss Lefort, the Scotch Gordon, and the Dutch Timmermann. Through these and other foreigner companions it was that Peter learned how backward and barbarous his own country was compared with the progressive and civilized states of the West.

246. The Conquest of Azov (1696).—In 1695 Peter, with the declaration, “We are now going to play the real game of war,” sailed down the Don and made an attack upon Azov, the key to the Black Sea, but was unsuccessful. The next year, however, repeating the attempt, he succeeded, and thus gained his first harbor on the south.

No sooner had Peter secured his new harbor than he set in earnest about the construction of a fleet (1696–1697), in which enterprise he was aided by shipwrights whom he had called from Venice and other Western states. So energetically was the work pushed that in less than two years a great fleet of war ships was floating upon the streams running to the Sea of Azov.

247. Peter’s First⁹ Visit to the West (1697–1698).—With a view to advancing his naval projects, Peter about this time sent a large number of young Russian nobles to Italy, Holland, and England to acquire in those countries a knowledge of naval affairs, forbidding them to return before they had become good sailors.

Not satisfied with thus sending to foreign parts his young nobility, Peter formed the somewhat startling resolution of

⁹ Peter made a second European tour in 1716–1717.

going abroad himself and learning the art of shipbuilding by personal experience in the dockyards of Holland. Accordingly, in the year 1697, leaving the government in the hands of three nobles, he set out for the Netherlands.

Peter, with his uncouth barbarian suite, made a great sensation as he traveled westward. His passage with his court was like the passage of a horde of untamed Cossacks. Peter himself often acted like a savage and made his entertainers no end of trouble and anxiety. At Königsberg he asked to see a man broken on the wheel. The authorities explained to him that they were unable to gratify his wish, since there was no criminal at hand condemned to undergo that form of punishment. Peter was astonished that that should stand in the way of his seeing how the instrument worked. "What a fuss about killing a man!" he said.

The palaces in which Peter and his company were lodged were left in a condition that could hardly have been worse had they been subjected to a regular siege. Prudent hosts removed everything breakable from the apartments designed for the accommodation of the "barbarian court."¹⁰

Upon reaching the Netherlands Peter proceeded to Zaandam, a place a short distance from Amsterdam. After a week's stay

¹⁰ Wilhelmina, the sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia, who saw Peter and his company at Berlin when the Tsar was on his second visit to the West some years after this, gives in her *Memoirs* the following amusing account of what happened at the summer palace, near the capital, where Peter and his suite were lodged. Recounting the prudent measures taken by the queen to minimize the inevitable damage, she writes: "In order to prevent the mischief which the Russian gentlemen had done in other places where they had lodged, the queen ordered the principal furniture, and whatever was most brittle, to be removed." And this is what she has to say of the condition of the palace after the Russian guests had left it: "What desolation was there visible! I never beheld anything like it; indeed, I think Jerusalem after its siege and capture could not have presented such another scene. This elegant palace was left by them in so ruinous a state that the queen was absolutely obliged to rebuild the whole of it." A similar story comes from England. The English government lodged Peter and his court in the fine residence of the celebrated writer, John Evelyn. The owner of the premises felt constrained to ask the government to pay for the injury they had sustained. The damages were carefully assessed and amounted to £350 9s. 6d.

here, in order to escape the annoyance of the crowds, Peter left the place, and went to the docks of the East India Company at Amsterdam, who set about building a frigate that he might see the whole process of constructing a vessel from the beginning. Here he worked for four months, being known among his fellow-workmen as Baas or Master Peter.

When fully established he wrote back to friends in Russia : "We are now in the Netherlands, in the town of Amsterdam, and, following the divine command given to our forefather Adam, are hard at work. What we do is not for any need, but for the sake of learning navigation, so that, having mastered it thoroughly, we can, when we return, be victorious over the enemies of Jesus Christ, and liberators of the Christians who live under them, which I shall not cease to work for until my latest breath."

It was not alone the art of naval architecture in which Peter interested himself; he attended lectures on anatomy, studied surgery, gaining some skill in pulling teeth and in bleeding, inspected paper mills, flour mills, printing presses, and factories, and visited cabinets, hospitals, and museums, thus acquainting himself with every industry and art that he thought might be advantageously introduced into his own country. He worried everybody with his endless questions. He carried a notebook and took notes as assiduously as a college student in the lecture room.

From Holland Master Peter went to England to study her superior naval establishment and to learn "the why" and "the wherefore." Here he was fittingly received by King William III, who had presented Peter while in Holland with a splendid yacht fully armed, and who now made his guest extremely happy by getting up for him a naval review.

Besides examining ships and dockyards, Peter gave his attention to almost every English institution. He is said to have been much astonished at the number of lawyers at the Westminster courts, declaring that he had "only two at

home and meant to hang one of them as soon as he got back." Peter remained in England four months, a great part of the time being spent in labors similar to those which had occupied him in the Netherlands.

While in England Peter gathered a company of several hundred engineers, captains, surgeons, mechanics, and persons learned in the various sciences, and by magnificent promises — which the truth requires us to say were very badly fulfilled — induced them to go to Russia to help him build fleets, train soldiers, cut canals, and Europeanize his country.

Returning from England to Holland, Peter went thence to Vienna, intending to visit Venice ; but hearing of an insurrection at home, he set out in haste for Moscow.

248. Peter disbands the Streltsi and creates a New Army after Western Models. — The revolt which had hastened Peter's return from the West was an uprising among the Streltsi, a body of militia, numbering twenty or thirty thousand, who formed the nearest thing to a standing Russian army. In their ungovernable turbulence they remind us of the Pretorians of the Roman Emperors, or the Janizaries of the later Turkish Sultans. The present mutiny had been instigated possibly by the mischievous Sophia ; but it had been suppressed before Peter's arrival, so that there was nothing now remaining for him to do save to mete out punishment to the ringleaders, of whom a thousand or more were put to death with the cruelest tortures. Peter beheaded some of the wretches with his own hands, and compelled the nobles of his court also to help strike off the heads of the condemned.

Nothing better illustrates the barbarism of the Russia of Peter's time than the fact that his acting thus as an executioner never shocked his subjects in the least. Sophia, who, as we have intimated, was suspected of being concerned in the plot, was effectually removed from the sphere of politics.

This revolt settled Peter in his determination to rid himself altogether of the insolent and turbulent Streltsi. A royal edict

disbanded those regiments that had had any part in the uprising ; a subsequent revolt led to the abolition of the remaining regiments. Thus at a blow did the resolute Peter destroy a power that had come to overshadow the throne itself. The place of the Streltsi was taken by a well-disciplined force trained according to the tactics of the Western nations.

249. Peter's Other Reforms.—The reorganization of the Russian military system was only one of the many reforms undertaken by Peter. The variety of these was so great, and Peter's manner of effecting them so harsh and strenuous, that, as one has aptly expressed it, he fairly "knouted the Russians into civilization."

So intent was he upon thoroughly Europeanizing his country that he resolved that his subjects should literally clothe themselves in the "garments of Western civilization." Accordingly he abolished the long-sleeved, long-skirted robes that were at this time worn, and decreed that everybody save the clergy should shave, or pay a tax on his beard of from two cents to two hundred dollars, according to his rank. But Peter's subjects were loath to part either with their skirts or their beards, which latter were as sacred in the eyes of all good Muscovites as is the queue in the estimation of Chinamen.¹¹ We are told that Peter cut off with his own hands the offending sleeves and beards of his reluctant courtiers, and stationed tailors and barbers at the gates of Moscow to cut off the skirts and train the beards of those who had not conformed to the royal regulations. The law was gradually relaxed, but the reform became so general that in the best society in Russia at the present day one sees only smooth faces and the Western style of dress.

Peter even changed times and seasons. He so reformed the Russian calendar as to make the year begin January 1

¹¹ Compare also the Arabs' veneration for their beards. In this feeling of the Russians is shown the Asiatic nature of their civilization. The same Asiaticism appears in their seclusion of their women

instead of September 1, in which month the Russians had begun the year, for the reason that they thought it probable that God made the world in the fall, when the fruits were ripe.

Peter also effected important social reforms. He drew the Russian women out of the Oriental seclusion in which they had been accustomed to live and began the creation of a society like that of the West, in which men and women mingle in mutually helpful social intercourse.

As additional outgrowths of what he had seen or heard or had suggested to him on his foreign tour, Peter issued a new coinage, introduced schools, built factories, constructed roads and canals, established a postal system, opened mines, framed laws modeled after those of the West, and reformed the government of the towns in such a way as to give the citizens some voice in the management of their local affairs, as he had observed was done in the Netherlands and in England.

Most important in its political as well as religious consequences was Peter's reform in the ecclesiastical system. At this time the Russian Church, although in a shockingly degenerate condition, formed a sort of state within the state. The head of the Church, bearing the title of Patriarch, was a kind of Russian pope. Through his censorship of the temporal authority and his interference in matters secular, he hampered and embarrassed the government. Peter put an end to this state of things. He abolished the patriarchate, and in its place created an administrative body, appointed by himself and called the Holy Synod, to take charge of ecclesiastical affairs. Thus the last restraint upon the authority of the Tsar was destroyed. The Russian government became an unlimited monarchy of the purest Oriental type.

250. Charles XII of Sweden ; the Swedish Monarchy at his Accession. — Peter's history now becomes intertwined with that of a man quite as remarkable as himself, Charles XII of

Sweden. Charles was but fifteen years of age when, in 1697, the death of his father called him to the Swedish throne.¹²

Sweden was at this time one of the great powers of Europe. The basis of her greatness had been laid during the period of the Reformation. The traditions of the hero Gustavus Adolphus cast a halo about the Swedish throne. The ideal of this great sovereign had been the creation of a state embracing all the lands bordering upon the Baltic. In a certain measure this magnificent ideal had been realized. The Baltic was virtually a Swedish lake—the Mediterranean of an empire which aspired to be the mistress of the North.

But unfortunately Sweden could not maintain such a sea empire without hemming in and cramping in their normal development, territorial or maritime, various neighboring states—in particular Russia, Poland, and Denmark. In this situation lay hidden the germ of the long and obstinate Swedish wars, which were essentially a struggle for the control of the Baltic.

The death of Charles XI and the accession to the throne of his young and inexperienced son offered to the jealous enemies and watchful rivals of Sweden seemingly too good an opportunity to be lost for pushing her back into the northern peninsula. Accordingly three sovereigns, Frederick IV of Denmark, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, and Peter the Great of Russia, leagued against him (1700), for the purpose of appropriating such portions of his dominions as they severally desired to annex to their own.

251. The Battle of Narva (1700).—But the conspirators had formed a wrong estimate of the young Swedish monarch. Notwithstanding the insane follies¹³ in which he was accustomed

¹² The government of Sweden had now become an absolute autocracy. In 1693 the Riksdag, or Diet, had proclaimed the Swedish monarch to be "an all-commanding sovereign-king responsible for his actions to none on earth, but with authority as a Christian king to rule as it seemeth to him best."

¹³ Innumerable stories, which for the most part seem well enough founded, are related of the precocious sayings and wild doings of this strange and erratic

to indulge, he possessed talent ; especially had he a remarkable aptitude for military affairs, though lacking many of the qualities of a great commander.

With a well-trained force — a veteran army that had not yet forgotten the discipline of the hero Gustavus Adolphus — Charles now threw himself first upon the Danes, and in two weeks forced the Danish king to sue for peace ; then he turned his little army of eight thousand men upon the Russian forces of twenty thousand, which were besieging the city of Narva, on the Gulf of Finland, and inflicted upon them a most ignominious defeat. The only comment of the imperturbable Peter upon the disaster was, “The Swedes will have the advantage of us at first, but they will teach us how to beat them.”

252. The Founding of St. Petersburg (1703). — After chastising the Tsar at Narva, the Swedish king turned south and marched into Poland to punish Augustus for the part he had taken in the conspiracy against him. While Charles was busied in this quarter, Peter, having made good by strenuous exertions his loss in men and arms at Narva, was gradually making himself master of the Swedish lands on the Baltic, and upon a marshy island at the mouth of the Neva was laying the foundations of the famous city of Petersburg, which he proposed to make the western gateway of his empire.

The spot selected by Peter as the site of his new capital was low and subject to inundation,¹⁴ so that the labor requisite

person. While yet a child he said to his tutor, “I could wish to resemble Alexander” ; and upon being told that Alexander lived only thirty-two years, he rejoined, “And is not that long enough for one who has conquered kingdoms?” The first two or three years of his reign, during which the government was conducted by a regent, were filled by the boy king with madcap follies, such as beheading sheep, as a sword exercise, in the palace chambers, and flinging the heads out of the windows, “to the astonishment of passers-by” ; breaking into pieces at the close of a banquet the dishes and furniture, and pitching the fragments through the closed windows ; smashing the furniture in the royal chapel, and similar exploits.

¹⁴ Peter tells us of an inundation which occurred in 1706. “It was amusing,” he writes, “to see how the people sat on roofs and trees, just as in the time of the

to make it fit for building purposes was simply enormous. But difficulties never dismayed Peter. He gathered workmen from all parts of his dominions, cut down and dragged to the spot whole forests for piles and buildings, and caused a city to rise as if by magic from the morasses. More than a hundred thousand workmen are said to have perished during the first few years of the work. This is doubtless an exaggeration, yet an exaggeration which shows at how great a cost the capital was built. But in spite of difficulties the work was done, and the splendid city stands to-day one of the most impressive monuments of the indomitable and despotic energy of Peter.

253. Invasion of Russia by Charles XII. — Meanwhile Charles was doing very much as he pleased with the king of Poland. He defeated his forces, overran his dominions, and forced him to surrender the Polish crown in favor of Stanislaus Leszinski. With sufficient punishment meted out to Augustus, Charles was ready to turn his attention once more to the Tsar. So marvelous had been the success attendant upon his arms for the past few years, nothing now seemed impossible to him. Deluded by this belief, he resolved to march into Russia and dethrone the Tsar even as he had dethroned the king of Poland.

The intelligence of Charles's intentions alarmed Peter, and he sent to his rival proposals of peace. These Charles rejected, and with an army of barely forty thousand men began his eastward march. It soon developed that his bold plan was to strike the ancient capital, Moscow, and there to dictate terms to the Tsar.

It was a terrible march that the Swedes made, a march somewhat like that of the Grand Army under Napoleon a century later. The Russian tactics were almost the same now as then, the villages being abandoned and burned, and the entire country made a desert in front of the advancing Swedes.

Deluge." In selecting such a marshy site for his capital, Peter may have been aiming to reproduce Amsterdam, in which city he had spent so much of his time when abroad.

Thus impeded in his march, Charles suddenly gave up his direct advance upon Moscow, and turned south into the Ukraine, whither he was drawn by the treachery to the Tsar of the Cossack hetman Mazeppa. But the Cossacks in general remained faithful in their allegiance, and Charles found himself obliged to pass in a hostile country one of the most terrible winters Europe had ever experienced.

254. The Battle of Poltáva (1709). — Finally Charles laid siege to the town of Poltáva. Peter marched to its relief, and the two armies met in decisive combat in front of the place. The Swedish army was virtually annihilated. Escaping with a few followers from the field, Charles fled southward, and found an asylum in Turkey. The effect of Peter's victory was to lift Russia to a prominent place among the powers of Europe.

255. Charles as a Guest in Turkey; End of his Career. — Among the Turks Charles acted in a manner which justified the title given him of "the Madman of the North." While in the Ottoman dominions he was provided with a residence and treated as a guest of the Sultan, whose hospitality he most shamefully requited. At first he busied himself in persuading the Sultan to declare war against Russia. The campaign went against Peter, and he seemed on the brink of absolute ruin. He saved himself, however, by bribing the Turkish vizier, who permitted him to withdraw his army from a seemingly inextricable position, but only on condition of his giving up Azov and making other humiliating concessions (Treaty of the Pruth, 1711).

When Charles learned that the Turkish vizier had allowed the Tsar to escape instead of making him a prisoner, he was quite beside himself with rage, and heaped upon that official all sorts of abuse and insult. The imperturbable vizier simply remarked, "It would not answer for all the sovereigns to be away from their kingdoms at the same time."

After about two years had passed, the Turks tired of their guest, and requested him to make ready to return to Sweden.

But Charles refused to go, and finally the Sultan was forced to send a small army to remove him forcibly. Charles now barricaded his house, which was at a place called Bender, in Bessarabia, and with a handful of domestics and companions kept the whole Turkish army at bay for some time, he himself performing such prodigies of daring that he is declared to have killed twenty Turks with his own sword. His only object in making such a fight was to do something unlike anything ever done before and thus give the world something to talk about.

Finally, in 1714, having been in Turkey five years, Charles was started on his journey home through Germany. Upon his arrival in Sweden he found his kingdom shorn of almost all its provinces beyond sea, and everything in great disorder. With characteristic recklessness he almost straightway renewed the old war with Denmark, and was finally killed at Fredrikshall, while besieging that place (1718).

Such was the end of the meteoric career of the strangest character of the eighteenth century. At the time of his death Charles was only thirty-six years of age. Perhaps we can understand him best by regarding him, as his biographer Voltaire suggests, as an old Norse sea king born ten centuries after his time. He was indeed "the last of the Vikings."

256. Condemnation of the Tsarévich Alexis (1718). — The very year that witnessed the close of the wild career of Charles XII marked an event of deep and painful interest in the life of Peter the Great. This was the culmination of a long-existing quarrel between him and the Tsarévich Alexis. The root of this trouble between father and son was that Alexis was a weak, dissolute youth, without any sympathy with his father's reforms, but rather, through his education, which Peter had left to others, wedded to the old order of things. Peter, fearing that all his work would be undone should this son come to the throne, wished to set aside his claims.

After laboring a long time for the reformation of his son, Peter finally gave him the alternative of straightway manifesting a

becoming interest in public affairs, or, renouncing all claims to the throne, of entering a monastery. Alexis fled from the severity of his father and placed himself under the protection of the Emperor Charles VI, who sent him to Naples ; but on promise of forgiveness he was induced to return to Moscow. Peter now broke his word with him, and he was tried, tortured, and condemned to death for disobedience, conspiracy, and general contumacy. The unhappy prince died in prison, it is believed from the effects of the tortures he had undergone. The exact manner of his death, however, is to this day veiled in mystery.

Peter has been severely censured for his treatment of his son and heir. Doubtless the treatment was harsh. Simple disinheritation would have been sufficient punishment for the faults of the prince. But then, had his life been spared, the security of the succession upon Peter's death would have been endangered. There was a large and powerful party bitterly opposed to the new policy of innovation and reform, and these reactionists would certainly have disputed the accession to the throne of any other person than Alexis. It was this probably which led Peter to desire the death of the Tsarévich. He thought thereby to insure the perpetuation of his policy and to secure to Russia the fruit of his life work. We can thus explain, though we may not justify, his action.

257. Russia's Title to Baltic Land confirmed ; the Caspian becomes a Russian Lake ; Peter's Death. — Peter's eventful reign was now drawing to a close. In 1721 the Swedish wars which had so long disturbed Europe were brought to an end by the Peace of Nystad, which confirmed Russia's title to all the Eastern Baltic lands that Peter had wrested from the Swedes. The undisputed possession of so large a strip of the Baltic seaboard vastly increased the importance and influence of Russia, which now assumed a place among the leading European powers.

In 1722 troubles in Persia that resulted in the massacre of some Russians afforded Peter a pretext for sailing down the

Volga and seizing the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, which now became virtually a Russian lake.¹⁵ This ended Peter's conquests.

Three years later, being then in his fifty-fourth year, Peter died of a fever brought on by his excesses and careless exposures. It was characteristic of his lack of prudence and foresight that he left no will nor any directions regarding the succession to the throne ; although four years before his death he had issued a celebrated ukase, or imperial edict, whereby the reigning Tsar was given the right to nominate his successor.

258. Peter's Significance for Russian History. — Probably in the case of no other European nation has any single personality left so deep and abiding an impress upon the national life and history as Peter the Great left upon Russian society and Russian history. He planted throughout his vast empire the seeds of Western civilization, and by his giant strength lifted the great nation which destiny had placed in his hands out of Asiatic barbarism into the society of the European peoples.

But it is the remote influence of Peter's work upon the Russian government which is of special interest to us as students of the Political Revolution. In destroying all checks, military and ecclesiastical, upon the power of the crown, Peter, it is true, rendered the Russian government a perfect despotism of the Asiatic type. But in bringing into his dominions Western civilization, he introduced influences which were destined in time to neutralize all he had done in the way of strengthening the basis of despotism. He introduced a civilization which fosters popular liberties, and undermines personal, despotic government. "No avowed champion of the people, aided by the most favorable circumstances," says Noble, "could have done such effective battle for Russian liberties as that compassed by the champion of absolute power. . . . Peter

¹⁵ These lands were restored to Persia by the Tsaritsa Anne about ten years later.

was the first to fairly roll Russian tyranny in the Nessus-shirt of European civilization. This was the reformer's real significance for the national life."¹⁶

259. Reign of Catherine the Great (1762-1796). — From the death of Peter on to the close of the eighteenth century the Russian throne was held, the greater part of the time, by women, the most noted of whom was Catherine II, the Great, who was one of the most distinguished representatives of the so-called enlightened despots (par. 167). But while a woman of great genius she had most serious faults of character, being incredibly profligate and unscrupulous.

Carrying out ably the policy of Peter the Great, Catherine extended vastly the limits of Russian dominion, and opened the country even more thoroughly than he had done to the entrance of Western influences. But her own faults and vices stood in her way, and neutralized much of her work. Her labors, however, in bettering the laws and improving the administration of the government, caused her to be likened to Solon and Lycurgus; while her enthusiasm for learning and her patronage of letters led Voltaire to say, "Light now comes from the North." Catherine was in truth a genuine admirer of the French philosophers, and was at pains to disseminate their teachings in her dominions. She purchased the libraries of Diderot and Voltaire, and these collections, a memorial of the great queen's intellectual leanings and literary interests, now form a part of the Russian Imperial Library, — a fact which elicits from time to time expressions of regret from French patriots.

Aside from internal reforms, the most noteworthy matters of Catherine's reign were her conquest of the Crimea and her participation in the dismemberment of Poland.

It was in the year 1783 that Catherine effected the subjugation and annexation to Russia of the Crimea. The possession of this peninsula gave Russia dominion on the Black Sea, which once virtually secured by Peter the Great had been again

¹⁶ *The Russian Revolt*, p. 153.

lost through his misfortunes. This extension of the authority of the Muscovite to the Euxine was also a matter of moment to all Eastern Europe ; for now, as Freeman says, "the road through which so many Turanian invaders had pressed into the Aryan continent was blocked forever."

Elated by her successes, Catherine now conceived the project of driving the Turks entirely out of Europe, and of establishing a Byzantine empire dependent upon Russia. Over one of the gates of Moscow looking towards the south, she caused to be inscribed the legend, "The way to Constantinople." She realized her dream only to the extent, in a subsequent war with the Sultan, of wresting a little additional territory from the Turks.

On the West, however, Catherine succeeded, by intrigue and the most shameful disregard of the law of nations, in greatly extending the limits of her dominions. This she effected at the expense of Poland, the partition of which state she planned in connection with Frederick the Great of Prussia — who suggested the crime — and Maria Theresa of Austria. On the first division, which was made in 1772, the imperial robbers each took a portion of the spoils. This act of brigandage was consummated in spite of the efforts of patriotic Poles for reform — the anarchical condition of the Polish state being the pretext of the despoiling sovereigns for their action. For what was left of Poland, Catherine made herself the guarantor of the old Polish constitution, which was simply "another name for anarchy."

It is difficult to apportion the blame among the participators in this transaction. Maria Theresa seems to have been the only one connected with the iniquitous business who had any scruples of conscience respecting the act. She justly characterized the proposed partition as downright robbery, for a long time stood out against it, and yielded at last and took her portion only when she realized that she was powerless to prevent the others from carrying out the policy of dismemberment.

In 1793 a second partition was made, this time between Russia and Prussia; and then, in 1795, after the suppression of a determined revolt of the Poles under the lead of the patriot Kosciuszko, a third and final division among the three powers completed the dismemberment of the unhappy state, and erased its name from the map of Europe.¹⁷

This was the first instance in two hundred years of the destruction of a sovereign Christian state by sister states. Unfortunately the pages of the history of the following century were to be stained with the record of many similar acts of international brigandage, yet by none quite as wicked or as far-reaching in its regrettable consequences as was this assassination of Poland.

The territory gained by Russia in the dismemberment of Poland brought her western frontier close alongside the civilization of Central Europe. In Catherine's phrase, Poland had become her "door mat," upon which she stepped when visiting the West.

By the close of Catherine's reign Russia was beyond question one of the foremost powers of Europe, and was henceforward

¹⁷ It is true that Poland during the greater part of the eighteenth century, through internal dissensions and factional intrigues, was some such standing menace to the peace of her neighbors as Turkey is at the present day. The Polish constitution was a survival of the age of mediæval feudal anarchy. In the struggle here between the royal power and the feudal nobility—a struggle which in most other lands had issued in the triumph of the monarchical principle—the aristocracy had triumphed, and had reduced the kingly authority to the mere shadow of elective kingship. One particular source of the anarchical state of things was a provision of the constitution which gave to every single member of the Diet the right and power to defeat any measure by his vote cast in opposition (*liberum veto*). Every noble was virtually a king. But it must be added that this anarchical state of the kingdom cannot be pleaded by the dismemberers of Poland in extenuation of their crime, for they in every possible way prevented all schemes of reform and fostered the anarchy because it served their interests and furthered their plans to do so. Louis XIV of France gave to his ambassador these instructions: "The government of Poland must be regarded as an anarchy; but this anarchy serves the interests of France, and so it must be fostered." Further, an admirable new constitution was drawn up for Poland in 1791, which would have made it a strong state had a chance been allowed.

to have a voice in all matters of general European concern. She was destined to play an important part in the Napoleonic wars and in the great struggle between the people and their despotic rulers, — a struggle already inaugurated on the Continent by the Revolutionists in France.

Sources and Source Material. — *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, comprising the treatise entitled, "Of the Russe Common Wealth," by Dr. Giles Fletcher, and "The Travels of Sir Jerome Horsley," edited by Edward A. Bond (Hakluyt Society publications). Dr. Fletcher was sent by Queen Elizabeth as her ambassador to Ivan the Terrible. His work is of special interest and value because of the author's intimate relations with the Russian court and his personal knowledge concerning the things of which he writes. The treatise was first published in 1591. *Notes upon Russia*, being a translation by R. H. Major of the earliest account of that country by Baron Sigismund von Herberstein, 2 vols. (Hakluyt Society publications). The author of these valuable "Notes" was a German ambassador at the Russian court during the years 1517-1526.

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CHAPTER XI

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA: FREDERICK THE GREAT (1740-1786)

260. The Beginnings of Prussia. — The foundation of the Prussian kingdom was laid in the beginning of the seventeenth century (1611) by the union of two small states south of the Baltic, one in Germany and one in Poland. These were the Electorate of Brandenburg and the Duchy or western part of Prussia. Brandenburg had been gradually growing into prominence since the tenth century. Its ruler at this time was a prince of the noted House of Hohenzollern, and was one of the seven princes to whom belonged the right of electing the Emperor.

Prussia, so called from the Borussi, a tribe of desperate heathen of Lithuanian race, was a small state lying along the Baltic shore in Poland, east of the Vistula. It had been conquered by the valor of the Teutonic Knights in the thirteenth century, and during this and the following centuries had been gradually brought under feudal government by German immigrants. Barbarism and heathenism had here been pushed back, and territory once lost regained for Christian civilization.

261. The Great Elector Frederick William (1640-1688). — Although this new Prussian power was destined to become the champion of German Protestantism, it acted a very unworthy and vacillating part in the Thirty Years' War. But just before the close of that struggle a strong man came to the throne, Frederick William, better known as the Great Elector. He infused vigor and strength into every department of the state, and acquired such a position for his government that at the Peace of Westphalia he was able to secure new territory, which

greatly enhanced his power and prominence among the German princes.

The Great Elector ruled for nearly half a century, and left to his successor a strongly centralized authority. He was one of the most ideal representatives of the principle of absolute monarchy then so dominant. His views of passive obedience on the part of subjects were altogether like those of his contemporary, Louis XIV of France, and of the English Stuarts. Like all absolute rulers, he placed his faith in soldiers, and laid the basis of the military power of Prussia by the creation of a standing army. He was an able administrator, and showed his liberal and tolerant spirit by giving asylum to the Huguenot exiles driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

262. How the Elector of Brandenburg acquired the Title of King. — Frederick III (1688–1713), son of the Great Elector, was ambitious for the title of King, a dignity that the weight and influence won for the Prussian state by his father fairly justified him in seeking. He saw about him other princes less powerful than himself enjoying this dignity, and he too “would be a king and wear a crown.” Recent events stimulated this ambition. William of Orange, Stadtholder of the Protestant Netherlands, had just been chosen king of England, and Augustus II, Elector of Saxony, had just been elected king of Poland.

It was necessary of course for Frederick to secure the consent of the Emperor, a matter of some difficulty, for the Catholic advisers of the Austrian court were bitterly opposed to having an heretical prince thus honored and advanced, while the Emperor himself was not at all pleased with the idea. But the War of the Spanish Succession was just about to open, and the Emperor was extremely anxious to secure Frederick’s assistance in the coming struggle. Therefore, on condition of his furnishing him aid in the war, the Emperor consented to Frederick’s assuming the new title and dignity *in the Duchy of*

Prussia, which, unlike Brandenburg, was not included in the Empire, being part of Poland.

Accordingly, early in the year 1701, Frederick, amidst imposing ceremonies, was crowned and hailed as king at Königsberg. Hitherto he had been Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia; now he was Elector of Brandenburg and King of Prussia, and entitled, in this latter state, to exercise all the authority and enjoy all the honors and privileges of royalty.

Thus was a new king born among the kings of Europe. Thus did the House of Hapsburg invest with royal dignity the rival House of Hohenzollern. The event is a landmark in German, and even in European, history. The cue of German history from this on is the growth of the power of the Prussian kings, and their steady advance to imperial honors and to the control of the affairs of the German race.

This wonderful growth of Prussia is compared by Freeman to the growth of Wessex in England, of Francia in Gaul, of Castile in Spain. "In all these cases it has been a mark land which has come to the front and has become the head of the united nation."

263. Frederick William I (1713-1740). — The son and successor of the first Prussian king, known as Frederick William I, was a most extraordinary character. He was a strong, violent, brutal man, full of the strangest freaks, yet in many respects just the man for the times.

Frederick William's father had been the friend and patron of scholars and learning, having founded the University of Halle and the Academy of Sciences at Berlin; but the son despised culture and treated scholars with studied contempt, being reported as having declared that "a pinch of common sense was worth a university full of learning." He looked with scorn upon the great Leibnitz, because he was not big enough to make a good guard. His commands were given "in a loud voice and bad grammar." His writing was a most wretched

scrawl, and his officers, it is said, sometimes made woeful blunders through misreading their orders.

Frederick William differed, too, from his father in the matter of economy. His father loved show and parade, and was recklessly prodigal in his expenditures. As soon as Frederick William came to the throne he dismissed the crowd of attendants with whom his father had filled the palace, and introduced the same economy in all the departments of the government. He would tolerate no idlers. He carried a long cane, which he laid upon the back of every unoccupied person he chanced to find, whether man, woman, or child. "Get home to your brats," was his rough salutation to women whom he found in the streets without any apparent object. He once caned a whole bench full of dignified judges.

264. The "Regiment of Giants." — In one matter, however, Frederick William forgot entirely his maxims of economy. He had a mania for big soldiers. With infinite expense and trouble he gathered a regiment of the tallest men he could find, who were known as the "Potsdam Giants," — a regiment numbering twenty-four hundred men. Not only were the Goliaths of his own dominions impressed into the service, but tall men in all parts of Europe were coaxed and hired to join the regiment. The king more than once got into serious trouble through his sergeants kidnapping the subjects of brother sovereigns. Some of the recruits were purchased at a great price. For an Irish giant the king gave nine hundred pounds sterling. No present was so acceptable to him as a tall grenadier. The Princess Wilhelmina,¹ referring to her father's ruling passion, says: "This regiment might justly be styled 'the channel of royal favor,' for to give or to procure tall men for the king was sufficient to obtain anything of him." On the other hand, nothing angered him more than any interference with his recruiting service. To the Dutch, who had hanged two of his recruiting sergeants and then later wanted

¹ See "Sources" at end of chapter.

from Prussia a famous scholar for one of their universities, he is said to have replied curtly, "No tall fellows, no professor."

Considering the trouble and expense Frederick William had in collecting his giants, the care which he took of them was quite natural. He looked after them as tenderly as though they were infants, and was very careful never to expose them to the dangers of a battle.²

265. Frederick William I as an Administrator. — Notwithstanding Frederick William was so eccentric in many of his public acts, and in his domestic relations was a perfect savage, in the general administration of his government he evinced such energy and good judgment that he is admitted to have been one of the greatest administrators of his age. His purpose was to make his power absolute, and he seemed fully persuaded that "despotism to be stable must be terrible."

Rough, brutal tyrant though he was, he did very much to consolidate the power of Prussia, and at his death in 1740 left to his successor a considerably extended dominion and a splendidly drilled army which he had increased from thirty-five thousand to eighty thousand men. The Princess Wilhelmina, giving a description of a grand review of the troops, makes the following observation: "The king my father has acquired everlasting fame for the wonderful subordination he has introduced into his army, with which he has laid the foundation of the greatness of his house."

266. Accession of Frederick the Great (1740); his Youth. — Frederick William was followed by his son Frederick II, to whom the world has agreed to give the title of "Great." He was one of the few kings of whom it can be said that they were kings by right of genius as well as by right of birth. Around

² Another of Frederick William's institutions was a smoking club, known as the "Tobacco Parliament." This was a sort of council board, every member of which was obliged to drink beer and to smoke, or at least to hold an empty pipe in his mouth and make believe he was smoking. Here, enveloped in clouds of tobacco smoke, the king discussed with his ministers, in the most undignified manner conceivable, the weightiest affairs of his kingdom.

his name gather events of world-wide interest for forty-six years just preceding the French Revolution.

It was a rough nurture Frederick had received in the home of his brutal father. His sister Wilhelmina tells incredible tales of her own and her brother's treatment at the hands of their savage parent. He made the palace a veritable hell for them both. He threw plates from the table at their heads and kept them in constant fear for their lives. Frederick's fine tastes for music and art and reading exposed him in particular, to use the words of Wilhelmina, to his royal father's "customary endearments with his fist and cane."

The following portrait of the young Frederick drawn by his sister is not without interest: "His understanding," she says, "was good, but his disposition gloomy. He was long considering before he returned an answer; but then his answer was just."

Frederick had a genius for war, and his father had prepared to his hand one of the most efficient instruments of that art since the time of the Roman legions. "The Prussian battalion," says Frederick, speaking of the army he had inherited from his parental drillmaster, "had become a walking battery." One Prussian, he asserts, was equal to three adversaries.

The two great wars in which Frederick was engaged, and which raised Prussia to the first rank among the military powers of Europe, were the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.

267. War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). — Through the death of Charles VI the imperial office became vacant in the very year that Frederick II ascended the Prussian throne. Charles was the last of the direct male line of the Hapsburgs, and disputes straightway arose respecting the succession to the dominions of the House of Austria which resulted in the long struggle known as the War of the Austrian Succession.

Now, not long before his death Charles had bound all the different states of his dominion and all the leading powers of

Europe to a sort of agreement called the Pragmatic Sanction, by the terms of which, in case he should leave no son, all his hereditary dominions — that is, the kingdom of Hungary, the kingdom of Bohemia, the archduchy of Austria, and the other possessions of the House of Austria — should descend to his elder daughter Maria Theresa.

Accordingly, upon the death of Charles these dominions passed to the archduchess, who was now called Queen of Hungary, that being the highest title of all those which she was entitled to bear. The imperial crown could not of course be worn by her, and it was two years before the Electors agreed upon whom to bestow it.³

Solemnly as the powers of Europe had agreed to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction, no sooner was Charles' dead than Bavaria, Spain, Sardinia, and Saxony each laid claim to all or to portions of the Hapsburg inheritance. France, quite willing to aid in the dismemberment of Austria, supported the pretensions of Bavaria.

Before any of these claimants, however, had begun hostilities, Frederick, — whose father had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, — without any declaration of war, marched his army into Silesia and took forcible possession of that country. Frederick's act was an act of pure brigandage. He himself frankly tells posterity that the mixed motive under which he acted was a desire to augment his dominions, to render himself and Prussia respected in Europe, and to acquire fame.

Thus stripped of one of her fairest provinces, Maria Theresa finally appealed to the Hungarian nobility to avenge her wrongs. They were at this time discontented because certain of their rights had not been respected. By restoring or confirming all their ancient liberties, the queen gained their ardent and loyal support.

³ They finally, in 1742, chose Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, who became Emperor Charles VII. Three years later Charles died and the husband of Maria Theresa was raised by the Electors to the imperial throne as Emperor Francis I.

England, the Protestant Netherlands, and eventually Russia were drawn into the war as allies of Maria Theresa. The theater of the struggle came to embrace India and the French and English colonies in the New World. Macaulay's well-known words picture the world-wide range of the conflagration which Frederick's act had kindled: "In order that he might rob a neighbor," he says, "whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America."

The war went on until 1748, when it was closed by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Carlyle's summing-up of the provisions of the various treaties of this peace can be easily remembered, and is not misleading as to the essentials: "To Frederick, Silesia; as to the rest, wholly as they were."

268. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763). — The eight years of peace which followed the War of the Austrian Succession were improved by Frederick in developing the resources of his kingdom and perfecting the organization and discipline of his army. During this time Maria Theresa was busy forming a league of the chief European powers against the unscrupulous despoiler of her dominions. Russia, Sweden, many of the states of the Germanic body, and even France, who now abandoned her traditional policy of opposition to the House of Austria, all ultimately entered into an alliance with the empress queen. Frederick could at first find no ally save England, — towards the close of the war Russia came for a short time to his side, — so that he was left almost alone to fight the combined armies of half the continent.⁴ Throughout the struggle Prussia was scarcely more than a "Spartan camp."

The long war is known in European history as the Seven Years' War. At the very outset it became mixed with what in American history is called the French and Indian War, which

⁴ The population of Prussia at this time was about five millions; the aggregate population of the states leagued against her is estimated at one hundred millions.

had practically begun with the disastrous defeat of Braddock in 1755.

At first the fortunes of the war were all on Frederick's side. In the celebrated battles of Rossbach, Leuthen, and Zorndorf, he defeated successively the French, the Austrians, and the Russians, and startled all Europe into an acknowledgment of the fact that the armies of Prussia had at their head one of the greatest commanders of the world.⁵ His name became everywhere a household word, and everybody coupled with it the admiring epithet of "Great."

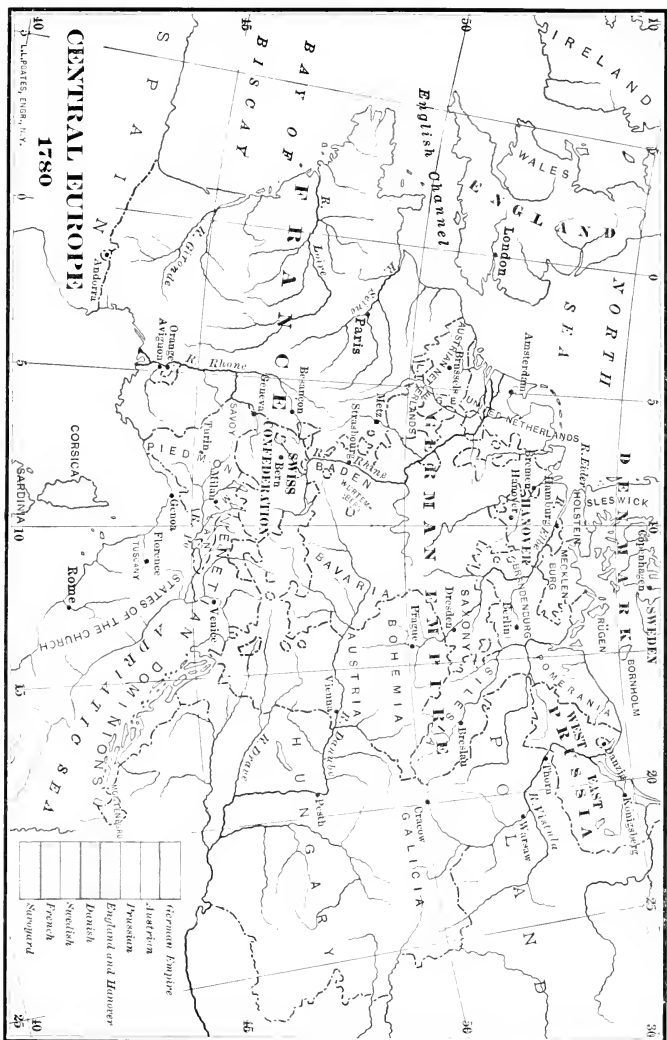
But fortune finally deserted him. In sustaining the unequal contest his dominions became drained of men; England withdrew her aid,⁶ and inevitable ruin seemed to impend over his throne and kingdom. He himself despaired of being able much longer to hold his enemies at bay, and carried about his person poison to use when the last effort should have been made.

A change by death in the government of Russia now put a new face upon Frederick's affairs. In 1762 Empress Elizabeth of that country died, and Peter III, an ardent admirer of Frederick, came to the throne, and immediately transferred the armies of Russia from the side of the allies to that of Prussia. "Together we will conquer the whole world," was the sanguine declaration of the Tsar as he joined his forces to those of his friend.

The alliance lasted only a few months, Peter being deposed and murdered by his wife, who now came to the throne as Catherine II. She adopted a neutral policy and recalled her armies; but the temporary alliance had given Frederick a decisive advantage, and the year following the defection of Russia, England and France were glad to give over the struggle

⁵ The battle of Leuthen as fought by Frederick was pronounced "a masterpiece" by the great Napoleon.

⁶ William Pitt (later, Earl of Chatham) fell from power in 1761, and his policy of fighting France by helping Frederick was abandoned. Consult par. 282.



and sign the Peace of Paris (1763). Shortly after this another peace (the Treaty of Hubertsburg) was arranged between Austria and Prussia, and one of the most terrible wars that had ever disturbed Europe was over. Silesia was left in the hands of Frederick.

The Seven Years' War was one of the decisive combats of history. It settled two questions of vast reach and significance. First, it settled, or at least put in the way of final settlement, the Austro-Prussian question, — the question as to whether Austria or Prussia should be leader in Germany. It made Prussia the equal of Austria and foreshadowed her ascendancy.

Second, it settled the Anglo-French question in America, a question altogether like the Austro-Prussian question in Europe. It decided that North America should belong to the Protestant Anglo-Saxon, and not to the Catholic Latin, race.

Thus, though the war was in no sense a religious war, still the outcome of the tremendous struggle was the humiliation of two Catholic states, Austria and France, and the lifting into prominence of two Protestant states, Prussia and England. There was in this vast significance for both Old and New World history.

269. Frederick rounds out his Dominions at the Expense of Poland. — It was about a decade after the close of the Seven Years' War that Frederick, as has already been related, joined with Catherine II of Russia and Maria Theresa of Austria in the First Partition of Poland (par. 259).

Respecting the value to Prussia of the territory she received in this transaction, Frederick in his *History of my Own Times* comments as follows: "This was one of the most important acquisitions we could possibly make, because it joined Pomerania and Eastern Prussia, and, by rendering us masters of the Vistula, we gained the double advantage of being able to defend this kingdom, and of levying very considerable tolls on the Vistula, the whole trade of Poland being carried on upon that

river." But this aggrandizement of Prussia was secured only by just such a cynical disregard of international honesty by Frederick as marked his annexation of Silesia.

270. Frederick as an Enlightened Despot. — Frederick in all his relations to his own subjects had a wholly different moral standard from that which he adopted in his dealings with his brother sovereigns. In all matters concerning foreign states, expediency was his only guide; he did whatever he thought would aggrandize Prussia and glorify himself, without any regard to truth, honesty, or honor. But for his guidance in his relations to his own people he had an admirable moral code. Duty was his watchword here. So just and exalted was his conception of his kingly office, and so worthy the use he made of it, that he has been assigned a first place among the so-called enlightened despots of the eighteenth century.

Professor Morse Stephens illustrates the difference between the despotism of Louis XIV and that of Frederick by thus setting in contrast their respective maxims: "Louis said, 'I am the state'; Frederick said, 'I am the first servant of the state.'" And Carlyle thus sums up his praise of his hero: "Frederick was a real shepherd of his people."

It is in these words that Frederick records his idea of royal duty: "If I had more than one life, I would give it for my fatherland." And again: "I have always regarded the revenues of the state as the Ark of the Covenant, which no unholy hand ought to touch. I have never applied the public revenues to my personal advantage."

It was in the spirit of these declarations that Frederick labored, during the intervals of peace between his great wars, and for the half of his reign which followed the peace of Hubertsburg, to develop the resources of his dominions and to promote the material welfare of his people. He dug canals, constructed roads, drained marshes, encouraged agriculture and manufactures, and improved in every possible way the administration of the government.

But Frederick's attention was not wholly engrossed with looking after the material well-being of his subjects. He was a philosopher and believed himself to be a poet, and usually spent several hours each day in philosophical and literary pursuits. It has been said of him that "he divided with Voltaire the intellectual monarchy of the eighteenth century." He gathered about him a company selected from among the most distinguished authors, scientists, and philosophers of the age, among whom was his "co-sovereign" Voltaire, whom Frederick coaxed to Berlin to add brilliancy to his court, and to criticise and correct his verses. Frederick felt very proud — for a time — of this acquisition, and rejoiced that to his other titles he could now add that of "the Possessor of Voltaire." But it was an ill-assorted friendship; the two "sovereigns" soon quarreled, and Voltaire was dismissed from court in disgrace.

Frederick was a freethinker. His paganism made him indifferent toward all religions, and hence tolerant. He said in effect, as Carlyle reports him, "In this country every man must get to heaven in his own way." The company which he gathered at Sans Souci, his favorite palace at Potsdam, near Berlin, was a most extraordinary collection of heretics, agnostics, misbelievers, and unbelievers. It was a company very representative of that learned literary and philosophical society of the eighteenth century whose ideas and teachings did so much to prepare the way for the French Revolution.

It was on the very eve of this great political and social upheaval that Frederick died — in 1786. Carlyle calls him "the last of the kings." He was of course not the last in name, but there was none after him as great as he. Only three years after he had been laid in the tomb broke out the revolution which closed the Age of the Kings and ushered in the Age of the People.

271. Summary: Prussia made a New Center of German Crystallization. — This chapter may be summarized in this way :

The all-important result of Frederick the Great's strong reign was the making of Prussia the equal of Austria, and thereby the laying of the basis of future German unity. Hitherto Germany had been trying unsuccessfully to concentrate about Austria; now there was a new center of crystallization, one which was destined to draw to itself the Protestant elements of German nationality.

The internal history of Germany from Frederick's reign on, if we leave out of consideration the period of Napoleon's domination, is very largely the story of the rivalry of these two powers, resulting in the final triumph of Prussia and the unification of Germany under her leadership, Austria with the mixed races under her rule being pushed out as though entitled to no part in the affairs of the German fatherland. This story we shall tell in a later chapter.

Sources and Source Material. — *Posthumous Works of Frederic II, King of Prussia* (trans. by Thomas Holcroft, London, 1789), 13 vols. We have here Frederick's account of his wars and memoirs of his years of peace; miscellanies, including essays and dramas; and his voluminous correspondence with Voltaire, D'Alembert, and other distinguished personages of his time. The royal author is plain and direct in his speech, so that these volumes form easy and delightful reading. His reflections on passing events and his appreciations of the titled and untitled characters of his own and of earlier times never lack in interest. His cynicism is constantly outcropping. Love of truth he affirms and reaffirms is his guiding star in writing: "I never," he says, "during my whole life deceived any one, still less would I deceive posterity" (vol. iv, Preface). The divergence between the code of international morality which the author inculcates and that which he practiced is well calculated to excite astonishment, as for instance when he writes, "To conquer provinces over which we have no claim is unjust and criminal rapacity."

***Memoirs of Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina* (Princess Royal of Prussia, Margravine of Baireuth, sister of Frederick the Great), 2 vols. (Boston, 1877). These memoirs form one of the most graphic and piquant autobiographies ever written. They hold striking portraits of the author's savage father, Frederick William I, of her brother, to whom she was devotedly attached, and of many other distinguished contemporaries.

But Wilhelmina's lively imagination and her mischievous if not malicious spirit caused her to overcolor and to exaggerate. Consequently the numerous portraits which she delights in sketching, while always interesting and often amusing, are not to be taken too seriously.

Secondary Works. — TUTTLE (H.), *History of Prussia*, 4 vols. The first volume of this valuable work deals with the history of Prussia before the accession of Frederick the Great; the remaining three volumes carry the history of Frederick's reign down to the year 1757, at which point the work was unhappily interrupted by the death of the author. It is the best history in English of the period covered. There were sources of information open to Professor Tuttle which were not accessible to Carlyle. The work lays special emphasis on the growth and development of governmental institutions. CARLYLE (T.), *History of Friedrich the Second, called Frederick the Great*. Available in a six-volume and in a ten-volume edition. This is one of Carlyle's masterpieces. Like his French Revolution it will be best appreciated if read after some acquaintance with its subject has been gained from other sources. It deals almost exclusively with Frederick's twenty-three years of war and utterly neglects or minimizes the twenty-three of his reign which were years of peace. HAMILTON (A.), *Rheinsberg: Memorials of Frederick the Great and Prince Henry of Prussia*, 2 vols. HASSALL (A.), *The Balance of Power, 1715-1789* (Periods of European History), chaps. vi-ix. COXE (W.), *History of the House of Austria*, vol. iii, chaps. xcvi-cxxiii. LONGMAN (F. W.), *Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War* (Epochs of Modern History). BRIGHT (J. F.), *Maria Theresa* (Foreign Statesmen). HENDERSON (E. F.), *A Short History of Germany*, vol. ii, chaps. i-v. MACAULAY (T. B.), *Essay on Frederick the Great*.

CHAPTER XII

ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE (1702-1714)

272. The Formula for Eighteenth-Century English History.

— “The expansion of England in the New World and in Asia,” says Professor Seeley, “is the formula which sums up for England the history of the eighteenth century.”¹

This expansion movement was simply the continuation of a trade and commercial development which had begun in the sixteenth century, and which had shaped large sections of the history of England by bringing her into sharp rivalry first with Spain and then with the Dutch Netherlands. Before the close of the seventeenth century England had practically triumphed over both these commercial rivals. They were both, it is true, still in the field, but their competition was no longer formidable. England's great and dangerous rival in the eighteenth century was France. “The whole period,” says Seeley, referring to the period between 1688 and 1815, “stands out as an age of gigantic rivalry between England and France, a kind of second Hundred Years' War.”

To indicate from the viewpoint of English history the chief episodes in this great struggle between the two rivals for supremacy in the commercial and colonial world will be our chief aim in the present chapter. We shall, however, not fail to notice how in different ways these foreign relations of England, and the growth of her colonial empire at the expense of that of France, reacted upon the internal development of the British Isles. And further, in order to render

¹ *The Expansion of England*, p. 28.

more complete our sketch of this century of English history, we shall touch upon some other matters of special interest and significance, though connected in no direct manner with the dominant movement of the period.

273. War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). — The War of the Spanish Succession covered the whole of the reign of Queen Anne. Respecting the causes and the results of this war, and of England's part in it, we have already spoken in connection with the reign of Louis XIV (par. 179). Of what was there said we need here recall only the enumeration of the territorial gains which the war, and the Peace of Utrecht which closed it, brought to England ; namely, Gibraltar and the island of Minorca in the Old World, and Nova Scotia together with a clear title to Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay Territory in the New.

Of special interest in the present connection is that clause of the treaty between England and Spain whereby England took away from the French and secured for English merchants the contract known as the "Assiento," which gave English subjects the sole right for thirty years of shipping annually forty-eight hundred African slaves to the Spanish colonies in America.² This slave trade was as lucrative a traffic as the old spice trade, and at this time was some such object of rivalry among the commercial states of Europe as that had formerly been. The securing of this contract by England made her the chief slave-trading power in the world.

At the same time that England got the Assiento contract she secured from Spain the further right to send each year one vessel on a trading voyage to Spanish America.³

² The Papal Line of Demarcation (see par. 8) and treaty engagements with the Portuguese shut the Spaniards out from Africa, and hence they had to depend upon intermediaries to fetch them slaves from thence. The Dutch had had the contract before the French. See Ingram, *A History of Slavery and Serfdom*, p. 149, note.

³ It should be borne in mind that under the old colonial system the mother country jealously excluded all other countries from engaging in trade with her

Thus as results of the first war of the eighteenth century England had got practical control of the Mediterranean, had secured a monopoly of the lucrative slave trade with the Spanish colonies, had made a beginning of wresting from France her possessions in the New World, and had gained mastery of the seas. "Before the war," says Mahan, "England was one of the sea powers; after it she was *the* sea power, without any second."⁴

274. Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland (1707).—The most noteworthy matter in the domestic history of England during the reign of Queen Anne was the union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland.⁵ This important transaction was closely connected with that commercial and colonial expansion movement which characterized eighteenth-century English history.

At this time England, dealing with Scotland in the same spirit as she dealt with Ireland, by means of navigation laws and high customs duties practically excluded her merchants, as though Scotland were a foreign state, from participation in that commercial prosperity which English traders were enjoying. The Scotch traders were shut out, not only from the English colonies, but also from the English home market. Scotch trade was thus strangled. In the hope of creating an outlet for their commerce, the Scots undertook to establish a colony of their own on the Isthmus of Panama, or Darien, which was given the name of New Caledonia.⁶ The settlement was to be the halfway colonies. For an account of the Assiento and the economic condition at this time of Spanish America, see Moses, *Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, chap. xi.

⁴ *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, p. 225.

⁵ It was only the *crowns* of the two kingdoms which were united upon the accession of the House of Stuart to the English throne in 1603; each country retained its own Parliament and other national institutions and arrangements.

⁶ The promoter of the project was a Scotchman named William Paterson. The active efforts to found the colony covered the years 1698-1700. "Of all the ten thousand bubbles of which history has preserved the memory," writes Macaulay, "none was ever more skillfully puffed into existence; none ever soared higher, or glittered more brilliantly; and none ever burst with a more lamentable explosion."

station between Scotland and the East Indies. The enterprise raised great expectations. The isthmian city was to be the Alexandria of the New World, "the key of the universe."⁷ But the spot selected for the settlement proved unhealthy; besides, the Spaniards made trouble and drove out the colonists, claiming that the settlement was an encroachment upon their territory. The outcome was the disastrous failure of the undertaking.

The commercial distress occasioned in Scotland by reason of the miscarriage of this enterprise caused the feeling against England to become more intense than ever, and there were threats of breaking the dynastic ties which united the two countries. The English government, realizing the danger which lurked in the situation, — for the national sentiment in Scotland was still strong, — now met the Scots in a spirit of reasonable compromise. It was agreed that the Parliaments of the two countries should be united;⁸ that perfect free trade should be established between them; and that all the English colonies should be open to Scotch traders.

On this basis was brought about the union of the two realms into a single kingdom under the name of Great Britain (1707). From this time on the two countries were represented by one Parliament sitting at Westminster.

The union was advantageous to both countries; for it was a union not simply of hands, but of hearts. England's constant and costly watch of her northern frontiers through ten centuries against raid and invasion could now be intermitted. The thorn in her side, which the meddlesome hand of France was constantly stirring, was now removed. A chief cause of weakness and annoyance was turned into an element of strength.

⁷ The scheme, it will be noted, was substantially only an anticipation of the later French Panama Canal project and of the proposed undertaking of a similar nature by the United States.

⁸ Scotland was to be represented in the Union Parliament by sixteen elected peers in the House of Lords and forty-five members in the House of Commons.

Equally beneficial was the measure to Scotland. Her entrance into England's home and colonial markets, and her participation in English manufacturing and commercial enterprises resulted in a wonderful expansion of her energies and resources. Manufactories sprang up on every side ; insignificant hamlets grew quickly into great centers of industry ; agriculture was given such an impulse that in less than fifty years the aspect of the country was wholly transformed. Ten years after the union the first Scotch vessel intended for the transatlantic trade was launched on the Clyde. The Clyde to-day is one of the greatest centers of the shipbuilding industry, and Glasgow is one of the largest and most important seaports of the world.

275. Literature under Queen Anne. — The reign of Queen Anne was an illustrious one in English literature. Under her began to write a group of brilliant authors, whose activity continued on into the reign of her successor, George I. Their productions are, many of them, of special interest to the historian, because during this period there was an unusually close connection between literature and politics. Literature was forced into the service of party. A large portion of the writings of the era was in the form of political pamphlets, wherein all the resources of wit, satire, and literary skill were exhausted in defending or ridiculing the opposing principles and policies of Whig and Tory.

The four most prominent and representative authors of the times were Alexander Pope (1688-1744), Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), Joseph Addison (1672-1719), and Daniel Defoe (1661?-1731).

In the scientific annals of the period the name of Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) is most prominent. As the discoverer of the law of gravitation and the author of the *Principia*, his name will ever retain a high place among the few who belong through their genius or achievements to no single nation or age, but to the world.

276. Death of Queen Anne ; the Succession. — Queen Anne died in the year 1714, leaving no heirs. In the reign of William a statute known as the Act of Settlement had provided that the crown, in default of heirs of William and Anne, should descend to the Electress Sophia of Hanover (grandchild of James I), or her heirs, “being Protestants.” The Electress died only a short time before the death of Queen Anne ; so, upon that event, the crown passed to the Electress’ eldest son George, who thus became the founder of a new line of English sovereigns, the House of Hanover, or Brunswick, the family in whose hands the royal scepter still remains.

II. ENGLAND UNDER THE EARLIER HANOVERIANS ⁹

277. The Sovereign’s Loss of Political Influence. — The new Hanoverian king, George I (1714–1727), was utterly ignorant of the language and the affairs of the people over whom he had been called to rule. He was not loved by the English, but he was tolerated by them for the reason that he represented Protestantism and those principles of political liberty for which they had so long battled with their Stuart kings. On account of his ignorance of English affairs the king was obliged to intrust to his ministers the practical administration of the government. The same was true in the case of George II (1727–1760). George III (1760–1820), having been born and educated in England, regained some of the old influence of former kings. But he was the last English sovereign who had any large personal influence in shaping governmental policies.

The power and patronage lost by the crown passed into the hands of the chief minister, popularly called the Prime Minister, or Premier, whose tenure of office was dependent not upon the good will of the sovereign but upon the support of the House

⁹ The sovereigns of the House of Hanover are George I (1714–1727), George II (1727–1760), George III (1760–1820), George IV (1820–1830), William IV (1830–1837), Victoria (1837–1901), and Edward VII (1901–).

of Commons. This transfer of power was not made all at once, but by the middle of the eighteenth century it was practically completed, although this fact was not always gracefully and promptly recognized by the crown. In the English government of to-day the Prime Minister is the actual and fully acknowledged executive. The king remains the titular sovereign, indeed, but all real power and patronage are in the hands of the Premier.

The first English Prime Minister in the modern sense was Sir Robert Walpole. He did not exercise all the functions of the Premier of to-day, but his control of affairs and his relation to the dominant party in Parliament were such that to give him this name is not misleading. He was at the head of the government, as the leader of the Whig party, for about twenty-one years (1721-1742). He maintained a favorable majority in Parliament by gifts of office, titles, pensions, and, it is charged, by the grossly corrupt use of the immense secret service funds of which he had the disposal.¹⁰

It was during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole that what is known as the Cabinet assumed substantially the form which it has at the present time.¹¹

278. "The South Sea Bubble" (1720-1721). — One of the earliest matters of moment of the Hanoverian period was a

¹⁰ To him has been attributed the cynical saying, "Every man has his price." But he did not utter this "famous slander on mankind." What he actually did say was, "All these men have their price," — referring to a group of his opponents. See Morley's *Walpole*, p. 127; and Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1, p. 399.

¹¹ The Cabinet is practically a committee composed of a dozen or more members of Parliament, headed by the Prime Minister, and dependent for its existence upon the will of the House of Commons. The Premier and his colleagues stand and fall together. When the Cabinet can no longer command a majority in the Commons, its members resign, and a new Prime Minister, appointed nominally by the sovereign, but really by the party in control of the House of Commons, forms a new Cabinet.

The Cabinet is an essential feature of all modern self-governing states which have constitutions copied after the admirable parliamentary system developed by the English.

financial episode very like that connected with the name of John Law in French history (par. 185). The affair grew directly out of the treaty arrangements which closed the War of the Spanish Succession. As we have seen, England then secured certain trading privileges with the Spanish colonies. Now, at this time there were abroad most exaggerated ideas of the wealth of Spanish America, and it was conceived that trading privileges in those parts meant unlimited wealth for everybody sharing them. In anticipation of the treaty there was formed in England a company to engage in trade with the Spanish colonies. The shares of the company were eagerly sought after, and soon began to rise in price like the shares of the famous French Mississippi Company. Other projects were started, and a perfect mania for speculation developed. The outcome could of course have been foreseen. The bubble collapsed, — and to the record of the “Mississippi Bubble” was added that of “the South Sea Bubble.”

279. The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). — From our present viewpoint we can easily see what was England's main interest in the War of the Austrian Succession (par. 267). She entered the struggle on the side of Austria especially in order to thwart France in the two ambitious objects which she was then pursuing, namely, (1) to make herself arbiter of Europe through the dismemberment of the Austrian monarchy, and (2) to gain supremacy on the sea and in the colonial world.¹²

The French-English phase of the war was in the main a naval combat. The outcome was the practical destruction of

¹² The way in which England was drawn into the war was this: In 1739 Walpole, then at the head of the English government, yielding to popular clamor, engaged in war with Spain, the ground of trouble between the two countries being Spanish trade monopoly with her American colonies. While this war with Spain was in progress, the War of the Austrian Succession opened on the Continent, with France and Spain, in league with other states, fighting against Austria. Prompted by the motives mentioned in the text, England, in the third year of the war, threw herself into the struggle in alliance with Maria Theresa.

the French navy and the firmer establishment of England's sea power. The relations of the two rivals in India and in America were left essentially unchanged,¹³ yet England's confirmed mastery of the sea foreshadowed the disastrous issue for France of the next conflict, which was only a little way in the future.

280. The "Young Pretender"; the last Rally of the Jacobites (1745). — Several times during the earlier half of the eighteenth century the exiled Stuarts attempted to get back the throne they had lost.¹⁴ The last of these attempts was made in 1745, when the "Young Pretender" (grandson of James II), taking advantage of English reverses on the Continent, landed in Scotland, effected a rising of the Scotch Highlanders, worsted the English at Prestonpans, and marched upon London. Forced to retreat into Scotland, he was pursued by the English and utterly defeated at the battle of Culloden Moor, and the Stuart cause was ruined forever.

281. The Religious Revival; the Rise of Methodism. — It will be well for us here, midway in the century, to turn aside from the political affairs of England and cast a glance upon the religious life of the time.

In its spiritual and moral life the England of the earlier Hanoverians was the England of the restored Stuarts. The nation was still under the influence of its reaction from the Puritan régime — the hated rule of the "Saints." Among the higher classes there was widespread infidelity; religion was a matter of jest and open scoff. The Church was dead; the higher clergy were neglectful of their duties; sermons were cold and formal essays. The lower classes were stolid, callous, and brutal. Drunkenness was almost universal among

¹³ In India the French had taken Madras from the English, while in America the English had taken Louisburg in Cape Breton from the French. There was a mutual restoration of conquests at the end of the war.

¹⁴ In the year 1715 there was an unsuccessful uprising in Scotland, under the Earl of Mar, in the interest of the son of James II; and two years later there was another abortive plot, in which Charles XII of Sweden was concerned.

high and low. The nation was immersed in material pursuits, and was without thought or care for things ideal and spiritual.

Such a state of things in society as this has never failed to awaken in select souls a vehement protest. And it was so now. At Oxford, about the year 1730, a number of earnest young men, among whom we find John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield, formed a little society, the object of which was mutual helpfulness in true Christian living. From their strict and methodical manner of life they were derisively nicknamed "Methodists."

This Oxford movement was the starting point of a remarkable religious revival. John Wesley was the organizer, Whitefield the orator, and Charles Wesley the poet of the movement.¹⁵ They and their helpers reached the neglected masses through open-air meetings. They preached in the fields, at the street corners, beneath the trees, at the great mining camps. The effects of their fervid exhortations were often as startling as were those of the appeals of the preachers of the Crusades.

The leaders of the revival at first had no thought of establishing a Church distinct from the Anglican, but simply aimed at forming within the Established Church a society of earnest, devout workers, somewhat like that of the Christian Endeavor Societies in our present churches. Their enthusiasm, and their often extravagant manners, however, offended the staid, cold conservatism of the regular clergy, and they were finally constrained by petty persecution to go out from the established organization and form a Church of their own.

The revival, like the Puritan movement of the seventeenth century, left a deep impress upon the life of England. It is due largely to this movement that in true religious feeling, in social purity, in moral earnestness, in humanitarian sentiment,¹⁶ the England of to-day is separated by such a gulf from the England of the first two Georges.

¹⁵ Charles Wesley wrote over six thousand hymns, many of which are still favorites in the hymnals of to-day.

¹⁶ Cf. par. 285.

282. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763). — Just after the middle of the century there broke out between the French and the English colonists in America the so-called French and Indian War. This struggle became blended with what in Europe is known as the Seven Years' War (par. 268), and consequently it is from the viewpoint both of Europe and of America that we must regard it.

At first the war went disastrously against the English, — Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne, upon the march to which he suffered his memorable defeat in the wilderness, being but one of several ill-starred English undertakings.¹⁷ In the Old World Minorca had been lost, and with it virtually the control of the Mediterranean. Never were Englishmen cast into deeper despair. Never had they so completely lost faith in themselves. The Earl of Chesterfield wrote: "We are undone both at home and abroad . . . We are no longer a nation."

The gloom was at its deepest when the elder William Pitt (later, Earl of Chatham), known as "the Great Commoner," came to the head of affairs in England. Pitt was one of the greatest men the English race has ever produced. Frederick the Great expressed his estimate of him in these words: "England has at last brought forth a man." Pitt's estimate of himself was equally high: "I believe that I can save this country and that no one else can," was the way in which he expressed his belief in his ability to retrieve past misfortunes.

Pitt exercised the full authority of Prime Minister — though he was not the nominal head of the ministry — from 1757 to 1761. These were great years in English history. It was like a return of Cromwell's rule. Pitt's indomitable will and tireless energy pervaded at once every department of the government. "No person," it was said, "ever entered his closet who did not come out of it a braver man." Incompetent

¹⁷ Braddock's defeat occurred in 1755, before the formal declaration of war by either party.

men who had received appointments in the army and the navy solely on social grounds or through political influence were replaced by men of capacity, men upon whom Pitt could rely to carry out his plans.

The war against France was pushed not only in America and upon the sea, but also in India and upon the Continent. Many disapproved of Pitt's policy of fighting France by aiding Frederick, but this opposition to his measures only called out Pitt's memorable declaration that he would conquer America in Germany.

The turning point in the war, so far as America was concerned, was the great victory gained by the English under the youthful Major General Wolfe over the French under Montcalm on the Heights of Quebec (1759). Both Montcalm and Wolfe were mortally wounded. The victory gave England Quebec, the key to the situation in the New World.

In India also victory was declaring for the English in their struggle there with the French and their native allies.¹⁸ Two years before the battle of Quebec, Colonel Robert Clive, an officer in the employ of the English East India Company, with eleven hundred English soldiers and two thousand sepoy,¹⁹ in the memorable battle of Plassey (1757) had put to flight a native

¹⁸ The situation here was somewhat similar to that in the New World. Both the French and the English had been long on the ground, but merely as traders, and not as rulers or builders of empires. About the middle of the eighteenth century, however, they began to conquer the country and to lay the foundation of territorial dominions. The frightful anarchy into which much of the peninsula had fallen through the decay of the power of the Great Moguls (see *The Middle Ages*, par. 242) was favorable to such schemes of conquest. Numerous native princes had sprung up and were contending among themselves for supremacy. The French and English in their rivalry each made allies of these native rulers in the same way that they formed alliances with the Indian tribes in America. The French governor general, Dupleix (1742-1754), had been the first to see and to embrace the opportunity of building up a European sovereignty in the peninsula. He made the discovery that the natives drilled and disciplined after the European fashion made good soldiers, and from this material created a force with which he was rapidly laying the basis of a great French Empire, when his plans were thwarted by the English, who, copying his tactics, soon gained the ascendancy.

¹⁹ The name given native soldiers in European employ.

army of sixty thousand foot and horse, and had thus virtually laid, in the northeastern region of the peninsula, the basis of England's great Indian Empire.²⁰ Four years later, in 1761, the French surrendered to the English Pondicherry, their main fortress and trading post on the eastern coast of India.

The end came in 1763 with the Peace of Paris. France ceded to England Canada and all her possessions in North America east of the Mississippi River, save New Orleans and a little adjoining land (which, along with the French territory west of the Mississippi, had already been given to Spain), and two little islands in the neighborhood of Newfoundland, which she was allowed to retain to dry fish on. She also withdrew from India as a political rival of England.²¹

England's supremacy in the colonial world and her mastery of the sea were now firmly established. This position, notwithstanding severe losses of which we shall speak immediately, she has maintained up to the present day.

283. The American Revolution (1775-1783). — The French and Indian War was the prelude to the War of American Independence. The overthrow of the French power in America made the English colonists less dependent than hitherto upon the mother country, since this removed their only dangerous rival and enemy on the Continent. Clear-sighted statesmen had predicted that when the colonists no longer needed England's help against the French they would sever the bonds

²⁰ The prelude to this battle was a terrible crime committed by Siraj-ud-Daula, viceroy of Bengal and other provinces. Moved by anger at the refusal of the English official to surrender certain fugitives, and urged on by French agents, the viceroy attacked the English fort and factory at Calcutta, and having secured one hundred and forty-six prisoners, thrust them into a contracted guardroom which was provided with only two small grated windows, — what in the story of India is known as "The Black Hole of Calcutta." During the course of a sultry night all but twenty-three of the unfortunate prisoners died of suffocation. It was in response to the cry which arose for vengeance that Robert Clive was sent by the English officials at Madras to succor Bengal.

²¹ Pondicherry was restored to France, and she still remained in the peninsula as a trader; but her political power was as completely broken there by the war as in America.

uniting them to the home land, if at any time these bonds chafed them.

And very soon the bonds did chafe. A majority in Parliament, thinking that the colonists should help to pay the expenses of colonial defense, insisted upon taxing them. The colonists maintained that they could be justly taxed only through their own legislative assemblies. The British government refusing to acknowledge this principle, the colonists took up arms in defense of those rights and liberties which their fathers had won with so hard a struggle from English kings on English soil.²²

Though the majority in Parliament had voted the measures which brought on the conflict, still a great part of the blame for the war and the resulting dismemberment of the British Empire lies at the door of George III, the reigning sovereign. He, unfortunately, was self-willed and obstinate, with a great love of personal rule. He was determined "to be king." His notions of the royal dignity were quite as lofty as those of Charles I. He wished to govern as Tudor and Stuart had governed before the Revolution. He was not willing to act through ministers responsible to Parliament; he wished them to be responsible to himself and to receive their orders from him. But the king very well knew that he could not rule without Parliament as Charles I had done; so he secured a working majority in that body by the corrupt use of patronage, that is to say, by the gift of pensions and offices. In this way he undermined the power of the Whig party, and created a new Tory party, which was subservient to his wishes. In Lord North the king found an able minister willing to carry out his policies. As regards the colonists, the royal policy was naturally

²² The colonists found friends and champions in the English Parliament itself. "In my opinion," declared Lord Chatham, "this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the colonies. . . . I rejoice that America has resisted." It was only in the matter of taxation, however, that Lord Chatham limited the controlling power of the English Parliament over the colonists. "This country superintends and controls their trade and navigation," he said, "but they tax themselves."

one of coercion ; for to a sovereign of George's temperament and habits of thought the independent attitude assumed by these over-the-sea subjects of his could appear in no other light save that of rebellion, calling for stern repression and punishment.

France seized the opportunity presented by the war to avenge herself upon England for the loss of Canada,²³ and gave aid to the colonists. Spain and the Protestant Netherlands also were both drawn into the struggle, fighting against their old-time rival and foe.

The war was ended by the Peace of Paris (1783). England acknowledged the independence of the thirteen colonies,—and a Greater England began its separate career in the New World. At the same time England was constrained to restore or to cede various islands and territories to France and to Spain. The magnificent empire with which she had emerged from the Seven Years' War seemed shattered and ruined beyond recovery. Not only England's enemies but many Englishmen themselves believed that her days of imperial rule were ended.

But there were yet left to England Canada and India ; and only recently Australia had come into her possession (par. 000). And then England was yet mistress of the seas ; her commercial supremacy remained unshaken. There were elements here which might become factors of a new empire greater than the one which had been lost. But no Englishman standing in the gloom of the year 1783 could look far enough into the future to foresee the greatness and splendor of England's second empire which was to rise out of the ruins of the first.

284. Legislative Independence of Ireland (1782).—While the War of American Independence was going on, the Irish, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the English government,

²³ There were other and more admirable motives animating many of the individual Frenchmen who, like Lafayette, fought on the side of the American patriots. See par. 302.

demanding legislative independence. Ireland had long had a Parliament of her own, but it was dependent upon the English crown, and at this time was subordinate to the English Parliament, which asserted and exercised the right to bind Ireland by its laws.²⁴ This the Anglo-Irish patriots strenuously resisted and drew up a Declaration of Rights, wherein they demanded the legislative independence of Ireland. The principle here involved was the same as that for which the English colonists in America were at this time contending with arms in their hands. Fear of a revolt led England to grant the demands of the patriots and to acknowledge the independence of the Irish Parliament (1782).

285. The Abolition of the Slave Trade. — Intimately connected with the great religious revival led by the Wesleys and Whitefield were certain philanthropic movements which hold a prominent place in the history of the moral and social life, not only of England, but of humanity. The most noteworthy of these was that resulting in the abolition of the African slave trade.

We have noticed how at the opening of the eighteenth century England secured from Spain the contract for providing her American colonies with negro slaves (par. 273). There was then little or no moral disapproval of this iniquitous traffic. But one effect of the religious revival was the calling into

²⁴ Ireland had had a Parliament of her own since the time that the Normans had established themselves in the island. It had contained representatives of the Norman and English inhabitants, and had not recognized the Celtic population. In accordance with the celebrated statute known as Poynings' Law, from the lord deputy in Ireland who secured its passage by the Irish Parliament, it could pass no law which had not previously received the assent of the English Privy Council. As the English and Scottish inhabitants of Ireland increased in number through the plantation policy of the English government (see par. 191), the Irish Parliament became representative of all Ireland territorially, but later the exclusion of Catholics deprived the great majority of the people of the franchise. By a statute passed in the reign of George I, the English Parliament asserted its right "to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland." The movement for legislative independence involved therefore the repeal of this English act and of the Poynings statute.

existence of much genuine philanthropic feeling. This sentiment expressed itself in a movement for the abolition of the trade in human flesh.

The leaders of the movement were Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846) and William Wilberforce (1759–1833). The terrible disclosures which were made of the atrocious cruelty of the slave dealers — a member of Parliament, referring to the vessels engaged in the trade, was moved to declare that “never was so much suffering crowded into so small a space” — stirred the public indignation and awakened the national conscience. But as in the movement for the abolition of slavery in the United States, so here, there were so many persons interested in the lucrative business that it required twenty years of agitation to secure from Parliament legislation in restraint of the traffic. Finally, in 1807, a law was passed abolishing the trade.²⁵ This signaled as great a moral victory as ever was won in the English Parliament, for it was the aroused moral sentiment of the nation which was the main force that carried the reform measure through the Houses.²⁶

²⁵ England had been anticipated by Denmark in the condemnation of the slave trade. That country had abolished the traffic in 1802. In the United States the importation of slaves was illegal after 1808. Before 1820 most civilized states had placed the trade under the ban.

²⁶ Another important humanitarian movement of the century was that of prison reform. This was effected chiefly through the labors of a single person, the philanthropist John Howard (1726–1790), who devoted his life to effecting a reform in prison conditions and discipline. The outcome of his devoted labors were reform measures which brought about a great improvement in the prison system, not only of England, but of the countries of the Continent as well.

It was the same new spirit which was being born in the English nation that, according to the historian Green (*Short History of England*, chap. x, sec. 3), led to the celebrated impeachment trial (1788–1795) of Warren Hastings for alleged misuse of his authority while governor general of India. Although the prosecution was aided by Burke and Sheridan, the greatest orators of their time, the long trial resulted in Hastings's acquittal. “But the end at which the impeachment aimed had really been won. The attention, the sympathy of Englishmen had been drawn across distant seas to a race utterly strange to them; and the peasant of Cornwall or Cumberland had learned to thrill at the suffering of a peasant of Bengal.”

286. The Industrial Revolution. — We turn now from the political, religious, and moral realms to the industrial domain. In this sphere of English life the latter part of the eighteenth century witnessed a wonderful revolution. This was the counterpart of that commercial and colonial expansion movement which we have presented as the dominant feature of this period. It was England's commercial supremacy which had prepared the way for the great industrial development. The outward movement had created a world-wide market for English goods. She had become "the workshop of the world." Naturally manufactures were encouraged, and inventive genius and ingenuity in devising improved processes in the industrial arts stimulated to the utmost. The result was an industrial revolution such as the centuries known to history had never witnessed before.

In order that we may get the right point of view here and be able to appreciate the importance of the industrial revolution of which we speak, it is necessary that we should first note the remarkable fact that while civilization during historic times had made great advances on many lines and in many domains, in the industrial realm it had remained almost stationary from the dawn of history. The great arts of spinning and weaving, the mining and the working of metals, the art of transportation, — in a word, the processes in all the industries pursued by man, — had undergone little or no improvement during this long period, a period of at least seven or eight thousand years. All the industrial arts at the middle of the eighteenth century were being carried on practically in the same way that they were followed in ancient Egypt and Chaldæa.

Suddenly all this was changed by a few inventions. About 1767 Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny. From the beginning of history, indeed from a period lost in the obscurity of prehistoric times, all the thread used in weaving had been made by twisting each thread separately. The spinning jenny, when perfected,²⁷ with a single attendant twisted hundreds of threads at

²⁷ It was perfected by Arkwright and Crompton by 1779.

once. Within twenty years from the time of this invention there were between four and five million spindles in use in England.

It was now possible to produce thread in unlimited quantities. The next thing needed was improved machinery for weaving it into cloth. This was soon provided by Cartwright's power loom (1785). The next requisite was motive power to run the new machinery. At just this time James Watt brought out his invention, or rather improvement, of the steam engine (1785). In its ruder form it had been used in the mines; now it was introduced into the factories.

The primary forces of the great industrial revolution — the spinning jenny, the power loom, and the steam engine — were now at work. The application of the steam engine to transportation purposes gave the world the steam railroad and the steamship.

These primary inventions drew after them numberless others, and called into existence new industries, or gave a tremendous impulse to existing ones. Thus in supplying the new engines with fuel, coal mining developed into an industry of vast proportions; while in providing material for the construction of the heavier and stronger machinery, the mining and smelting of iron ores assumed a wholly new importance among the great industries of mankind.

These inventions and discoveries in the industrial realm mark an epoch in the history of civilization. We have to go back to prehistoric times to find in this domain any inventions or discoveries like them in their import for human progress. There is nothing between Menes in Egypt and George III in England with which to compare them. The discovery of fire, the invention of metal tools, and the domestication of animals and plants, — these inventions and achievements of prehistoric man are alone worthy, in their transforming effect upon human society, of being placed alongside them.

287. Import to England of the Industrial Revolution. — In the present connection we can note the bearing of the great

industrial revolution upon only one episode in the general historical movement. It exerted a determining influence upon the course and issue of the great French Revolution and of the Napoleonic wars which grew out of it. It armed England for the great fight, and enabled her to play the important part she did in that period of gigantic struggle. "It is our improved steam engine," says Lord Jeffrey in his eulogy of Watt (written in 1819), "which has fought the battles of Europe, and exalted and sustained through the late tremendous contest the political greatness of our land." It was the steam engine which created the wealth which England used so lavishly in carrying on the fight against Napoleon, and which did more perhaps than any other force in giving direction to the course of events during the years of his domination.

288. Conclusion. — With the French Revolution we reach a period in which English history must be regarded from the viewpoint of France. Indeed, for the space of half a generation after the rise to power of Napoleon, all European history becomes largely biographical and centers about that unique personality. Consequently we shall drop the story of English history at this point and let it blend with the story of the Revolution and that of the Napoleonic Empire.

All that we need here notice is that the Napoleonic wars, in their Anglo-French phase, were essentially a continuation — and the end — of the second Hundred Years' War between England and France. Napoleon, having seized supreme power in France, endeavored to destroy England's commercial supremacy and to regain for France that position in the colonial world from which she had been thrust by England. But this tremendous struggle, like all the others in which England had engaged with her ancient foe, — save the one in which she lost her American colonies, — only resulted, as we shall see later, in bringing into her hands additional colonial possessions, and in placing her naval power and her commercial supremacy on a wider and firmer basis than ever before.

Sources and Source Material.—This period is especially rich in political “Memoirs” and “Correspondence” (Robert Walpole’s, Horace Walpole’s, Bolingbroke’s, the Earl of Chatham’s, etc.), but these works are too diffuse to be really useful to any save the special student. In the following selections of documents and of extracts from the primary writings of the time will be found as much contemporaneous material as can be turned to good use by beginners: Henderson’s *Side Lights on English History*, pp. 214–283; Kendall’s *Source-Book of English History*, chaps. xvi–xviii, particularly Extract No. 111, “A View of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,” by Swift, and Extracts Nos. 115–122, bearing on “The Strife for Empire”; Colby’s *Selections from the Sources of English History*, Nos. 86–103; Adams and Stephens’ *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, pp. 475–506; *Old South Leaflets*, No. 73, “The Battle of Quebec”; and *American History Leaflets*, No. 5, “Extracts from the Treaty of Paris of 1763.”

For a guide to the sources of original information relating to the struggle between the French and the English in America, and to the American Revolution, the student should turn to Winsor’s *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vols. v and vi. For the slave trade, see CLARKSON (T.), *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the Slave Trade by the British Parliament* (London, 1808), 2 vols. Clarkson was himself a main instrument in bringing about the great reform of which he here becomes the historian.

Secondary Works.—Of the many works on eighteenth-century English history we mention here only a few of the most useful to the general student. For the most suggestive short work on the period turn to SEELEY (J. R.), ***The Expansion of England*. Written on somewhat similar lines is CALDECOTT (A.), *English Colonization and Empire* (University Extension Manuals), chaps. iii–v. Standard extended works are LECKY (W. E. H.), *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*; and EARL STANHOPE, *Reign of Queen Anne*, 2 vols., and his *History of England (1713–1783)*, 6 vols. Better suited to young readers are GREEN’S *History of England*, vol. iv, and his *Short History of England*, parts of chaps. ix and x. The maturer student will find a masterly summary of English history from the beginning of Queen Anne’s reign to the year 1760 in RANKE’S *History of England*, vol. v, bk. xxii. MORRIS (E. E.), *The Age of Queen Anne* (Epochs of Modern History), contains one of the best short general accounts we have of the opening years of the eighteenth century. WYON (F. W.), *History of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne*, 2 vols. BURTON (J. H.), *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, 3 vols. MORRIS (E. E.), *The Early Hanoverians* (Epochs of Modern History). MASSEY (W.), *History of*

England during the Reign of George the Third, 4 vols. For the naval history of the period, see MAHAN (A. T.), *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, chaps. v-xiv.

Of the numerous biographies the following will be found especially useful: MORLEY (J.), *Walpole* (Twelve English Statesmen); SOUTHEY (R.), *Life of Wesley*, 2 vols.; GREEN (W. D.), *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (Heroes of the Nations); TREVELYAN (G. O.), *The Early History of Charles James Fox*; LYALL (SIR A.), *Warren Hastings* (English Men of Action); MALLESON (G. B.), *Dupleix and Lord Clive*, and TROTTER (L. J.), *Warren Hastings*,—these last three in "Rulers of India" series; and SMITH (G.), *Three English Statesmen*, for two lectures on the younger William Pitt. These lectures are of special value in revealing England's relations to the French Revolution. MACAULAY'S *Essays* on Horace Walpole, the Earl of Chatham (two essays), Lord Clive, and Warren Hastings will serve to quicken the imagination of the young reader. The essays on Clive and Warren Hastings can be found in convenient form, with excellent introductory notes, in Macmillan's "Pocket Series of American and English Classics." Aside from the foregoing lives and reviews, the student will find an inexhaustible mine of biographical information in the English *Dictionary of National Biography*.

For the growth of the English Cabinet: BLAUVELT (M. T.), *The Development of Cabinet Government in England*. For the rise of Methodism: OVERTON (J. H.), *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century* (Epochs of Church History). For the French and English in America: FISKE (J.), *New England and New France*, chaps. vii-x; and PARKMAN (F.), *Montcalm and Wolfe*. For the conflict between England and her American colonies: LECKY (W. E. H.), *The American Revolution*, "being the chapters and passages relating to America from the author's 'History of England in the Eighteenth Century,' . . . arranged and edited with historical and bibliographical notes by James Albert Woodburn"; TREVELYAN (G. O.), *The American Revolution*, 2 vols.; and HASSALL (A.), *The Balance of Power, 1715-1789* (Periods of European History), chap. xii. For the English in India: LYALL (SIR A.), *The Rise of the British Dominion in India*. For industrial and social England: CHEYNEY (E. P.), *An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*, chap. viii; and TRAILL (H. D.), *Social England*, vol. iv, chap. xvi (portions), and vol. v, chaps. xvii and xix. For the abolition of the slave trade: INGRAM (J. K.), *A History of Slavery and Serfdom*, chap. vii. See also bibliography for Chapter III for several excellent text-books containing chapters on the period under review. To the constitutional histories there named MAY'S should now be added. It begins with the year 1760.

CHAPTER XIII

AUSTRIA UNDER THE BENEVOLENT DESPOT, EMPEROR JOSEPH II (1780-1790)

289. Emperor Joseph II's Ideal and Aim. — Most worthy of remembrance among the royal contemporaries of Frederick the Great was Emperor Joseph II,¹ the son of the Empress-Queen Maria Theresa. He became Emperor in 1765, and upon the death of his mother in 1780 succeeded to the sovereignty of the Austrian dominions. He was the best, though not the greatest, of the enlightened despots.

Joseph II's aim was to make of the Austrian dominions an ideal state. This, in his conception, was a state possessing geographical and moral unity; that is to say, a state with well-rounded scientific frontiers, with all power concentrated in the hands of the sovereign, with all its provinces ruled alike, and with all its inhabitants using the same language and having the same ideas, customs, and aspirations.

290. His Reforms. — Now, the Austrian monarchy was, and still is, just the opposite of all this. Joseph's endeavor was to make it like France, compact geographically, and homogeneous in language and customs. He wiped out many of the old divisions based on race, language, and historical antecedents, and in the interest of uniformity and simplicity of administration divided a great part of the monarchy into thirteen provinces, and each of these again into smaller subdivisions called "circles." He abolished serfdom in several of his states, and thus did much to place the Austrian monarchy alongside those countries in Western Europe which had already got rid of this bad inheritance. He closed over two thousand monasteries and

¹ Paganel, *Histoire de Joseph II* (Paris, 1853).

devoted their property to the establishment of colleges, hospitals, and other public institutions. He issued a celebrated Edict of Toleration (1781), giving to all Christian sects equality of rights and privileges. He granted the Jews right of citizenship. He made a catechism for the youth and ordered a new translation of the Bible in the German language. He abolished the censorship of the press. He provided the cities of his dominions with schools in which all the pupils were taught exactly the same lessons in exactly the same way. He founded libraries and encouraged research. He softened the harsh punishments of the mediæval criminal code, and made the laws to conform to reason. He reformed the court, doing away with useless and extravagant ceremonials. He fostered manufactures, and by his own laborious life—he is said to have worked more hours each day than any other man in his dominions—set an example of industry to his subjects.

291. His Dealings with the Low Countries and with Hungary.—With the aim of making the Austrian dominions territorially more compact, Joseph tried to effect an exchange of the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria, but the watchful jealousy of Frederick the Great prevented the consummation of this scheme. Joseph then attempted to reduce these Low Countries, which constituted almost an independent state loosely united to Austria, to the condition of an administrative province of the Austrian monarchy. He disregarded the constitution, laws, and customs of the provinces; swept away the chartered rights of the cities; interfered with the religion of the people by abolishing processions and pilgrimages, suppressing monasteries and convents, and granting toleration to Protestants; and substituted for the existing system of education, which was in the hands of the clergy, a new system conforming to his own ideas of what should be taught the youth.

Angered by all this meddling with their affairs, the Netherlanders rose in open revolt and declared themselves independent of the Austrian crown (1790).

At the same time Joseph drove his Hungarian subjects to the verge of rebellion by attempting, in the interest of uniformity and the concentration of power, to deal with Hungary in some such arbitrary way as he had dealt with the Netherlands,—in a word, to Germanize the country. The situation became so threatening that Joseph, upon his dying bed, was constrained to annul all his reform measures and put everything back as it was, save as regards the serfs, who retained the freedom with which he had dowered them.

292. Causes of the Failure of Joseph II's Attempted Reforms.

—The Emperor Joseph II is one of the most pathetic figures in history. He died in 1790, a weary, heartbroken man, lamenting that though he had labored his life through to make his subjects contented and happy and to deserve their love, he had simply filled his empire with unrest and unhappiness, and instead of winning the gratitude of his subjects had awakened only their ingratitude. "I know that the greater part of my subjects do not love me," were almost his last words.

The most of Joseph's attempted reforms, save those of the abolition of serfdom and the revision of the laws, had in truth resulted in dismal failures. This was not because what he aimed to do was not in sad need of being done, but because in such matters the good intention is not sufficient without patience and wisdom. Joseph had neither. His lack of patience to wait for results is well shown in his method of creating a park: at great expense he set out full-grown trees instead of saplings.

And Joseph lacked that wisdom which recognizes that the reformer must take account of the beliefs, habits, and prejudices of men and of races. As his biographer, Paganel, remarks, "It is only in the hands of God that man is as clay."

293. Reform from Above versus Reform from Below.—Joseph II was one of the last of the benevolent despots.²

² For the names of others than those we have considered of the enlightened sovereigns and reforming ministers of the eighteenth century, consult Professor

Europe owes much to them. Some of their reforms were permanent, and effected great amelioration in the condition of the people in several of the countries of the Continent. But the enlightened despots were hampered in their work through being despots. Their theory of government excluded the people from all participation in the work of reform. But all true reform must proceed from below and not from above. As Buckle in his *History of Civilization in England* writes, "No reform can produce real good unless it is the work of public opinion, and unless the people themselves take the initiative."

Nor should reforms inaugurated be dependent upon a single life. This was a fatal weakness in the movement of reform by the kings themselves. When a benevolent despot died, too often his work ended with his life.

The year preceding the death of Joseph II the French Revolution had begun. The people as well as their kings had been

H. Morse Stephens, *Syllabus of Lectures on Modern European History*, lect. li. The reforms of the Marquis of Pombal, prime minister of Portugal from 1756 to 1777, are deserving of special attention. The following is Professor Stephens's enumeration of the chief subjects which claimed the attention of the enlightened sovereigns and their ministers: "(1) Attempts to soften or abolish serfdom and other feudal abuses . . . ; (2) projects of legal and judicial reform . . . ; (3) efforts to promote material prosperity by the undertaking of public works . . . ; (4) adoption of the ideas of the political economists in collecting their revenues and encouraging manufactures and commerce . . . ; (5) encouragement of education, and especially higher education . . . ; (6) freedom of the press . . . ; (7) extension of ideas of religious toleration . . . ; (8) deliberate steps taken to diminish the wealth and power of the Church in Roman Catholic states."

A striking phenomenon of the period of the reforming absolute sovereigns was the fall of the Jesuits. In 1759 they were expelled from Portugal by the prime minister, Pombal; in 1764 they were suppressed in France, and three years later were expelled from the country; in 1767 they were driven out from Spain; and finally, in 1773, the society was abolished by the Pope. (It was reëstablished in 1814.) One cause of the fall of the order was that it stood in the way of the centralizing policy of the absolute sovereigns; it had come to form a sort of state within the state. Then, again, its members, through engaging in mercantile enterprises, had aroused bitter hostility, and in different countries had become involved in serious difficulties with the authorities.

studying the philosophers and the political economists, and they were now themselves to assume the rôle of reformers. We shall see with what success they met in their new part.

Secondary Works. — BRIGHT (J. F.), *Joseph II* (Foreign Statesmen). This is the best short biography of the Emperor in English. COXE (W.), *History of the House of Austria*, vol. iii, chaps. cxxiv–cxxx. HASSALL (A.), *The Balance of Power, 1715–1789* (Periods of European History), chap. xiii. STEPHENS (H. M.), *Syllabus of Lectures on Modern European History*, lect. xlvii. Gives a helpful summary of Emperor Joseph's policies and reforms. SCHLOSSER (F. C.), *History of the Eighteenth Century*, vols. iv and v. Contains valuable sections on the Emperor and his reforms.

II. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE NAPOLEONIC ERA

(1789-1815)

CHAPTER XIV

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789-1799)

I. CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION ; THE STATES-GENERAL OF 1789

294. Introductory. — The French Revolution, in its deepest impulses, was a continuation of the Renaissance and the Reformation. It was the spirit of the intellectual revival and the religious reform at work in the political and the social realm. It was the revolt of the French people against royal despotism and class privilege. “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity” was the motto of the Revolution. In the name of these principles great crimes were indeed committed ; but these excesses of the Revolution are not to be confounded with its true spirit and aims. The French people in 1789 contended for substantially the same principles that the English people defended in 1642 and 1688, and that the American colonists maintained in 1776. It is only as we view them in this light that we can feel a sympathetic interest in the men and events of this tumultuous period of French history.

295. Causes of the Revolution. — Chief among the causes of the French Revolution were the abuses and extravagances of the Bourbon monarchy ; the unjust privileges enjoyed by the nobility and the higher clergy ; the wretched condition of the poorer classes of the people ; and the revolutionary character and spirit of French philosophy and literature. To these

must be added, as a proximate cause, the influence of the American Revolution. We will speak briefly of these several matters.

Even the hastiest examination of the condition of France during the century preceding the tremendous social upheaval will enable us to understand how an English statesman,¹ writing a generation before the bursting of the storm, could say, "All the symptoms which I have ever met with in history, previous to great changes and revolutions in government, now exist and daily increase in France."

296. The Bourbon Monarchy.—We simply repeat what we have already learned when we say that the authority of the French crown under the Bourbons had become unbearably despotic and oppressive. The life and property of every person in France were at the arbitrary disposal of the king. Persons were thrown into prison without even knowing the offense for which they were arrested. *Lettres de cachet*, or sealed warrants for arrest, were even signed by the king in blank and given to his favorites to use against their personal enemies.

The taxes were imposed by the authority of the king alone. They struck the poor rather than the rich, and, in consequence of a miserable and corrupt system of collection,² not more than one-half or two-thirds of the money wrung from the taxpayers ever reached the royal treasury. The public money thus gathered was squandered in maintaining a court the scandalous extravagances and debaucheries of which would shame a Turkish sultan.

Meanwhile all public works and all national interests, after the reign of Louis XIV, were utterly neglected. Louis XV, it

¹ Lord Chesterfield, writing in 1753.

² A large part of the taxes were farmed, that is, a body of capitalists were given the contract of collecting them. These Farmers, as they were called, paid the government a sum agreed upon; all over this amount which they collected formed their profits. The most oppressive of the various taxes was the salt tax (*gabelle*). Every family was forced to buy of the Farmers seven pounds of salt for each member of the household above seven years of age.

is asserted, "probably spent more money on his harem than on any department of state." Louis XVI was sincerely desirous of reform. So far as good intentions go, he deserves a place among the best of the benevolent despots. But unfortunately he did not possess the qualities essential in a reformer; he was weak and irresolute. Besides, it was too late. Matters had gone too far. France was already caught in the rapids that sweep down to the abyss of the Revolution.

297. The Nobility. — The French nobility on the eve of the Revolution numbered probably between twenty and thirty thousand families, comprising about a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand persons.* The order was simply the relics of the once powerful but now broken-down feudal aristocracy of the Middle Ages. Although owning one-fifth of the soil of France and exercising feudal rights over much of the land belonging to peasant proprietors, still these nobles paid scarcely any taxes.

The higher nobility were chiefly the pensioners of the king, the ornaments of his court, living in riotous luxury at Paris and Versailles. Stripped of their ancient power, they still retained all the old pride and arrogance of their order, and clung tenaciously to all their feudal privileges and exemptions. The rents of their estates, with which they supplemented the bounty of the king, were wrung from their wretched tenants with pitiless severity. That absentee landlordism which has created such poverty in Ireland and engendered such bitterness in the hearts of the Irish peasants towards their English landlords will serve to illustrate in some measure the relation of the French nobles to their tenants at the time of which we are speaking.

298. The Higher Clergy. — The upper clergy formed a decayed feudal hierarchy. A third of the lands of France was in their hands, and this immense property was almost wholly exempt from taxation. The bishops and abbots were usually drawn from the ranks of the nobility, being attracted to the service of the Church rather by its enormous revenues

and the social distinction conferred by its offices than by the inducements of piety. They owed their position to royal appointment, and commonly spent their princely incomes in luxurious life at court.

The relation of these "patrician prelates" to the people and to the humbler clergy should be carefully noted, otherwise certain important phases of the Revolution will not be understood. Though there were noble exceptions, the most of these dignitaries were narrow-minded and self-seeking, and many of them so shamelessly immoral that as a class they had lost all credit and authority with the people whose shepherds they ostensibly were. And not only had they discredited themselves, but they had brought the Church and even Christianity itself into disrepute. The hatred the people felt towards them was transferred to the religion which they so unworthily represented.

The lower clergy, made up in the main of humble parish priests, were drawn largely from the peasant class, and shared their poverty. Their salaries were mere pittance compared with the princely incomes enjoyed by the bishops and abbots. Their exemplary lives and their faithfulness in the performance of the duties of their sacred calling presented a reproof contrast to the debaucheries and infidelities of their ecclesiastical superiors. They were naturally in sympathy with the lower classes to which by birth they belonged, and shared their feelings of dislike towards the great prelates on account of their selfish pride and odious arrogance.

299. The Commons, or Third Estate. — Below the two privileged orders stood the non-privileged commons, known as the *Tiers État*, or Third Estate. This class embraced all the nation aside from the nobility and the clergy,—that is to say, the great bulk of the population. It numbered probably about twenty-five million souls. The order was divided into two chief classes, namely, the *bourgeoisie*, or middle class, and the peasantry.

The middle class, which was comparatively small in numbers, was made up of the well-to-do and wealthy merchants, traders, lawyers, and other professional men. It constituted the most intelligent portion of the French nation, and the conservatism of this body was often a check upon the fury of the masses at different junctures of the Revolution. It was from this class that came most of the leaders of the revolutionary movement during its earlier stages.

The peasants constituted the majority of the Third Estate. The condition of most of them could hardly have been worse. Their only recognized use in the state was "to pay feudal services to the lords,³ tithes to the priests, and imposts to the king." Especially vexatious were the old feudal regulations to which they were subjected in the cultivation of the soil. Thus they were forbidden to fence their fields for the protection of their crops, as the fences interfered with the lord's progress in the hunt;⁴ they were not allowed to frighten away the game which fed upon their vegetables; and they were even prohibited from cultivating their fields at certain seasons, as this disturbed the partridges and other game. Moreover, they must at all times calmly endure the sight of the lord's hunting party—men, horses, and hounds—sweeping through their crops, and be thankful that they themselves are not the object of the hunt.

Being kept in a state of abject poverty, a failure of their crops reduced the French tenants to absolute starvation. It

³ Though practically all the French peasantry had long since been emancipated from the personal servitude of mediæval serfdom, still the majority of them owed to some lord feudal dues for the land they tilled, and were bound to pay tolls at his mill, oven, and wine press. See *The Middle Ages*, par. 149.

⁴ A considerable portion of the country was included in great hunting preserves. "The forest around Chantilly, belonging to the Prince of Condé," writes the English traveler, Arthur Young, "is immense, spreading far and wide: the Paris road crosses it for ten miles, which is its least extent. They say the *capitainerie* is above one hundred miles in extent; that is to say, all the inhabitants for that extent are pestered with game, without permission to destroy it, in order to give one man diversion." — *Travels in France* (Bohn ed.), p. 193.

was not an unusual thing to find women and children dead in the woods or along the roadways. The words addressed by Fénelon to Louis XIV in 1693 might with almost equal truth have been addressed to Louis XVI: "Your people are dying of hunger," he said; "instead of money being wrenched from these poor creatures, clothes and food should be given them. France is simply a large hospital, full of woe and empty of food."

Another who saw all this misery thus pictures the appearance of the peasantry: "One sees certain fierce animals, male and female, scattered through the fields; they are black, livid, and burned by the sun, and attached to the soil, which they dig up and stir with indomitable industry; they have what is like an articulate voice, and when they rise up on their feet they show a human face,—in truth they are human beings. They retire at night into dens, where they live on black bread and water and roots; they save other men the trouble of sowing and delving and harvesting, and hence deserve not to lack of this bread which they have sown."⁵

It is true that during the eighteenth century the condition of perhaps the majority of the French peasants had been much improved, and that on the eve of the Revolution their state was much more tolerable than that of the peasantry in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The number of peasant proprietors had become large and was steadily increasing, and in many districts at least was greater than at any earlier period. Yet never had a more rebellious spirit stirred in the French peasantry than at just this time. And the reason of this was not because the system under which they lived was "more severe, but more odious" than ever before—more odious because the peasant of 1789, being more intelligent, realized more keenly the wrongs he suffered, and knew better his rights as a man than did the ignorant, stolid peasant of the previous century. So true is it, as the

⁵ La Bruyère, *Les Caractères*, "De l'Homme," § cxxviii.

philosopher Hegel affirms, that Revolution is impossible without Renaissance.⁶

300. The Revolutionary Spirit of French Philosophy; Representative Authors. — French philosophy in the eighteenth century was bold, skeptical, and revolutionary. Its dominant note was one of passionate protest against the inequalities of the existing system of society and government. The great writers — Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and D'Alembert — represent its prevailing spirit and tendency.⁷

Montesquieu (1689–1755) was a great admirer of English institutions. He had passed almost two years of his early life in England and had thus become imbued with English ideas and English love of constitutional government. His most important work was entitled *The Spirit of Laws*, a work which had a remarkable influence upon the enlightened despots of the latter part of the eighteenth century. Catherine the Great of Russia said of it that “it ought to be the breviary of every sovereign of common sense.”

Voltaire (1694–1778) was the very impersonation of the tendencies of his age. He gave expression, forcible and striking, to what the people were vaguely thinking and feeling. In the use of satire and irony he never had a superior, if a

⁶ The truth of this law underlying the historical development is shown in the antecedents of the English Revolution of the seventeenth century and of the American Revolution of the eighteenth. In neither case was it the actual burdens imposed by despotic authority which provoked rebellion. The real cause of revolt in each case was that general intelligence of the people which made even the slightest infringement of rights seem intolerable.

⁷ The fountain head of this freedom-loving and skeptical philosophy was in England. “It was English literature,” says Buckle in his *History of Civilization in England*, “which taught the lesson of political liberty, first to France, and through France to the rest of Europe.” From the death of Louis XIV on to the commencement of the Revolution, England was a sort of Mecca for the literary and philosophical French world. Speaking of the results of this worship of the men of France at the English shrine, Buckle writes as follows: “Their determination to search for liberty in the place where alone it could be found, gave rise to that junction of the French and English intellects which, looking at the immense chain of its effects, is by far the most important fact in the history

peer. He has been well called "the magician of the art of writing." He had a most marvelous faculty of condensing thought; putting whole philosophies in an epigram, he supplied the French people with proverbs for a century. He loved justice, in Carlyle's phrase, as it should be loved. His aim was to do away with injustice, prejudices, and superstitions, and to make justice and reason dominant in human affairs. He disbelieved in revealed religion;⁸ he would have men follow simply their inner sense of what is right and reasonable. His influence upon Frederick the Great of Prussia and upon other reforming kings and ministers was very great. In truth his writings stirred all Europe as well as all France, and did so much to prepare the minds and hearts of men for the Revolution and to determine its course after once inaugurated that in one sense there was much truth in his declaration, "I have accomplished more in my day than either Luther or Calvin."

Rousseau (1712-1778), like Voltaire, had neither faith nor hope in existing institutions. Society and government seemed to him contrivances designed by the strong for the enslavement of the weak: "Man was born free and is everywhere in chains," is the burden of his complaint. Consequently he would do away with all these things. He would have men give up their artificial, complex life in society, and return to the simplicity of what he called "a state of nature." He idealized the life of savages, and declared that untutored tribes were happier than civilized men. He drew such an idyllic picture of the life of man in a state of nature that Voltaire,

of the eighteenth century" (*History of Civilization in England*, vol. i, chap. xii). Prominent among the English scientists and writers who most deeply influenced French science and philosophy were Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), John Locke (1632-1704), Lord Shaftesbury (1671-1713), and Lord Bolingbroke (1678-1751). Much of Voltaire's work was largely a popularization of the science of Newton and the philosophy of Locke.

⁸ By some of Voltaire's disciples his doctrines were developed into atheism; but Voltaire himself was a deist, combating alike atheism and Christianity.

after reading his treatise thereon, wrote him that it filled him with a longing to go on all fours.

Rousseau's greatest work was entitled *The Social Contract*. The state according to him is a voluntary association or brotherhood of equals. From this followed the sovereignty of the people and the abolition of inequality and class oppression. This and the other writings of Rousseau had an extraordinary influence upon liberal-minded and generous souls everywhere. The framers of the American Declaration of Rights drew from his works many of their ideas and even phrases. The aid which France extended to the American colonists, in so far as that aid was prompted by a generous enthusiasm for republican ideals, was a direct outcome of the teachings of Rousseau. The idealists and dreamers of the French Revolution were wholly under the spell cast over the world by the "New Gospel of Humanity" preached so fervently by the author of *The Social Contract*.

Diderot (1713-1784) and D'Alembert (1717-1783) were the chief of the so-called Encyclopedists, the compilers of an immense work in twenty-eight volumes. The purpose of this prodigious compilation was to gather up and systematize all the facts in science and history in possession of the world, in order that this knowledge might be made the basis of a philosophy of life and of the universe which should supersede all the old systems of thought and belief resting simply on ancient authority.

301. The Effects of this Philosophy. — The tendency and effect of this skeptical philosophy was to create hatred and contempt for the institutions of both State and Church, to foster discontent with the established order of things, to stir up an uncontrollable passion for innovation and change.

Nor was it difficult for the theoretical revolutionists to secure the ear of a people proverbially impulsive and imaginative, and suffering to the point of desperation from the unequal and oppressive arrangements of a wholly artificial society. The

grand ideas and principles of the proposed crusade for the recovery of the rights of man could not fail of appealing powerfully to that imaginative genius of the French people which had led them to be foremost in the romantic expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher.

This daring, skeptical, revolutionary philosophy, having once taken possession of the minds of the French people, was bound, sooner or later, to find expression in their acts. "Human thought," says Lamartine, "is like the Divine Mind : it makes everything in its own image." We shall soon see this philosophy making history, and making it like unto itself.⁹

302. Influence of the American Revolution. — Not one of the least potent of the proximate causes of the French Revolution was the successful establishment of the American republic. "The American Revolution has laid the foundation of another in France, if the government does not take care of itself," wrote Arthur Young just on the eve of the outbreak in France. "Without the successful termination of the American War of Independence," writes Professor H. Morse Stephens in the preface to the American edition of his *History of the French Revolution*, "it may be doubted whether the French Revolution would have developed as it did, or whether it would have taken place at all."

The French people sympathized deeply with the English colonists in their struggle for independence. Many of the nobility, like Lafayette, — for the French nobles, strangely

⁹ The teachings of the eighteenth-century French political economists were in spirit and tendency like the doctrines promulgated by the French thinkers and writers in other fields. The most noted of these economists were Quesnay (1694-1774), Vincent de Gournay (1712-1759), and Turgot (1727-1781). They and their disciples are known as physiocrats, because they taught the doctrine of the reign of natural law in the economic realm. In opposition to the prevailing system of restriction, privilege, and monopoly in the industrial domain, they demanded freedom. Let things alone (*laissez faire*), they said; they will regulate themselves. Speaking of the influence of the teachings of the physiocrats, the eminent political economist Blanqui declares, "The French Revolution was only their theory carried into action."

blind to the logical consequences of the new philosophy, were very many of them its enthusiastic disciples, — offered to the patriots the service of their swords; and the popular feeling, combined with a revengeful wish to see the British Empire dismembered, finally led the French government to extend to them openly the aid of the armies of France.

The final triumph of the cause of liberty awakened scarcely less enthusiasm and rejoicing in France than in America. The republican simplicity of the newborn state, contrasting so strongly with the extravagance and artificiality of the court at Versailles, elicited the unbounded admiration of the French people. In this young republic of the Western world they saw realized the Arcadia of their philosophy.¹⁰ It was no longer a dream. They themselves had helped to make it real. Here the rights of man had been recovered and vindicated. And now this liberty which the French people had helped the American colonists to secure, they were impatient to see France herself enjoy.

¹⁰ The following fine illustration of this is to be found in Trevelyan's *American Revolution* (Part I, pp. 52, 53): "The French nobles, who brought their swords and fortunes to the assistance of the Revolution in America, opened their eyes on the morning after their arrival upon a state of things which closely resembled the romantic ideal then fashionable in Parisian circles. . . . The community in which they found themselves seemed, in their lively and hopeful eyes, to have been made to order out of the imagination of Rousseau or of Fénelon. [One observer, describing what he saw along the high roads of Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, wrote:] 'Sometimes in the midst of vast forests, with majestic trees which the ax had never touched, I was transported in idea to the remote times when the first navigators set their feet on that unknown hemisphere. Sometimes I was admiring a lovely valley, carefully tilled, with the meadows full of cattle; the houses clean, elegant, painted in bright and varied colors, and standing in little gardens behind pretty fences. And then, farther on, after other masses of woods, I came to populous hamlets, and towns where everything betokened the perfection of civilization, — schools, churches, universities. Indigence and vulgarity nowhere; abundance, comfort, and urbanity everywhere. The inhabitants, each and all, exhibited the unassuming and quiet pride of men who have no master, who see nothing above them except the law, and who are free from the vanity, the servility, and the prejudices of our European societies. That is the picture which, throughout my whole journey, never ceased to interest and surprise me.'"

303. End of the Reign of Louis XV; "After us the Deluge."

— The long-gathering tempest is now ready to break over France. Louis XV died in 1774.¹¹ In the early part of his reign his subjects had affectionately called him "the Well-Beloved," but long before he laid down the scepter all their early love and admiration had been turned into hatred and contempt. Besides being overbearing and despotic, the king was indolent and scandalously profligate. During twenty years of his reign, as we have already learned, he was wholly under the influence of the notorious Madame de Pompadour.

The inevitable issue of this orgy of folly and extravagance seems to have been clearly enough perceived by the chief actors in it, as is shown by that reckless phrase attributed to the king and his favorite, — "After us the Deluge." And after them the deluge indeed did come. The near thunders of the approaching tempest could already be heard when Louis XV lay down to die.

304. The Accession of Louis XVI (1774); Financial Troubles; the Meeting of the Notables (1787). — Louis XV left the tottering throne to his grandson, Louis XVI, then only twenty years of age. He had recently been married to the beautiful and light-hearted Archduchess Marie Antoinette of Austria. The first act of the young couple, upon learning that the burdens of sovereignty had descended upon their shoulders, was, it was rumored, to cast themselves upon their knees with the prayer, "O God ! guide and protect us ; we are too young to govern !" Well indeed might they appeal to Heaven ; there was no earthly aid.

How to raise money was the urgent and anxious question with the government. France was on the verge of bankruptcy. The king called to his side successively Turgot, Necker, Joly de Fleury, D'Ormesson, Calonne, Loménie de Brienne, and then Necker once more, as his ministers of finance ; but their policies and remedies availed little or nothing. The disease

¹¹ For a sketch of his reign consult par. 185.

which had fastened itself upon the nation was too deep-seated. The traditions of the court, the rigidity of long-established customs, and the heartless selfishness of the privileged classes rendered reform in taxation and efficient retrenchment impossible. The national debt grew constantly larger. The people charged all to the extravagance of the queen, whom they called "Madame Deficit."

In 1787 the king summoned the Notables, a body composed chiefly of great lords and prelates, who had not been called to advise with the king since the year 1626. But miserable counselors were they all. Refusing to give up any of their feudal privileges, or to tax the property of their own orders that the enormous public burdens which were crushing the commons might be lightened, their coming together resulted in nothing.

305. The Calling of the States-General; the Elections; the Cahiers. — As a last resort it was resolved to summon the united wisdom of the nation, to call together the States-General, the almost-forgotten national assembly, composed of representatives of the three estates,—the nobility, the clergy, and the commons.

In December, 1788, the king by proclamation called upon the French people to elect deputies to this body, which had not met to deliberate upon the affairs of France for a period of one hundred and seventy-five years (par. 151). Divine-right royalty had seen no necessity hitherto of seeking counsel of the people. The summoning of the ancient assembly was an acknowledgment that absolute monarchy had failed in France. How complete and irremediable that failure was, was recognized by no one as yet.

In connection with the elections there had been made by the king's advisers a momentous decision, one which practically involved the fate of the monarchy. The commons, conscious that they formed the overwhelming majority of the nation, insisted upon being allowed double representation, that is, as

many deputies as both the other orders. The minister, Necker, yielded to this demand. They were authorized to send up six hundred deputies, while the nobility and the clergy were each to have only three hundred representatives.

The greater part of the deputies chosen by the commons were taken from the middle class. More than half of them were lawyers or magistrates. The elections of the clergy revealed the cleavage between the prelates and the humbler members of the order to which reference was made above (par. 298). Of the deputies of the order over two hundred were curates or parish priests.

The electors had been instructed to draw up statements of grievances and suggestions of reform for the information and guidance of the States-General. Very many of these documents, which are known as *cahiers*, were substantially copies of models drawn up by lawyers and others and widely distributed; nevertheless they form a valuable record of the France of 1789,—of the grievances of the people, of their ideas of reform, and of their aspirations. One demand common to them all is that the nation through its representatives shall have part in the government. Those of the Third Estate call for the abolition of feudal rents and services, and for the equalization among the orders of the burdens of taxation. In a word, they were petitions for equality and justice.

306. The States-General changed into the National Assembly.

—On the 5th of May, 1789, a memorable date, the deputies to the States-General met at Versailles. Thither the eyes of the nation were now turned in hope and expectancy. Surely if the redemption of France could be worked out by human wisdom, it would now be effected.

At the very outset a dispute arose between the privileged orders and the commons respecting the manner of voting. It had been the ancient custom of the body for each order to deliberate in its own hall, and for the vote upon all questions

to be by orders.¹² But the commons now demanded that this old custom should be ignored, and that the voting should be by individuals; for should the vote be taken by orders, then their double representation would be a mere mockery, and the clergy and nobility by combining could always outvote them. For five weeks the quarrel kept everything in a deadlock.

Finally the commons, emboldened by the tone of public opinion without, took a decisive, revolutionary step. They declared themselves the National Assembly, and then invited the other two orders to join them in their deliberations, giving them to understand that if they did not choose to do so they should proceed to the consideration of public affairs without them.

King, nobles, and prelates were alarmed at the bold attitude assumed by the commons. Their act was denounced as a most audacious and unheard-of usurpation of authority. The king, in helpless alarm, suspended the sitting of the rebellious deputies and guarded the door of their hall. But the commons, gathering in the tennis court, a great barnlike building without seats, bound themselves by oath not to separate until they had framed a constitution for France. This act was very much like that of the members of the Long Parliament, who practically opened the English Revolution by resolving that they should not be dissolved without their own consent (par. 197).

Shut out from the tennis court, the representatives of the Third Estate met in one of the churches of Versailles. Here they were joined by two of the nobility and a large number of the deputies of the clergy. It looked as though the three orders would soon coalesce. The court party labored to prevent this. A royal sitting, or joint meeting of the three estates, was held. The king, influenced by his advisers, read

¹² That is to say, the majority of the representatives of each order decided the vote for that order, and then two of these majority votes registered the decision of the whole body of deputies.

a speech in which, assuming the tone of an English Stuart, he admonished the commons not to attack the privileges of the other orders, and then commanded the deputies of the three orders to retire to their separate halls. The clergy and the nobility obeyed. The commons kept their seats.

At this juncture the master of ceremonies somewhat pertly said to them, "You heard the king's command?" Thereupon Mirabeau, one of the leaders of the commons, a man of "Jupiter-like" mien and tone, turned upon the messenger with these memorable words: "Go, tell those who sent you that we are here by the command of the people, and here we shall stay until driven out at the point of the bayonet." The poor official was so frightened at the terrible Mirabeau that he straightway sought the door, withdrawing from the assembly, however, backwards, as he had been wont to do in retiring from the presence of the king. His instincts were right. He was indeed in the presence of the Sovereign, — the newborn Sovereign of France.

The triumph of the Third Estate was soon complete. Realizing that it was futile and dangerous longer to oppose the will of the commons, the king ordered those of the nobles and clergy who had not yet joined them to do so, and they obeyed. The eloquent Bailly, one of the deputies of Paris for the Third Estate and the president of the Assembly, in receiving them, exclaimed, "This day will be illustrious in our annals; it renders the family complete." The States-General had become in reality the National Assembly.

This union of the three estates in the National Assembly was merely the registering of the result of the silent revolution which through the preceding centuries had been gradually transforming the France of feudal times, made up of the three orders of the clergy, the nobility, and the Third Estate, into the France of 1789, made up not of orders but of individuals, — of individuals who were already potentially citizens free and equal before the law.

II. THE NATIONAL OR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

(June 17, 1789–Sept. 30, 1791)

307. Prominent Men in the Assembly. — Lamartine declares that the National Assembly was “the most imposing body of men that ever represented not only France, but the human race.” It was impressive, not so much from the ability or genius of its individual members, though the picked men of France were here gathered, as through the tremendous interests it held in its hands. Yet there were in the Assembly a number of men whose names cannot be passed in silence.

Among the nobility was the patriotic Lafayette, who had won the admiration of his countrymen by splendid services rendered the struggling republic in the New World. His influence at this time was probably greater than that of any other man.

Belonging by birth to the same order, but sitting now as a deputy of the commons, was Mirabeau, a large-headed, dissolute, unscrupulous man, an impetuous orator, the mouth-piece of the Revolution. But though violent in speech he was moderate in counsel. He wanted to right the wrongs of the people, yet without undermining the throne. He wanted reform but not revolution. He believed himself the only man able to pilot the ship of state away from the shoals and rocks upon which it was drifting out into safe waters, and his effort was to persuade the king to intrust to him the direction of affairs. But though Mirabeau had confidence in himself, no one else at first had confidence in him, such had been his past life. Arthur Young said of him, “His character is a dead weight upon him.” He himself recognized this. “What could I not have done,” he once lamented, “had I come to the States-General with the reputation of Malesherbes?”¹³ Yet, notwithstanding his lack of private virtues, Mirabeau’s qualities of leadership gained for him recognition, and he was

¹³ Malesherbes (1721–1794) was a statesman who was held in the highest esteem by all parties on account of his ability and his virtues.

at one time president of the National Assembly. But his life of dissipation had undermined his constitution. He died in 1791, despairing of the future for France.

Also among the deputies of the Third Estate sat another man whom we must notice, — Robespierre, not much known as yet, but of whom we shall hear enough by and by.

Still another most eminent representative of the commons was Abbé Sieyès, a person of wonderful facility in framing constitutions. France will have much need of such talent, as we shall see. Sieyès had recently stirred the whole country by a remarkable pamphlet entitled *What is the Third Estate?* (*Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État?*). He answers, "Everything!" "What has it been hitherto?" "Nothing!" "What does it wish?" "To be something."

308. Origin of the Revolutionary Municipality of Paris. — While the States-General was metamorphosing itself into the National Assembly, the government of Paris was undergoing a somewhat similar transformation. During all these weeks the capital was in a seething ferment. The king at last imprudently began to mass troops about Versailles, as if to overawe the national representatives. A rumor was spread in Paris that he was on the point of closing the deliberations of the body by force. The inhabitants of the capital resolved to take precautionary measures against any such attempt upon the Assembly. The municipal authorities showing themselves irresolute and timid, the leading men¹⁴ of the different sections, or wards, of the city ousted them, and then, forming themselves into a sort of provisional city council, assumed the government of the capital. Thus in this moment of tumult and confusion was born the revolutionary Municipality of Paris, a body whose power came to overshadow that of the National Assembly itself.

¹⁴ These men were the electors of Paris, that is, the persons who had been selected by the people in their primary elections to choose deputies to the States-General. They formed what we would call an electoral college.

309. The Formation of the National Guards. — We must here also speak of the origin of the celebrated National Guards. The members of the communal board had hastened their organization in order to impress some kind of order upon the mobs of the capital; for the rumor from Versailles of guns trained on the Assembly, and of regiments of foreigners in the king's service marching upon Paris, had maddened the populace to frenzy. Under the direction of the self-constituted Municipality the inhabitants of the capital now formed themselves into a sort of police force. Other cities throughout France imitated Paris and organized their militia. These hastily recruited popular bodies took the name of National Guards, and under that title were destined to act a most conspicuous part in the scenes of the Revolution.

310. Storming of the Bastille (July 14, 1789). — Thus all Paris was ready to burst into conflagration. The news of the dismissal of Necker by the king, a minister in whom the people had great confidence, kindled the inflammable mass. On the morning of July 14 a great mob rushed to the Hôtel des Invalides and seized the store of arms kept in that place, and then proceeded to assault the Bastille, the old state prison and, in the eyes of the people, the emblem of royal despotism. In a few hours the prison-fortress was in the hands of the people. The curious crowds ransacked every corner of the grim old dungeon, liberating the seven prisoners they found in its gloomy cells. One of these had been a captive for thirty years, and when led out into the sunlight seemed dazed, like one awakening from a dream. Another was hopelessly insane from his long imprisonment.

The governor and others of the defenders of the place were murdered, their heads placed at the end of pikes, and thus borne through the streets. The walls of the hated old prison were razed to the ground, and the people danced on the spot. The key of the dungeon was sent by Lafayette to Washington "as a trophy of the spoils of despotism." In a

letter accompanying the gift, Lafayette wrote : "That the principles of America opened the Bastille is not to be doubted, and therefore the key goes to the right place."¹⁵

The destruction by the Paris mob of the Bastille is to the French Revolution what the burning of the papal bull by Luther was to the Reformation. It was the death knell not only of Bourbon despotism in France, but of royal tyranny everywhere. The intelligence of the event was received with rejoicing in America and wherever the ideas and principles of self-government were entertained. When the news reached England, the great statesman Fox, perceiving its significance for liberty, exclaimed, "How much is this the greatest event that ever happened in the world, and how much the best !"

Louis XVI regarded the matter with different feelings. When intelligence of the affair was carried to him at Versailles, he exclaimed, "What, *Rebellion* !" "No, sire," was the response, "it is *Revolution*." The great French Revolution had indeed begun.

311. The Abolition of Privileges (Aug. 4, 1789). — As the news of the storming of the Bastille spread through France the peasantry in many districts, following the example set them by the capital, destroyed the local Bastilles and sacked and burned the castles of the nobles. "The murder of a seigneur or a château in flames," writes Arthur Young in his journal, "is recorded in every newspaper." And then, reflecting upon the excesses and cruelties of the peasants, he asks, "But is it really the people to whom we are to impute the whole? or to their oppressors who had kept them so long in a state of bondage?"

The main object of the peasants was to destroy the title deeds in the archives of the manor houses, since it was by virtue of these charters that the lords exercised so many rights over the lands of the peasants and exacted so many teasing and iniquitous tolls and dues. This terrorism caused the

¹⁵ The rusty relic may be seen to-day in a case at Mount Vernon.

beginning of what is known as the emigration of the nobles, to which matter we shall recur a little later.

The storm without hastened matters within the National Assembly at Versailles. The privileged orders now realized that, to save themselves from the fury of the masses, they must give up those vexatious feudal privileges which were a main cause of the sufferings and the anger of the people. Rising in the tribune, two young and liberal-minded members of the nobility represented that they were willing to renounce all their feudal rights and exemptions. A contagious enthusiasm was awakened by this act of patriotic generosity. Nobles and prelates crowded to the tribune to follow the example of disinterestedness. The impulsiveness of the Gallic heart was never better illustrated. Everybody wanted to make sacrifices for the common good. The nobles and the clergy strove with one another in generous rivalry to see who should make the greatest sacrifices in the surrendering of rents, tithes, tolls, fees, feudal dues, and gaming privileges. Like the early apostolic Church, the Assembly seemed on the point of resolving that everything should be held in common.

It was past the hour of midnight when the Assembly dissolved. Before separating, however, they voted that a statue should be erected to King Louis XVI, as "the Restorer of French Liberty." He certainly had had very little to do with the matter. But this action of the Assembly shows how free from all personal feeling of hostility towards Louis himself the Revolutionists were at this time, and how easily a wise, strong sovereign could have guided and controlled the revolutionary movement and have at least saved the monarchy.

The enthusiasm of the moment soon cooled, and the subsequent obstruction offered by the self-denying members to the carrying out of the resolutions of the evening¹⁶ caused the

¹⁶ For the decree embodying the resolutions, see *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. i, No. 5. The following articles contain some of the most important provisions of the decree. Art. I: "The National Assembly

people to give them little credit for a generosity followed by such hasty repentance. Nevertheless, a very great reform was accomplished. In a single night much of the rubbish of the broken-down feudal system had been cleared away.

312. The Declaration of the Rights of Man (Aug. 26, 1789). — After the abolition of the feudal system the next work of the National Assembly was the drawing up of a Declaration of the Rights of Man.¹⁷ This was in imitation of what had been done by the American patriots. Since their Constitution had been preceded by the issue to the world of a Declaration of Rights, it was resolved that the French Constitution should be prefaced by a similar declaration.

The dominant notes of the Declaration were (1) the equality of men, — “Men are born and remain free and equal”; (2) the sovereignty of the people, — “All sovereignty resides essentially in the nation”; (3) the important nature of law, — “Law is the expression of the general will . . . and should be the same for all”; and (4) the inviolability of personal liberty, — “No person shall be arrested or imprisoned save according to the forms of law.”

313. “To Versailles” (Oct. 5, 1789). — An imprudent act on the part of the king and his friends at Versailles brought about the next episode in the progress of the Revolution. The arrival there of a body of troops was made the occasion of a banquet to the officers of the regiment. While heated with wine, the young nobles had trampled underfoot the national tricolored cockades, and substituted for them white cockades, the emblem of the Bourbons. Ladies and all took

hereby completely abolishes the feudal system.” Arts. II and III: “The exclusive right to maintain pigeon houses and dovecots . . . and to hunt is abolished.” Art. V: “Tithes of every description . . . are abolished.” Art. VII: “The sale of judicial and municipal offices shall be suppressed forthwith.” Art. IX: “Taxes shall be collected from all the citizens and from all property, in the same manner and in the same form.” Art. XI: “All citizens without distinction of birth are eligible to any office or dignity.”

¹⁷ See “Sources” at end of chapter.

part in this and other acts expressive of sympathy with the king.

The report of these proceedings caused in Paris the wildest excitement. Other rumors of the intended flight of the king to Metz, and of plots against the national cause, added fuel to the flames. Besides, bread had failed, and the poorer classes were savage from hunger.

On the 5th of October a mob of desperate women collected in the streets of Paris, determined upon going to Versailles and demanding relief from the king himself. All efforts to dissuade them from their purpose were unavailing, and soon the Parisian rabble was in motion. A horrible multitude, savage as the hordes that followed Attila, streamed out of the city towards Versailles. The National Guards, infected with the delirium of the moment, forced their commander, Lafayette, to lead them in the same direction. Thus all day Paris emptied itself into the royal suburb.

The mob encamped in the streets of Versailles for the night. Early the following morning they broke into the palace, killed two of the guards, and battering down doors with axes, forced their way to the chamber of the queen, who barely escaped with her life to the king's apartments. The timely arrival of Lafayette alone saved the entire royal family from being massacred.

314. The Royal Family taken to Paris (Oct. 6, 1789). — The mob now demanded that the king should go with them to Paris. Their object in this was to have him under their eye, and prevent his conspiring with the court party to thwart the plans of the Revolutionists. Louis, listening to the advice of Lafayette, yielded to the demands of the people; and the immense mob, with the National and Swiss Guards, took up the line of march for the capital. In advance of the procession were borne at the end of pikes the heads of two of the king's guards. Around the royal coach, and everywhere else as well, swarmed hideous women, howling like demons, riding astride

the cannon, insulting the queen, embracing the guards, singing ribald songs, and making the march a perfect bacchanalian orgy. "We shall have plenty of bread now," they shouted; "we have got the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy."

The procession arrived at Paris in the evening. The royal family were placed in the Palace of the Tuileries, and Lafayette was charged with the duty of guarding the king, who was to be held as a sort of hostage for the good conduct of the nobles and the foreign sovereigns while the new constitution was being prepared by the Assembly, which had followed the king to the capital.

Such was what was called the Joyous Entry of October 6. The palace at Versailles, thus stripped of royalty and left bespattered with blood, was destined never again to be occupied as the residence of a king of France.

315. The Emigration of the Nobles. — It was immediately after the scenes of the Joyous Entry that the emigration or flight of the nobles beyond the frontiers of France became general. This action of the nobility changed the entire course and issue of the Revolution. "Had the French noblesse," says Lamartine, "but employed one-half the virtues and efforts they made to subdue the Revolution, in regulating it, the Revolution, although it changed the laws, would not have changed the monarchy."

The popular party at this stage of the revolutionary movement, we must bear in mind, had no desire of overturning the throne, but only of reforming abuses and checking the arbitrary exercise of royal authority. Had the nobles remained and worked to this end with the people, all this might have been easily and quickly accomplished, and the republic would never have been established.

To this unfortunate flight of the nobles is also to be attributed many of the worst crimes of the Revolutionists. It was the threat of foreign interference and invasion, instigated and

aided by the emigrant nobles, that, in the critical moments of the struggle, frenzied the people and incited them to the commission of those terrible excesses which so stain the records of the Revolution.

316. Nationalization of Church Property (Nov. 2, 1789); **the Civil Constitution of the Clergy** (July 12, 1790).—For two years following the Joyous Entry there was a comparative lull in the storm of the Revolution. The king was kept a close prisoner in the Tuileries. The National Assembly was making sweeping reforms both in State¹⁸ and Church, and busying itself in framing a new constitution.

One of the most important and far-reaching in its effects of its measures was the confiscation to the state of the property of the Church. Altogether, property consisting largely of lands, and worth it is estimated over a billion francs, was by decree made the property of the nation.¹⁹

The nationalization of the property of the Church rendered it necessary that the nation should make some provision for the support of the clergy. This was done a little later by a decree known as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.²⁰ The decree provided for a new division of France into archbishoprics, bishoprics, and parishes, and for the support of all ministers of religion by reasonable salaries paid by the nation. All the clergy, bishops and parish priests alike, were to be chosen

¹⁸ In the interest of uniformity and simplicity the ancient provinces, the outgrowth of historical circumstances, were abolished, and France, including Corsica, was divided into eighty-three departments, these into districts, the districts into cantons, and the cantons into municipalities. At the same time all the old administrative and judicial machinery was swept away, and in its place were created local courts, popular boards, and elective magistrates.

¹⁹ It being found impossible to sell at once and at fair prices so large an amount of real estate, the Assembly, using the nationalized lands as security, issued against them currency notes, called *assignats*. The first issue of this paper money was made in December, 1789. As almost always happens in such cases, inflation of the currency resulted. Fresh issues of notes were made until they became quite worthless, as in the case of the Continental notes issued by the Continental Congress in the American War of Independence.

²⁰ See "Sources" at end of chapter.

by election, and all were to be required to take oath to support the new constitution.

Naturally this conversion of the Church in France into an established national Church created a schism in the nation. Out of a hundred and thirty-four bishops only four would take the prescribed oath. From this time on a large section of the French clergy became the bitter enemies of the Revolution.

317. The Flight of the King (June 20, 1791). — The attempt of the king to escape from the Tuileries now gave an entirely new turn to the course of the Revolution.

The emigrant nobles beyond the French frontiers, and their sympathizers, who were closely watching the development of events at Paris, could make no move for fear lest the excitable Parisian mob, upon any hostile demonstration, would massacre the whole royal family. Could the king only escape from the hands of his captors and make his way beyond the borders of France, then he could place himself at the head of the emigrant nobles, and with foreign aid overturn the National Assembly and crush the Revolutionists. The flight was resolved upon and carefully planned. Under cover of night the entire royal family in disguise escaped from the Tuileries, and by post conveyance fled towards the frontier. When just a few hours more would have placed the fugitives in safety among friends, the Bourbon features of the king betrayed him, and the entire party was arrested. The bribes and commands of the king, the tears and entreaties of the queen, availed nothing. All were carried back to Paris.

The attempted flight of the royal family was a fatal blow to the monarchy. It deepened the growing distrust of the king. Many affected to regard it as equivalent on his part to an act of abdication. The people began to talk of a republic. The word was only whispered as yet; but it was not long before those who did not shout vociferously, "*Vive la République!*" were hurried to the guillotine.

318. The Clubs : Jacobins and Cordeliers. — In order to render intelligible the further course of the Revolution we must now speak of two clubs, or organizations, which came into prominence about this time, and which were destined to become more powerful than the Assembly itself, and to be the chief instruments in inaugurating the Reign of Terror. These were the societies of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. The objects of these clubs were to watch for conspiracies of the royalists, by constant agitation to keep alive the flame of the Revolution, and by every means to further the popular cause.

The Jacobin club was so called from an old convent in which the first meetings of the society were held. Its membership at first was composed almost exclusively of deputies of the National Assembly, but soon it came to embrace besides these many of the revolutionary chiefs of Paris. Its most conspicuous member was Robespierre. Branch societies were formed in all the great cities throughout France, and in time the organization grew into a most formidable political power, and assumed to direct and control the Revolution.

The Cordeliers were named after a Franciscan convent, where their assemblies were held. Their most prominent leaders were Danton, Marat, and Camille Desmoulins, a noted journalist. The Cordeliers were radical democrats, of whom many, as events progressed, became communists. They were at this time far more extreme in their views and proposals than the Jacobins, but in the progress of the Revolution the Jacobins came to surpass them in revolutionary violence.

319. The New Constitution. — The work of the National Assembly was now drawing to a close. On the 14th of September, 1791, the new constitution framed by the body, which instrument made the government of France a constitutional monarchy, was solemnly ratified by the king. The National Assembly, having sat over two years, then adjourned (Sept. 30, 1791). The first scene in the drama of the French Revolution was ended.

III. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (Oct. 1, 1791–Sept. 19, 1792)

320. The Membership of the Assembly ; the Constitutionalists and the Girondins. — The new constitution ²¹ provided for a national legislature to be called the Legislative Assembly. The election for delegates to this new body had been held before the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, and the day following that event the new deputies convened at Paris.

By what was a sort of self-denying ordinance the old Assembly had excluded all of its members from sitting in the new body. As a result it was made up of men inexperienced in the conduct of national affairs. The youthful appearance of the members also caused remark ; there was scarcely a single white head to be seen in the Assembly.

The Assembly, comprising seven hundred and forty-five deputies, was made up of several groups or parties, of which we need here notice only the Feuillants or Constitutionalists and the Girondins.

The Constitutionalists, as their name implies, supported the new constitution, being in favor of a limited monarchy.

The Girondins, so called from the department (the Gironde) whence their most noted leaders came, wanted to establish in France a federal republic ²² like the commonwealth just set up in the New World. The most conspicuous leader of this group was Vergniaud, a matchless orator ; or rather their leader was a woman, — Madame Roland, the wife of the celebrated minister. In her drawing-room were held the meetings of the chiefs of the Girondins, and the influence over them of this gifted woman was unbounded.

321. The Temper of the Assembly. — Some seemingly trivial matters will serve to illustrate the spirit of the new Assembly.

²¹ All the important decrees of which we have spoken, which had been issued from time to time by the National Assembly, formed part of the constitution.

²² The father of this idea of a French federal republic was the Girondin Brissot.

At the very outset the members were very much perplexed in regard to how they should address the king and "wound neither the national dignity nor the royal dignity." Some were for using the titles Sire and Majesty, against which others indignantly protested, declaring that "the Law and the People are the only *Majesty*." It was finally decided that Louis XVI should be called simply King of the French.

Another thing which troubled the republican members was the gilded throne in which the king was wont to sit when he visited the Assembly. It was resolved that this article should be removed and an ordinary chair substituted for it, this to be placed *in exact line* with that occupied by the president of the Assembly.

Again there were objections raised to the ceremony of the members rising and standing uncovered in the king's presence. So it was decreed that the members might sit before royalty with their hats on.

The members of the Assembly were at first much irritated by some imagined lack of reverence shown them by the king, who kept them waiting for the royal address; but finally the king appeared in the chamber and made a sensible and soothing speech, so that hope and confidence seemed again to find a place in all hearts. The hope expressed by the Constituent Assembly appeared to have been realized, and France to be regenerated. Festivities everywhere throughout the gay capital were the tokens of joy and reconciliation. But the tranquillity of the moment was only the delusive lull in which the tempest gathers strength for a fresh outbreak of its fury.

322. Beginning of War with the Old Monarchies (April 20, 1792).—The kings of Europe were watching with the utmost concern the course of events in France. They regarded the cause of Louis XVI as their own. If the French people should be allowed to overturn the throne of their hereditary sovereign, who any longer would have respect for the divine right of kings?

Hence among the representatives of the ancient European dynasties there was soon formed the resolution that the revolutionary movement in France, a movement threatening all aristocratic and monarchic institutions and causing moreover dangerous ferment among their own subjects, should be crushed, and that these heretical French doctrines respecting the sovereignty of the people and the rights of man should be proved false by the power of royal armies.

The warlike preparations of Austria, which had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia, awakened the apprehensions of the Revolutionists, and led the Legislative Assembly to declare war against that power (April 20, 1792). A little later the allied armies of the Austrians and Prussians, numbering more than a hundred thousand men, and made up in part of French emigrant nobles, passed the frontiers of France. The forces of the Assembly were intrusted to the command of Lafayette, Rochambeau, and Luckner. Thus were taken the first steps in a series of wars which were destined to last nearly a quarter of a century, and in which France almost single-handed was to struggle against the leagued powers of Europe and to illustrate the miracles possible to enthusiasm and genius.

323. The Massacre of the Swiss Guards (Aug. 10, 1792).—The allies at first gained easy victories over the ill-disciplined forces of the Legislative Assembly, and the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the Prussian army, advanced rapidly upon Paris. An insolent proclamation which this general now issued (July 25, 1792), wherein he ordered the French nation to submit to their king, and threatened the Parisians with the destruction of their city should any harm be done the royal family, drove the French people frantic with indignation and rage.

The first outbreak of the popular fury occurred in Paris. The hordes of the capital were swollen by the arrival of bands of picked men from other parts of France. From the south came the "six hundred Marseillais who knew how to die."

They brought with them "a better contingent than ten thousand pikemen," — the Marseillaise Hymn, the martial song of the Revolution.²³ The stirring anthems of Tyrtæus did not more for the Spartans in their struggle with the Messenians than did this hymn for the French Revolutionists in their struggle with despotism.

On the morning of the 10th of August the hordes of the forty-eight sections of Paris were mustered. The Palace of the Tuileries, defended by several hundred Swiss soldiers, the remnant of the royal guard, was assaulted. The royal family fled for safety to the hall of the Assembly near by. A terrible struggle followed in the corridors and upon the grand stairways of the palace. The Swiss stood "steadfast as the granite of their Alps." But they were overwhelmed at last, and all were killed, either in the building itself or in the surrounding courts and streets.²⁴

324. The Massacre of September ("Jail Delivery"). — The events of the 10th of August hastened the steps of the Revolution. The Legislative Assembly resolved that a national convention should be called for the 21st of September to revise the constitution. Meanwhile the king was suspended from the exercise of royal authority, and with his family committed as a prisoner to the Temple, formerly the headquarters of the order of the Templars.

The army of the allies hurried on towards the capital to avenge the slaughter of the royal guards and to rescue the king. The rapid advance of the enemy alarmed the Revolutionists. That the invaders might receive no aid from royalists

²³ This famous war song was composed in 1792 by Rouget de Lisle, a young French engineer.

²⁴ The number of Swiss guards slain was about eight hundred. Their loyalty and devotion is commemorated by one of the most impressive monuments in Europe, the so-called "Lion of Lucerne," at Lucerne in Switzerland. In a large recess in a cliff a dying lion, pierced by a lance, protects with its paw the Bourbon lilies. The wonderfully lifelike figure is cut out of the natural rock. The designer of the memorial was the celebrated Danish sculptor, Thorvaldsen.

within, all persons suspected of sympathizing with the king were seized and hurried to prison by the revolutionary Municipality of Paris.²⁵ The convents and jails of the capital were crowded with aristocrats and other supposed enemies of the Revolution.²⁶

Soon came news that the allies had invested the city of Verdun. Paris was all excitement. "We must stop the enemy," cried Danton, "by striking terror into the royalists." To this end the most atrocious measures were now adopted. The royalists and friends of the royalists confined in the jails of the capital were murdered. Marat and Danton were more or less responsible for the horrible crime. A hundred or more men killed the prisoners, who after a hasty examination before self-appointed judges were handed over to the executioners. The first victims were the unfortunate priests who had refused to take oath to support the new constitution. The friends of the king and other opposers of the new order of things followed them.

When the assassins grew weary, refreshments were brought them, — "bread and wine for the laborers who were delivering the nation from its enemies." Refreshed by the bread and the wine, they resumed their work of emancipating France.

The number of victims of this terrible "September Massacre," as it is called, is estimated at from eight to fourteen hundred. Europe had never before known such a "jail delivery." It was the greatest crime of the French Revolution. It is asserted that not more than two hundred ruffians took actual part in the massacre. But thousands more became accessories by cheering on the "laborers," and a still larger part of the population of the city became participators in

²⁵ This was a body of men who on the 10th of August had superseded the elected Municipality.

²⁶ Lafayette had hoped to save the king; but his arbitrary and illegal acts brought him into conflict with the Legislative Assembly, and he was obliged to flee for his life. He escaped across the frontier, and was arrested by the Austrians, who held him as a prisoner for four years.

their guilt by irresolutely acquiescing in the deed or afterwards justifying it. "Had they been allowed to live," was the very general comment, "they would have murdered us in a few days." The Legislative Assembly might doubtless have put a stop to the assassinations, had its leaders really been desirous of doing so.²⁷ The Municipality of Paris unequivocally indorsed the deed. The books of that body exhibit to this day as one item of expenditure at this time the sum of fourteen hundred and sixty-three livres paid the assassins for their labors.

325. Effects of the September Massacre. — The first effect of this massacre was to produce like scenes throughout the country. The provinces, as in the case of the storming of the Bastille, followed the example of the capital, and ruthless massacres took place in many of the cities of France.

A second effect, and the one which it was the aim of the instigators of the crime to produce, was to cower all opposition to the Revolution. The following case lights up vividly the situation. A woman of noble family sought the advice of a republican friend as to what she should do to insure the safety of herself and three young sons.²⁸ "Send all three to the front as volunteers," he said; "no one will dare attack you in Paris with your sons on the frontier, and there they will be safe." The advice was taken and the ranks of the volunteers on their way to the frontier were filled with young nobles who went to expiate the misfortune of their birth by their bravery on the frontier, and by their courage there protected their relatives at home."²⁹

326. Defeat of the Allies. — After the flight of Lafayette³⁰ the supreme command of the French army of the North was given

²⁷ It is worthy of note that at the time of the massacre the Assembly was in conflict with the Municipality of Paris, and that the events of July and August had called into existence a strong republican sentiment.

²⁸ The woman was Madame Colbert, and the friend whose counsel she sought was Barère, one of the most prominent of the revolutionary leaders.

²⁹ Stephens, *A History of the French Revolution*, vol. ii, p. 153.

³⁰ See par. 324, note 26.

to General Dumouriez, who was successful in checking the advance of the enemy, and finally at Valmy (Sept. 20, 1792) succeeded in inflicting upon them a repulse, which caused their hasty retreat beyond the frontiers of France. The day of this victory the Legislative Assembly came to an end, and the same day the National Convention gathered.

IV. THE NATIONAL CONVENTION (Sept. 20, 1792—Oct. 26, 1795)

327. Parties in the Convention.—The Convention, consisting of seven hundred and forty-nine deputies, among whom was the celebrated freethinker, Thomas Paine, embraced two active groups,³¹ the Girondins and the Mountainists, the latter being so named from the circumstance that they sat on the upper benches in the Assembly hall. There were no monarchists; all were republicans. No one dared to speak of a monarchy.

It was the Mountainists who were to shape the measures of the Convention. Their leaders were Danton and Robespierre, deputies of Paris. The party was inferior in numbers to that of the Girondins, but was superior in energy and daring, and was moreover backed by the Parisian mob. Its leaders wanted a strong government, which they believed must be maintained, if necessary, by a system of terror. They were resolved not only on the formation of a unified republic, but also upon the death of the king.

328. The Establishment of the Republic (Sept. 21, 1792): **Beginning of the Revolutionary Propaganda.**—Almost the first act of the Convention was to abolish the monarchy. The motion for the abolition of royalty was not even discussed. "What need is there for discussion," exclaimed a delegate, "where all are agreed? Courts are the hotbed of crime, the

³¹ There was a third group, comprising the great majority of the deputies, and known as the Plain or Marsh, who had no well formulated policy, and who acted sometimes with the Girondins and sometimes with the Mountainists.

focus of corruption ; the history of kings is the martyrology of nations."

A "stentorian trumpeter" was deputed to proclaim the decree of the Convention beneath the Temple tower, where the royal family were confined. The king was reading, heard the decree, for the dead alone could be deaf to that republican trumpet, but "did not lift his eyes from his book." Thus fell royalty in France, amidst the "utmost enthusiasm."

All titles of nobility were also abolished. Every one was to be addressed simply as *citizen*. In the debates of the Convention the king was alluded to as Citizen Capet, and on the street the shoeblick was called Citizen Shoeblick. "The very playing cards were no longer made with kings, queens, and knaves, but with liberties, equalities, and fraternities of the different suits."³²

The day following the establishment of the Republic (Sept. 22, 1792) was made the beginning of a new era, the first day of the YEAR I. That was to be regarded as the natal day of Liberty. A little later (November 18), excited by the success of the French armies, — the Austrians and Prussians had been beaten, and Savoy and Nice and the Austrian Netherlands occupied,³³ — the Convention called upon all nations to rise against despotism, and pledged the aid of France to any people wishing to secure freedom.

This call to the peoples of Europe to rise against their kings and to set up republican governments converted the revolutionary movement in France into a propaganda, and naturally made more implacable than ever the hatred toward the Revolution felt by all lovers and beneficiaries of the old order of things. The declaration was a main cause of the fresh coalition formed against the new Republic and of the war of 1793.

³² Stephens, *A History of the French Revolution*, vol. ii, p. 250.

³³ A few weeks later all these provinces were made a part of the French Republic.

329. Trial and Execution of the King (Jan. 21, 1793). — The next work of the Convention was the trial and execution of the king. On the 11th of December, 1792, he was brought before the bar of that body, charged with having conspired with the enemies of France, of having opposed the will of the people, and of having caused the massacre of the 10th of August.

The proceedings were the mockery of a trial. Among the Girondins the unhappy king found a few defenders; but the threats of the Mountainist leaders within, and the howlings of the mob without, sealed his fate. "What have not the friends of Liberty to fear," cried Robespierre, "when they see the ax unsteady in our grasp. . . . The last proof of devotion which we owe to our country is to stifle in our hearts every sentiment of sensibility."

The sentence of the Convention was immediate death. On Jan. 21, 1793, the unfortunate monarch, after a last sad interview with his wife and children, was conducted to the scaffold. Upon his attempting to address the people, his voice was drowned with the roll of drums, and the executioner quickly pushed his neck beneath the knife of the guillotine. "Son of St. Louis," exclaimed his faithful confessor, "ascend to Heaven." The knife flashed through its grooves, and the head of Louis XVI was severed from his body. "*Vive la République!*" burst from the surrounding multitudes, and echoed through the empty halls of the neighboring Palace of the Tuileries.

330. Coalition against France. — The regicide, together with the November decree of the preceding year, awakened the most bitter hostility against the French Revolutionists among all the old monarchies of Europe. The act was interpreted as a threat against all kings. A grand coalition, embracing England, Austria, Prussia, the Protestant Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Tuscany, Naples, and the Holy Roman Empire, was formed to crush the republican movement.

Armies aggregating more than a quarter of a million of men threatened France at once on every frontier.

To meet all these dangers which threatened the life of the newborn Republic, the Convention ordered a levy, which placed three hundred thousand men in the field. The stirring Marseillaise Hymn, sung by the marching bands, awakened everywhere a martial fervor.

While thus beset with foes without, the Republic was threatened with even more dangerous enemies within. The people of La Vendée, in Western France, where the peasants were angered at the conscription decree of the Convention, and where there was still a strong sentiment of loyalty to the Church and the monarchy, rose in revolt against the sweeping innovations of the Revolutionists.

Leaving the armies of the Revolution fighting insurrection within and invasion on the frontiers, we must now turn to watch the movement of events at the capital.

331. Creation of the Revolutionary Tribunal (March 10, 1793) **and of the Committee of Public Safety** (April 6, 1793). — The defeat of the French armies in the north and the advance of the allies caused the greatest excitement among the Parisian populace, who now demanded that the Convention should overawe the domestic enemies of the Revolution by the establishment of a judicial dictatorship, a sort of tribunal which should take cognizance of all crimes against the Republic.

In denouncing the proposed tribunal a prominent deputy exclaimed, "Better die than consent to the establishment of such a Venetian inquisition." "It is," cried another, "to enable men to murder innocence under the shadow of law." On the other hand, Danton, while acknowledging the injustice that its summary processes might do to many unjustly suspected, justified its establishment by arguing that in time of peace society lets the guilty escape rather than harm the innocent; but in times of public danger it should rather strike down the innocent than allow the guilty to escape. It was

on this principle that France was to be governed for one terrible year.

A little later was organized what was called the Committee of Public Safety, consisting of nine persons, members of the Convention. It was invested with dictatorial power. Danton, who became the leading member of the committee, urged the formation of this arbitrary executive body as the only expedient which would enable the nation to act with that dispatch and energy needful to save the Republic. "We must establish a despotism of liberty," cried Marat, "to crush the despotism of kings." The vast powers wielded by the committee were delegated to it only for a single month, but were renewed from month to month.

We must bear in mind the character of these two bodies in order to follow intelligently the subsequent events of the Revolution, and to understand how the atrocious tyranny of the Reign of Terror was exercised and maintained. Never did Revolution have placed in its hands two more perfect and terrible instruments of despotism. The Committee of Public Safety contained the germ of a Roman triumvirate, and the Revolutionary Tribunal that of a Spanish inquisition.

332. The Fall of the Girondins (June 2, 1793).—Still gloomier tidings came from every quarter, — news of reverses to the armies of the Republic in front of the allies, and of successes of the counter-revolutionists in La Vendée. The Mountainists in the Convention, supported by the rabble of Paris, urged the most extreme measures. They proposed that the carriages of the wealthy should be seized and used for carrying soldiers to the seat of war, and that the expenses of the government should be met by forced contributions from the rich.

The moderate party in the Convention opposed these communistic measures, and likened Paris to ancient Rome, in aspiring to rule over subject provinces. The Jacobins, in their clubs, denounced the Girondins as responsible, through

their irresolute, halfway measures, for all the dangers that surrounded the Republic. The Parisian mob filled the city with cries of "Down with the Girondins!" "If the person of the people's representative be violated," warningly exclaimed one of the Girondin orators, "Paris will be destroyed, and soon the stranger will be compelled to inquire on which bank of the Seine the city stood."

The Girondins were finally overborne. An immense mob, including the National Guards of Paris, surrounded the hall of the Convention (June 2, 1793) and demanded that their chiefs be given up as enemies of the Republic. Thirty-one of their leaders were surrendered and placed under arrest, a preliminary step to the speedy execution of many of them during the opening days of the Reign of Terror, which was now near at hand.

Thus did the Parisian mob purge the National Convention of France, as the army purged Parliament in the English Revolution (par. 205).

333. Charlotte Corday: Assassination of Marat (July 13, 1793).—The arrest of the Girondin chiefs marks a turning point in the Revolution. Several escaped, and attempted to stir up revolt in the provinces against the revolutionary leaders in Paris. Civil war was impending.

At this juncture a maiden of Caen, in Normandy, Charlotte Corday by name, conceived the idea of delivering France from the terrors of proscription and civil war by going to Paris and killing Marat, whom she regarded as the leader of the Mountainists. On pretense of wishing to reveal to him something of importance concerning the Girondins at Caen, she gained admission to his rooms and stabbed him fatally. She atoned for the act under the knife of the guillotine.

The enthusiasm of Charlotte Corday had led her to believe that the death of Marat would be a fatal blow to the power of the Mountainists. But it only served to drive them to still greater excesses. She died to stanch the flow of her country's

blood ; but, as Lamartine says, “ her poniard appeared to have opened the veins of France.” The prophetic Vergniaud, the eloquent chief of the Girondins, when intelligence of the deed and of the fate of the maiden was brought to him in his prison, said, “ She destroys us ; but she teaches us how to die.” Soon enough were they to be called upon to show how well they had learned the lesson.

The Reign of Terror (September,³⁴ 1793–July, 1794)

334. The Great Committee of Public Safety; its Principle of Government. — The perilous situation created by domestic insurrection and foreign invasion demanded a strong executive. It was created. The Convention reorganized the Committee of Public Safety, which now became what is known as the Great Committee of Public Safety, suspended the Constitution, and invested the new board with supreme executive authority. For almost a full year the twelve men — of whom Robespierre was the most conspicuous — constituting this body exercised absolute power over the life and property of every person in France.³⁵

The Committee's principle of government was simple. It governed by terror.³⁶ Its rule is known as the “Reign of

³⁴ The beginning of the Reign of Terror cannot be dated with precision.

³⁵ The instruments through which the Great Committee worked were: (1) a Committee of General Security; (2) representatives on mission, that is, persons armed with unlimited authority and sent into the provinces to crush opposition and maintain order; and (3) the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris and similar ones set up in other cities.

Many of the condemnations of the Revolutionary Tribunal took place under a remarkable law known as the Law of the Suspects, which authorized the arrest and trial of any person *suspected* of being unfriendly to the new order of things. Another statute known as the Law of the Maximum subjected to the death penalty any person selling necessary articles of food at a higher price than that fixed by law. See Stephens, *A History of the French Revolution*, vol. ii, chaps. x and xi.

³⁶ It is illuminative to set the principle of government of the Terrorists in contrast with that of one of the most lovable of the Girondins. “They have

Terror." The history of the period is a repetition of the history of the period of the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla in ancient Rome.

In order to understand in any measure this passage of French history, we must put ourselves at the viewpoint of the Terrorists, as those responsible for the Terror are called. The most, if not all, of the men constituting the Great Committee were men of character, — some of their agents were unworthy creatures, who, misusing their authority, committed incredible crimes, — men governed by certain principles and ideals which seemed to them right and worthy. In the words of Professor Shailer Mathews, "They were seekers after order, and not after anarchy." They were men who had persuaded themselves that opposition to the Revolution was a crime deserving death, and that France could be saved from anarchy and foreign subjection only by the quick and thorough suppression of all opposition at home by the terrifying executions of the guillotine. For the same reasons the majority of the people of France acquiesced in this government by terror which the Committee established.

335. The Execution of Marie Antoinette (Oct. 16, 1793). — One of the earliest victims of the guillotine under the organized Terror was the queen. The attention of the Revolutionists had been turned anew to the remaining members of the royal family by reason of the recognition by the allies of the dauphin as king of France,³⁷ and by the more recent alarming successes of their armies.

The queen, who had now borne nine months' imprisonment, was brought before the terrible Revolutionary Tribunal and

sought to effect the Revolution by terror," said the great orator Vergniaud; "I have wished to effect it by love." See Stephens, *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution*, vol. i, p. 32.

³⁷ The dauphin, a mere child of eight years, was recognized as king of France by several of the great powers in January, 1793. He was at this time a prisoner in the Temple. He died in 1795, his death having been caused or at least hastened by the brutal ill usage he received at the hands of his jailers.

condemned to the guillotine. She was conveyed in a common cart to the same spot where, less than a year before, her husband had suffered. When she first appeared in the chamber of the dread tribunal, with her robes disordered, her hair blanched from anguish, and her face furrowed with sorrow, — so changed from that fair vision of beauty once the center of the brilliant court of Versailles,³⁸ — a wave of pity had rushed over the hearts of all beholders; but the rising tide of sentiment had been checked, and now a hideous mob of men and women howled with savage delight around the cart which bore the unhappy queen to the scaffold.

We need not speak of the faults of Marie Antoinette, though they were many; her patience, her heroism, and her sufferings were ample atonement for them all.

336. Execution of the Girondins (Oct. 31, 1793) and of Madame Roland (Nov. 8, 1793). — The guillotine was now fed daily with the best blood of France. Two weeks after the execution of the queen, twenty of the chiefs of the Girondins, who had been kept in confinement since their arrest in the Convention, were pushed beneath the knife. Philippe Égalité, Duke of Orléans, who the people thought had designs upon the throne, was next executed. Hundreds of others followed.

Most illustrious of all the victims after the queen was Madame Roland, who was accused of being the friend of the Girondins. Woman has always acted a prominent part in the great events of French history, because the grand ideas and sentiments which have worked so powerfully upon the imaginative and impulsive temperament of the men of France, have appealed with a still more fatal attraction to her more romantic and generously enthusiastic nature.

³⁸ "It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in, — glittering like the morning star, full of life and splendor and joy." — BURKE, *Reflections on the French Revolution*.

An incident at the scaffold is always related as a memorial of the patriotic Madame Roland. As she was about to lay her head beneath the knife, her eye, it is said, chanced to fall upon the statue of Liberty which stood near the scaffold. "O Liberty!" she exclaimed; "what crimes are committed in thy name!"

It has ever been so. The worst crimes that soil the pages of history have been committed in the name of that which is holiest, — in the name of Liberty, or of Justice, or of Religion.

337. The New Calendar. — While the Revolutionary Tribunal was clearing out of the way the enemies of the Republic by the quick processes of the guillotine, the Convention was busy reforming the ancient institutions and customs of the land. They hated these as having been established by kings and aristocrats to enhance their own importance and power, and to enslave the masses. They proposed to sweep these things all aside and give the world a fresh start.

A new uniform system of weights and measures, known as the metric, had already been planned by the National Assembly; a new mode of reckoning time was now introduced. The first of these reforms — that respecting weights and measures — was a most admirable one, and must be named among the good and lasting results of the Revolution. That regarding the division of time did not survive the innovating spirit of the age that conceived it. The date of the era had already been changed. It was the divisions of the year that the reformers now attacked. They wished to divide the year into ten parts; but, since the moon makes twelve revolutions in a year instead of ten, this arrangement could not be effected. Not being able to change the number of the months, they altered their names, giving them titles expressive of the character of each. Thus the winter months were named Snowy, Rainy, Windy; the spring months, Buddy, Flowery, Meadowy, and so on through the list.³⁹

³⁹ The French names were as follows, beginning with the first autumn month, as in the new system September 22 marked the opening of the year:

Each month was divided into three periods of ten days each, called *decades*, and each day into ten parts. The tenth day of each decade took the place of the old Sabbath. The five odd days not provided for in the arrangement were made festival days to Genius, Labor, Noble Actions, Reward, and Opinion. During this last festival everybody was to be perfectly free to say or write whatever he pleased about magistrates and all persons holding public positions.

338. Attempt to abolish Christianity (Nov. 7, 1793).—The old calendar having been abolished, the Revolutionists next proceeded to abolish Christianity.

Straightway after the execution of the queen, the Convention had ordered that the tombs of the kings of France at St. Denis should be destroyed. A wild Parisian mob hastened to execute the decree of the Assembly. The sepulchers were broken open and their ashes scattered to the winds. The iconoclastic delirium spread throughout the country, and everywhere the monuments of the past that in any way recalled royalty or nobility were overturned and broken in fragments.

With royalty on earth destroyed, the Revolutionists next attacked the sovereignty of Heaven. Some of the chiefs of the Commune of Paris declared that the Revolution should not rest until it had “dethroned the King of Heaven as well as the kings of earth.”

An attempt was made by the extremists to have Christianity abolished by a decree of the National Convention; but that body, fearing such an act might alienate many who were still attached to the Church, resolved that all matters of creeds should be left to the decision of the people themselves.

The atheistic chiefs of the Commune of the capital now determined to effect their purpose through the Church itself. They persuaded the Bishop of Paris, Gobel by name, to

Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire, the fall months; Nivôse, Pluviôse, Ventôse, the winter months; Germinal, Floréal, Prairial, the spring months; Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor, the summer months.

abdicate his office ; and his example was followed by many of the clergy throughout the country.

The churches of Paris and of other cities were now closed, and the treasures of their altars and shrines confiscated to the state. Even the bells were melted down into cannon. The images of the Virgin and of the Christ were torn down, and the busts of Marat and other patriots set up in their stead. And as the emancipation of the world was now to be wrought not by the Cross, but by the guillotine, that instrument took the place of the crucifix, and was called the Holy Guillotine. In many places all visible symbols of the ancient religion were destroyed ; all emblems of hope in some cemeteries were obliterated, and over their gates were inscribed the words, " Death is eternal sleep."

339. Inauguration of the Worship of Reason (Nov. 10, 1793).—The madness of the people culminated in the worship of what was called the Goddess of Reason. The cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris was converted into a temple for the use of the new worship, which was inaugurated at the capital with a grand festival and procession. All the municipal authorities of the city participated in the ceremonies. A celebrated beauty, personating the Goddess of Reason, was set upon the altar as an object of homage and worship.

The example of Paris was followed generally throughout France. Churches were converted into temples of the new worship. The Sabbath having been abolished, the services of the temple were held only upon every tenth day. On that day the mayor or some popular leader mounted the altar and harangued the people, dwelling upon the news of the moment, the triumphs of the armies of the Republic, the glorious achievements of the Revolution, and the privilege of living in an era when one was oppressed neither by kings on earth nor by a King in Heaven.

340. Fall of Hébert and Danton (March and April, 1794).—Not many months of the Reign of Terror had passed before

the Revolutionists, having destroyed or driven into obscurity their common enemy, the Girondins and their sympathizers, turned upon one another with the ferocity of beasts whose appetite has been whetted by the taste of blood.

During the progress of events the Jacobins had become divided into three factions, headed respectively by Danton, Robespierre, and Hébert. Danton, though he had been a bold and audacious leader,⁴⁰ was now adopting a more conservative tone, and was condemning as no longer necessary the government by terror which was being maintained by the Great Committee of Public Safety.

Hébert was one of the worst demagogues of the Commune of Paris, the chief and instigator of the Parisian rabble. He was the editor of a vile and blasphemous sheet, called *Père Duchesne*, the most audacious and inflammatory of the innumerable newspapers and pamphlets which appeared during the Reign of Terror. He and his followers, the sans-culottes of the capital, would overturn everything and refound society upon communism and atheism.

Robespierre occupied a position midway between these two, condemning alike the moderatism of Danton and the atheistic communism of Hébert. To make his own power supreme he resolved to crush both.

Hébert and his party were the first to fall, Danton and his adherents working with Robespierre to bring about their ruin. The head of Hébert fell amidst the jeers and hisses of the inconstant multitude that only a few days before were exalting him almost to divinity (March 24, 1794).

Danton and his friends were the next to follow. Little more than a week had passed since the execution of Hébert before Robespierre had effected their destruction, on the charge of encouraging and conspiring with the counter-revolutionists. The last words of Danton to the executioner were, "Show

⁴⁰ Danton was a member of the first Committee of Public Safety, but not of the second.

my head to the people ; they do not see the like every day." The grim request was granted, and the head was held aloft to the view of the multitude, who had climbed upon wagons and temporary stands to witness the spectacle. At the sight of the reeking head of their late favorite, the fickle crowd applauded tumultuously.

With the anarchists and moderates both destroyed, Robespierre was now supreme. His ambition was attained. "He stood alone on the awful eminence of the Holy Mountain." But his turn was soon to come.

341. Worship of the Supreme Being. — One of the first acts of Robespierre after he had freed himself from his most virulent enemies was to give France a new religion in place of the worship of Reason. Robespierre wished to sweep away Christianity as a superstition, but he would stop at deism. He did not believe that a state could be founded on atheism. "If God did not exist," he declared, "it would behoove man to invent him."

In a remarkable address entitled "On Morality and Religion," delivered before the Convention on the 7th of May, 1794, Robespierre eloquently defended the doctrines of God and immortality, and then closed his speech by offering for adoption by the Convention this decree: "(1) The French people recognize the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul ; (2) they recognize that the worship most worthy of the Supreme Being is the practice of the duties of man ; and (3) they put in the first rank of these duties to detest bad faith and tyranny, to punish tyrants and traitors, to rescue the unfortunate, to defend the oppressed, to do to others all the good one can, and to be unjust towards none." ⁴¹

The Convention adopted the resolution with the "utmost enthusiasm." The Jacobins appeared by a committee before

⁴¹ Stephens, *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution*, vol. ii, p. 416.

the Assembly and thanked them for the grand decree. Similar congratulations came from all parts of France.

The churches which had been converted into temples of the Goddess of Reason were now consecrated to the new worship of the Supreme Being. A short time after the adoption of the decree by the Convention, an impressive ceremony, called the Festival of the Supreme Being, was celebrated at Paris. It was one of those magnificent fêtes in the arrangement of which the dramatic genius of the French is so splendidly displayed. .

342. The Culmination of the Terror at Paris (June and July, 1794). — At the same time that Robespierre was lauding the virtues and arranging fêtes in honor of the Supreme Being, the Great Committee of Public Safety, of which he was generally regarded as the controlling spirit, was ruling France by a terrorism unparalleled since the most frightful days at Rome. All the popular clubs had been suppressed save those of the Jacobins, through which the Committee kept itself in touch with the masses. The Revolutionary Tribunal had been entirely unhampered in its modes of procedure, and "moral conviction" on the part of the judges of the guilt of a person was all that was necessary upon which to ground a verdict of death.⁴² The Convention, affrighted by the monster it had itself brought forth, was cowering before it.

With all power thus gathered in its hands, the Committee proceeded to overawe all opposition and dissent by the wholesale slaughters of the guillotine. The prisons of Paris and of the departments were filled with suspected persons, until two hundred thousand prisoners were crowded into these republican Bastilles. At Paris the dungeons were emptied of their victims and room made for fresh ones by the swift processes of the Revolutionary Tribunal, which in mockery of justice caused the prisoners to be brought before its bar in companies

⁴² The decree to accelerate the procedure of the tribunal was passed June 10, 1794.

of ten or fifty or more. The public prosecutor, named Fouquier-Tinville, was a perfect demon. Often a nod or wink from this infamous accuser was sufficient to produce in the minds of the judges the "moral conviction" which was all that was required to send the unfortunate victim to the scaffold. Rank or talent was an inexpiable crime. "Were you not a noble?" asked the president of the tribunal of one of the accused. "Yes," was the reply. "Enough; another," was the judge's verdict. And so on through the long list each day brought before the court.

Carts were in waiting at the doors of this "Palace of Justice" to carry its victims to the scaffold. A bulletin containing a list of the condemned was issued each day by the tribunal, and the trembling prisoners in the various places of detention could hear the cries of the newsboys beneath their windows: "Here are the names of those who have drawn prizes in the lottery of St. Guillotine."

The scenes about the guillotine seem mirrored from the "Inferno" of Dante. Benches were arranged around the scaffold and rented to spectators, like seats in a theater. A special drain had to be constructed to carry off the blood of the victims. The market women of Paris, the same women who had made the march to Versailles in the opening days of the Revolution, and who were now known as "the Furies of the Guillotine," busied themselves with their knitting while watching the changing scenes of the bloody spectacle. In the space of seven weeks (from June 10 to July 27) the number of persons guillotined at Paris was thirteen hundred and seventy-six, — an average of over twenty-eight a day.

343. The Terror in the Provinces. — While such was the frightful state of things at the capital, matters were even worse in several of the provinces. Some of the cities, including Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Toulon, which had been prominent centers of the counter-revolution incited by the arrest of the Girondins (par. 332), were made a terrible example of the vengeance of the Revolutionists. Lyons was to them

an object of special hatred. Respecting this place the Convention passed the following decree: "The city of Lyons shall be destroyed; every house occupied by a rich man shall be demolished; only the dwellings of the poor shall remain, with edifices specially devoted to industry, and monuments consecrated to humanity and public education."⁴³

The decree was in part actually carried into execution, one of the most aristocratic quarters of the city being pulled down. "In six months," says Taine, "the Republic expends fifteen millions [francs] in destroying property valued at three or four hundred millions belonging to the Republic. Since the Mongols of the fifth and thirteenth centuries, no such vast and irrational waste had been seen, — such frenzy against the most profitable fruits of industry and human civilization."⁴⁴

At Nantes, in the Vendéan district, the terror culminated. The agent here of the Great Committee was one Carrier, whose atrocities even far exceeded those of the infamous prosecutor at Paris. At first he caused his victims to be shot singly or to be guillotined; but finding these methods too slow and the disposal of the bodies laborious and expensive, he devised more expeditious and inexpensive modes of execution, which were known as *fusillades* (battues) and *noyades* (drownings). The *fusillades* consisted in gathering the victims in large companies and then mowing them down with cannon and musket. In the *noyades* a hundred or more persons were crowded into an old hulk, which was then towed out into the Loire and scuttled.

By these various methods Carrier succeeded in destroying upwards of five thousand persons in about four months. What renders these murders the more atrocious is the fact that a considerable number of the victims were women and children.

344. The Fall of Robespierre (July 28, 1794). — The Reign of Terror had lasted about nine months when a reaction came.

⁴³ Decree of Oct. 12, 1793.

⁴⁴ Taine, *The French Revolution*, vol. iii, p. 39.

The successes of the armies of the Republic, and the establishment of the authority of the Convention throughout the departments, caused the people to look upon the wholesale executions that were daily taking place as unnecessary and cruel. They began to turn with horror and pity from the scenes of the guillotine. The better feelings of the nation were gaining the mastery over the sinister passions that, under the incitement of danger and political fanaticism, had borne such fatal sway.

Robespierre was the first to be swept away by the reaction. He shared the growing feeling that the Terror should end as no longer necessary. He wished to bring in the Reign of Virtue. But his colleagues of the Great Committee opposed him. He was planning their proscription together with that of certain members of the Convention, when those whose lives were thus put in jeopardy combined against him and secured his arrest. The Jacobins and the rabble of Paris rallied their hordes and rescued their favorite from the hands of the officers. The enemies of Robespierre in the Convention, knowing that the death struggle had come, hastily decreed that he and all his adherents were enemies of the Republic, declared them outlaws, and summoned the National Guards to protect the representatives of the nation, and to retake Robespierre from the hands of his rescuers.

He was rearrested and the following day was sent to the guillotine, and along with him several of his friends and the greater part of the members of the Municipality of Paris. The people greeted the fall of Robespierre's head with demonstrations of unbounded joy. His execution marks the end of the Reign of Terror (July 28, 1794).

345. Effects of the Reign of Terror. — The effect of the Terror upon France was just what the Terrorists had aimed to produce. It effectually cowed all opposition at home to the Revolution, thereby preserving the unity of France and enabling her to push the foreign foe off from her soil.

Outside of France the effects of the rule by terror were most unfavorable to the true cause of the Revolutionists. It destroyed the illusions of generous souls, like Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey in England, and caused among the earlier sympathizers with the Revolutionists⁴⁵ a great revulsion of feeling. From being Liberals men became Conservatives and determined foes of all innovation and reform. The Revolution was discredited in the eyes of its best friends. It became identified in men's minds with atheism and terrorism, and to the present hour in the minds of many the French Revolution suggests nothing save foul blasphemies and guillotine horrors.

346. The Reaction. — The reaction which had swept away Robespierre and his associates continued after their fall. There was a general demand for the punishment of the Terrorists. The clubs of the Jacobins were closed, and that infamous society which had rallied and directed the hideous rabbles of the great cities was broken up. Carrier, the fiend of Nantes, was executed. The Girondin deputies yet alive who had been driven from their seats in the Convention were invited to resume their places. The Christian worship was once more recognized. The busts of Marat were thrown down, broken in pieces, and flung into the gutter.

These measures of the Convention did not fail of arousing the bitter opposition of the scattered forces of the Terrorists, but the better classes of the people rallied to the support of the Assembly, and dispersed the mobs that several times gathered threateningly around the building in which the Convention was sitting.

347. Successes of the French Arms. — Meanwhile the republican generals were making head against the armies of the allies round all the frontiers of France: in the south the French armies held possession of the passes of the Alps and the Pyrenees, and were ready to invade Italy and Spain; in the north

⁴⁵ Consult par. 310.

Belgium and Holland were overrun,⁴⁶ and the latter country made into a republic under the name of the Batavian Republic⁴⁷ (1795); upon the east the Austrian and Prussian armies had been pushed back and important territory gained.

These successes of the French armies, and the abandonment by the Convention of its earlier resolution to make all Europe republican (par. 328), led Prussia, Spain, and other states to make the Treaties of Basel with the Convention, in which they recognized the French Republic (1795).

348. Bonaparte defends the Convention (Oct. 5, 1795). — The Reign of Terror had illustrated the defects in the constitution of 1793, and the Convention now set about framing a new one, which provided for a stronger and more centralized government. There were to be two legislative bodies,⁴⁸ — the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients, the latter embracing two hundred and fifty members of not under forty-five years of age. The executive power was vested in a body called the Directory, consisting of five persons.

The Convention, fearing to surrender its authority into the hands of an entirely new assembly, had provided that two-thirds of the representatives in the new legislature should be chosen

⁴⁶ The battle of Fleurus (June 26, 1794), in which the French general Jourdan won a victory over the allied English and Austrian armies, was one of the most important engagements connected with the conquest of the Low Countries.

⁴⁷ The Dutch were very willing to be conquered. They welcomed the French army, being eager to try republican government. But their alliance with the French caused not only their commerce but their colonial possessions to become the prey of Great Britain. "Vigorous measures were at once taken [by her] for the seizure of the rich Dutch colonies in all parts of the world; and before the year 1795 closed there passed into the hands of Great Britain the Cape of Good Hope, Malacca, all the Dutch possessions on the continent of India, and the most important places in Ceylon, the whole island submitting in 1796. Besides these, other colonies were taken in the farther East and in the West Indies." — MAHAN, *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, vol. i, p. 170.

⁴⁸ The hasty and often ill-considered decrees of the Convention had shown the necessity of putting a check upon legislation by the creation of an upper and a lower house.

from the deputies of the old body. This displeased the Parisian mob. The sections of the turbulent capital again gathered their hordes, and on the 5th of October, 1795, a mob of forty thousand men, made up largely of the National Guards, advanced to the attack of the Tuileries, where the Convention was sitting. As the mob came on they were met by a "whiff of grape shot," which sent them flying back in wild disorder. The man who trained the guns was a young artillery officer, a native of the island of Corsica, — Napoleon Bonaparte.⁴⁹ The Revolution had at last brought forth a man of genius capable of controlling and directing its tremendous energies.

V. THE DIRECTORY (Oct. 27, 1795–Nov. 9, 1799)

349. The Republic becomes Aggressive. — A few weeks after the defense of the Convention by Bonaparte, that body, declaring its labors ended, closed its sessions, — it had presided over the destinies of France through three memorable years, — and immediately afterwards the Councils and the Directors provided for by the new constitution assumed control of affairs.

Under the Directory the Republic, which up to this time had been acting mainly on the defensive, very soon entered upon an aggressive policy. The Revolution having accomplished its work in France, having there destroyed royal despotism and abolished class privilege, now set itself about fulfilling its early promise of giving liberty to all peoples (par. 328). In a word, the Revolution became what has been called "an armed propaganda." France now exhibits what her historians call her social, her communicative genius. "Easily seduced herself," as Lamartine says, "she easily seduces others." She would make all Europe like unto herself. Herself a republic, she would make all nations republics.

⁴⁹ The Convention had intrusted its defense to the deputy Barras, who had selected Bonaparte as his lieutenant on account of the reputation he had made for himself at the siege of Toulon in 1793, when that port was recaptured from the English, to whom it had been opened by the citizens after the arrest of the Girondin deputies in Paris.

Had not the minds and hearts of the people in all the neighboring countries been prepared to welcome the new order of things, the Revolution could never have spread itself as widely as it did. But everywhere irrepressible longings for social and political equality and freedom, born of long oppression, were stirring the souls of men. The French armies were everywhere welcomed by the people as deliverers. Thus was France enabled to surround herself with a girdle of commonwealths. She conquered Europe not by her armies, but by her ideas. "An invasion of armies," says Victor Hugo, "can be resisted : an invasion of ideas cannot be resisted."

The republics established were indeed short-lived ; for the times were not yet ripe for the complete triumph of democratic ideas. But a great gain for freedom was made. The reëstablished monarchies, as we shall see later, never dared to make themselves as despotic as those which the Revolution had overturned.

350. The Plans of the Directory. — After the treaties entered into with the Convention by the several states mentioned above (par. 347), Austria and England were the only formidable powers that persisted in their hostility to the Republic. The Directors resolved to strike a decisive blow at the first of these implacable foes. To carry out their design, two large armies, numbering about seventy thousand each, were mustered upon the Middle Rhine, and intrusted to the command of the two young and energetic generals, Moreau and Jourdan, who were to make a direct invasion of Germany. A third army, numbering about forty-two thousand men, was assembled in the neighborhood of Nice, in Southeastern France, and placed in the hands of Bonaparte, to whom was assigned the work of driving the Austrians out of Italy. The brilliant achievements of the young Corsican so completely eclipsed the operations of the other two commanders that it is his movements alone which we will watch, simply noticing at the proper time the results of the German campaigns of Moreau and Jourdan.

351. Bonaparte's Italian Campaign (1796-1797).—Straightway upon receiving his command, Bonaparte, now in his twenty-seventh year, animated by visions of military glory to be gathered on the fields of Italy, hastened to join his army at Nice. He found the discontented soldiers almost without food or clothes. He at once aroused all their latent enthusiasm by one of those short, stirring addresses for which he afterwards became so famous. "Soldiers," said he, "you are badly fed and almost naked. . . . I have come to lead you into the most fertile fields of the world: there you will find large cities, rich provinces, honor, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy, will you fail in courage?"

If this address be placed alongside the decree of the Convention offering the aid of France to all peoples desiring freedom (par. 328), it will be realized with how alien a spirit Bonaparte here inspires the armies of republican France. He represents Italy to the imagination of the soldiers of the French Republic merely as a country of rich cities to be despoiled, as a land whence France may draw unlimited tribute. The address marks the beginning of that transformation which in a few years changed the liberating armies of France into the scourge of Europe.⁵⁰

Before the mountain roads were yet free from snow, Bonaparte set in motion his army, which he had assembled on the coast near Genoa, and suddenly forced the passage of the mountains at the juncture of the Apennines and the Maritime Alps. The Carthaginian had been surpassed. "Hannibal," exclaimed Bonaparte, "crossed the Alps; as for us, we have turned them."

This blow separated the Sardinian and Austrian armies. Within two weeks the Sardinians were completely defeated and forced to sue for peace.

Now followed a most astonishing series of French victories over the Austrians. What genius had accomplished in less

⁵⁰ See Lanfrey, *The History of Napoleon the First*, vol. i, p. 62.

than twelve months, and what greater things it still proposed to itself, may be learned best from Napoleon's address to the army after the fall of Mantua: "Soldiers, the capture of Mantua has put an end to the war of Italy. You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles and seventy actions; ⁵¹ you have taken one hundred thousand prisoners, five hundred field-pieces, two thousand heavy cannon, and four pontoon-trains. The contributions you have laid on the countries you have conquered have fed, maintained, and paid the army; besides which you have sent thirty million francs to the minister of finance for the use of the public treasury. You have enriched the Museum of Paris with three hundred masterpieces of ancient and modern Italy, which it had required thirty centuries to produce. You have conquered for the Republic the finest countries in Europe. The kings of Sardinia and Naples,⁵² the Pope, and the Duke of Parma are separated from the coalition. You have expelled the English from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corsica. Still higher destinies await you. You will prove yourselves worthy of them. Of all the foes who have combined to stifle our Republic in its birth, the Emperor alone remains."

The contributions in money mentioned as being exacted from the different states of Italy were a not unusual expedient of conquerors; but the demand which Napoleon made of these states for their chief works of art was a thing unheard of since the art robberies of the ancient Romans. Napoleon, like the *proprætor* Verres, had a taste for art, and all through his career he was constantly carrying masterpieces from the countries he conquered to France, to enrich the museums of

⁵¹ Among the noted engagements of the campaign were the battles of Lodi (May 10, 1796), Castiglione (Aug. 5, 1796), Arcola (Nov. 15-17, 1796), Rivoli (Jan. 14, 15, 1797), and the siege of Mantua (July, 1796-Feb., 1797).

⁵² King Ferdinand of Naples had sought and had been granted an armistice; the Pope had been forced to cede Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, to make a contribution of twenty million francs to the French treasury, and to give up many precious manuscripts and works of art.

the capital. His motives in this were both artistic and political. He thought that such trophies, while contributing to adorn an empire, also serve to inspire national pride and sentiment.⁵³

The higher destinies which Bonaparte assured his soldiers awaited them were the passage of the Alps and the meeting of the Austrians on their own soil. Of this the following paragraphs will tell.

As a result of Bonaparte's Italian campaign a considerable part of Northern Italy was formed into a commonwealth under the name of the Cisalpine Republic. Genoa was also transformed into the Ligurian Republic.

352. Treaty of Campo Formio (Oct. 17, 1797). — While Bonaparte had been gaining his surprising victories in Italy, Moreau and Jourdan had been meeting with severe reverses in Germany, their invading columns having been forced back upon the Rhine by the able commander, the Archduke Charles. Bonaparte, having effected the work assigned to the army of Italy, now climbed the Eastern Alps and marched toward Vienna.

The near approach of the French to his capital induced the Emperor Francis II to listen to proposals of peace. An armistice was agreed upon,⁵⁴ and a few months afterwards the important treaty of Campo Formio was arranged.

By the terms of this treaty Austria ceded her Belgian provinces to the French Republic, recognized the Rhine as the eastern frontier of France, and acknowledged the independence of the Cisalpine Republic. As an offset to her losses Austria received the Venetian dominions, save the Ionian

⁵³ Among the Italian princes of whom Napoleon demanded works of art, as the price of peace, was the Duke of Parma. In the list of works he was required to give up was a picture of St. Jerome by a celebrated artist. The envoys of the Duke offered Napoleon a million francs to redeem this single piece. Napoleon refused the ransom, and then justified his action to his soldiers as follows: "The money we would soon have spent; besides, we shall find more of that. But a masterpiece is everlasting; it will adorn our country."

⁵⁴ The preliminaries of Leoben, April 17, 1797.

Islands, which were annexed to the French Republic. Bonaparte was already dazzled by the vision of a French empire in the Orient. The Grecian isles were to constitute a link in the chain which should bind France to her prospective Eastern dependencies.

353. Bonaparte's Departure from Italy and his Reception at Paris. — With the treaty arranged, Bonaparte was impatient to set out for Paris, where a triumph and ovation such as Europe had not seen since the days of the old Roman conquerors awaited him. The Italian people generally, save the Venetians, who felt that he had selfishly sacrificed them to Austrian tyranny, regretted his departure. In his farewell address to the citizens of the new Cisalpine Republic he said: "We have given you liberty; take care to preserve it. . . . Divided and bowed down for ages by tyranny, you could not have conquered your liberty; but in a few years, were you left to yourselves, no power on earth will be strong enough to wrest it from you. Till then the great nation will protect you against the attacks of your neighbors."

Bonaparte now hastened to Paris, carrying the treaty of Campo Formio with him. He was received with extraordinary enthusiasm. All the capital was in a tremor of excitement. The air was alive with shouts of "Long live the Republic!" "Long live Bonaparte!" A magnificent festival was arranged for the presentation to the Republic by Bonaparte of the treaty he had brought. The Directors were dressed in the costume of Roman senators. Bonaparte appeared in a simple attire, looking like a mere boy among his aides-de-camp, who were "nearly bent by the respect which they paid him." After a short and characteristic speech he delivered to the Directors the treaty of Campo Formio. The people applauded tumultuously, and the Directors flung themselves into the arms of their great general, who, while liberating Italy and humiliating the pride of Austria, had carried to the highest possible pitch the fame of the armies of the French Republic.

354. Bonaparte's Campaign in Egypt (1798-1799). — The Directors had received Bonaparte with apparent enthusiasm and affection; but at this very moment they were disquieted by fears lest their general's ambition might lead him to play the part of a second Cæsar. There were reports whispered about that he was meditating the seizure of the government in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the royalists, who were just now displaying great activity.

The Directors, influenced in part doubtless by fear and jealousy, resolved to engage Bonaparte in an enterprise which would take him out of France. This undertaking was an attack upon England, which they were then meditating. Bonaparte opposed the plan of a direct descent upon the island as impracticable, declaring that England should be attacked through her Eastern possessions. He presented a scheme very characteristic of his bold, imaginative genius. This was nothing less than the conquest and colonization of Egypt, by which means France would be able to control the trade of the East and cut England off from her East India possessions.

The Directors assented to the plan, and with feelings of relief saw Bonaparte embark from the port of Toulon to carry out the enterprise. The expedition consisted of four hundred ships, which carried many of the veterans of the Italian campaign. About Bonaparte were several of his lieutenants, who had already earned brilliant reputations, and who were destined to win still wider renown as the marshals of the great commander. Attached to the expedition was also a number of learned men, who were to improve the opportunity to investigate the antiquities of Egypt.

On his way Bonaparte seized the island of Malta, — at this time in the hands of the Knights of St. John (par. 49), — and finally, having escaped the vigilance of the British fleet that was patrolling the Mediterranean, landed in Egypt (July 1, 1798). The following day Alexandria fell into his hands, from which place he advanced upon Cairo. When within

sight of the Pyramids, the French army was checked in its march by a determined stand of the renowned Mameluke cavalry. Bonaparte animated the spirits of his men for the inevitable fight by one of his happiest speeches. One of the sentences is memorable. "Soldiers," he exclaimed, pointing to the Pyramids, "forty centuries are looking down upon you."

The terrific struggle that followed is known in history as the "Battle of the Pyramids." Bonaparte gained a victory that opened the way for his advance. Cairo was now entered in triumph, and all Lower Egypt fell into the hands of the French.

Bonaparte had barely made his entrance into Cairo before the startling intelligence was borne to him that his fleet had been destroyed in the Bay of Abukir, at the mouth of the Nile, by the English admiral Nelson (Aug. 1, 1798). Being by this disaster shut up in Egypt, Bonaparte gave himself to composing the affairs of the conquered territory and organizing for it a firm government. In the meantime the savants were exploring the antiquities of the country.

In the spring of 1799, the Ottoman Porte having sent a force to retake Egypt, Bonaparte led his army into Syria, to fight the Turks there. He captured Gaza and Jaffa,⁵⁵ and finally invested Acre. The Turks were assisted in the defense of this place by the distinguished English commodore, Sir Sidney Smith.⁵⁶ All Bonaparte's efforts to carry the place by storm, though seventeen times he flung his soldiers against its walls, were defeated by the skill and bravery of the English commander.

"I missed my destiny at Acre," said Bonaparte afterwards. Doubtless his vision of conquests in the East embraced Persia

⁵⁵ At this place Bonaparte shot twelve hundred prisoners, for no other reason, it has been asserted, than that he did not wish to have the trouble of guarding them. It seems quite certain, however, that they were men who, once paroled, had again been taken with arms in their hands.

⁵⁶ The besieged were further assisted by a Turkish army outside. With these the French fought the celebrated battle of Mount Tabor, in which they gained a complete victory.

and India. With the ports of Syria secured he might have imitated Alexander and led his soldiers to the foot of the Himalayas.

Bitterly disappointed, Bonaparte abandoned the siege of Acre, and led his army back into Egypt. There his worn and thinned ranks were attacked near Abukir by a fresh Turkish army, but the genius of Bonaparte turned threatened defeat into a brilliant victory. The enthusiastic Kléber, one of Bonaparte's lieutenants, clasping him in his arms, exclaimed, "General, how great you are !"

355. Establishment of the Tiberine, the Helvetic, and the Parthenopean Republics (1798-1799). — We must turn now to view affairs in Europe. The year 1798 was a favorable one for the republican cause represented by the Revolution. During that year and the opening month of the following one, the French set up three new republics.

First, they incited an insurrection at Rome, made a prisoner of the Pope, and proclaimed the Roman or Tiberine Republic. Then, intervening in a revolution in Switzerland, they invaded the Swiss cantons and united them into a commonwealth under the name of the Helvetic Republic. A little later the French troops drove the king of Naples out of Italy to Sicily, and transformed his peninsular domains into the Parthenopean Republic. Thus were three new republics added to the commonwealths which the Revolution had previously created.

356. The Reaction: Bonaparte overthrows the Directory (18th and 19th Brumaire, 1799). — Much of this work was quickly undone. Encouraged by the victory of Nelson over the French fleet in the battle of the Nile, and alarmed at the aggressions of the government of the Directory, the leading powers of Europe, now including the Tsar of Russia, who was incensed against the French especially for their intrusion into the Orient, which the Russian rulers had ever regarded as their own particular sphere of influence, had formed a new coalition against the French Republic.

The war began early in 1799 and was waged at one and the same time in Italy, in Switzerland, and in Holland. In the south the campaign was extremely disastrous to the French. They were driven out of Italy, and were barely able to keep the allies off from the soil of France. The Cisalpine, the Tiberine, and the Parthenopean republics were abolished.

These reverses suffered by the French armies in Italy, though in other quarters they had been successful, caused the Directory to fall into great disfavor. They were charged with having through jealousy exiled Bonaparte, the only man who could save the Republic. Confusion and division prevailed everywhere. The royalists had become so strong and bold that there was danger lest they should gain control of the government. On the other hand, the threats of the mob of Paris began to create apprehensions of another Reign of Terror.

News of the desperate state of affairs at home reached Bonaparte just after his victory in Egypt, following his return from Syria. He instantly formed a bold resolve. Confiding the command of the army in Egypt to Kléber, he set sail for France, disclosing his designs in the significant words, "The reign of the lawyers is over."

Bonaparte was welcomed in France with the wildest enthusiasm. A great majority of the people felt instinctively that the emergency demanded a dictator. Sieyès, who was one of the leading members of the Directory, had already declared that "the nation must have a chief."

A *coup d'état* was planned, — one of those peculiar strategic movements which the French politicians know so well how to arrange.⁵⁷ Sieyès, Roger-Ducos (another member of the

⁵⁷ Already there had been two such revolutions under the Directory. The Councils and the Directory having come into conflict, the majority of the Directors, by the use of the army, arrested fifty-five members of the legislative bodies and sent them into exile. At the same time two of the Directors, Carnot and Barthélemy, who were opposed to the policy of force, were pushed out of the Directory. This proceeding is known as the Coup d'État of the 18th of Fructidor (Sept. 4, 1797). Towards the middle of the year 1799 there was another

Directory), Bonaparte, and a large number of the members of the Council of the Ancients were concerned in the plot. The Councils were transferred to St. Cloud, five miles from the capital, on the ostensible ground that the Parisian rabble was planning an attack upon them, the real purpose, however, being to get them where they could be dissolved without a commotion being excited. Paris, meanwhile, was strongly garrisoned with troops devoted to Bonaparte.

The Directors concerned in the plot now resigned; two others were placed under arrest. The government was thus disorganized. Bonaparte, hastening to St. Cloud, appeared in the chamber of the Council of the Ancients. With much confusion of manner he explained to the members his purpose, and was favorably received. But when, attended by some soldiers, he appeared in the Council of the Five Hundred, he was met with cries of "Down with the Dictator!" "Down with the tyrant!" and was actually hustled out of the hall.

The moment for decisive action had come. Bonaparte now ordered a body of grenadiers to clear the chamber. As the soldiers entered the building, the deputies fled from the hall, some in their haste escaping through the windows (Nov. 9, 1799).

The French Revolution had at last brought forth its Cromwell. Bonaparte was master of France. The first French Republic was at an end, and what is distinctively called the French Revolution was over. Now commences the history of the Consulate and the First Empire, — the story of that surprising career, the sun of which rose so brightly at Austerlitz and set forever at Waterloo.

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CHAPTER XV

THE CONSULATE AND THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

(1799-1815)

I. THE CONSULATE (1799-1804)

357. The Veiled Military Dictatorship. — After the overthrow of the government of the Directory, a new constitution — the fourth since the year 1789 — was prepared, and having been submitted to the approval of the people, was accepted by a vote of over three millions to less than two thousand. This new instrument vested the executive power in three Consuls, nominated for a term of ten years, the first of whom really exercised all the authority of the board, the remaining two members being simply his counselors. Bonaparte, of course, became the First Consul.

The other functions of the government were carried on by a Council of State, a Tribunate, a Legislature, and a Senate. But the members of all these bodies were appointed either directly or indirectly by the Consuls,¹ so that the entire government was actually in their hands, or, rather, in the hands of the First Consul.

The object of the Coup d'État of the 18th and 19th of Brumaire was to substitute a strong centralized authority for the feeble Directorial government, and certainly that object had now been secured. France was still called a republic,

¹ The system of election and nomination was a singularly complex decimal one devised by Sieyès. First, the 5,000,000 voters elected one-tenth (500,000) of their number as first electors; then these electors chose one-tenth (50,000) of their number as second electors; finally these in turn chose one-tenth (5000) of their number to constitute a picked body from which the Consuls were to select members for the Legislature and the various governmental offices.

but it was such a republic as Rome was under Julius Cæsar or Augustus. The republican names and forms merely veiled a government as absolute and personal as that of Louis XIV, — in a word, a military dictatorship.

Local self-government which had been created by the Revolution was suppressed. In all the various subdivisions of France the First Consul was represented by officials appointed by himself. The government became more centralized than it had ever been before, and this character it has retained up to the present time.²

358. Causes of England's Hostility to Bonaparte. — Bonaparte inherited from the Directory war with Austria and England. To both he offered peace. Austria, which was asked to give up Lombardy, recently reconquered from the Republic, courteously declined his proposals. England, with rasping words, rejected the proffered hand of reconciliation.

There were several reasons for England's refusal to recognize the government of the First Consul. In the first place, the English Minister Pitt declined to make peace with Bonaparte because he believed he represented the Jacobin element of the Revolution, and that his government would be violent and hence necessarily unstable.

Again, judging from Bonaparte's acts as a general of the Directory, Pitt did not think that he could be trusted. Further, he believed that France was exhausted, and that better terms could soon be wrested from her than those Bonaparte was now willing to offer.

But the deeper motive of England's inextinguishable hostility to Bonaparte, not only as First Consul but also as Emperor, can be understood only as we view the Anglo-French phase of the wars of the Napoleonic era as a continuation of that

² By the expression "centralized government" is meant a government just the opposite of that of the United States, in which the citizens of the several states elect their own magistrates, manage their local affairs, and carry on much of the subordinate work of government without dictation or intermeddling on the part of the central or national government.

second Hundred Years' War between France and England of which we gave some account in an earlier chapter.³

The seizure by France of the Austrian Netherlands — which gave her possession of Antwerp, the possible rival of London — and her intrusion into the Mediterranean alarmed England. A French empire dominating the European continent and controlling the Mediterranean — Napoleon openly declared that “the Mediterranean was destined by nature to be a French lake” — was incompatible with England's commercial and trade supremacy in the world at large. In the Napoleonic wars England fought to maintain that maritime and colonial ascendancy which the wars of the eighteenth century with her great rival had secured for her.

359. War of the First Consul against Austria; Marengo and Hohenlinden; Peace of Lunéville (1801). — Offers of peace to Austria and England having been rejected, Bonaparte mustered his armies. His plan was to deal Austria, his only formidable continental enemy, a double blow. A large army was collected on the Rhine for an invasion of Germany. This was intrusted to Moreau. Another, intended to operate against the Austrians in Italy, was gathered with great secrecy at the foot of the Alps. Bonaparte himself assumed command of this latter force.

In the spring of the year 1800 Bonaparte made his memorable passage of the Alps by the Great Saint Bernard Pass, and astonished the Austrian generals by suddenly appearing in Piedmont at the head of an army of forty thousand men. Upon the renowned field of Marengo the Austrian army, which greatly outnumbered that of the French, was completely overwhelmed, and North Italy lay for a second time at the feet of Bonaparte (June 14, 1800).

But at the moment Italy was regained Egypt was lost. On the very day of the battle of Marengo, Kléber, whom Bonaparte had left in charge of the army in Egypt (par. 356), was

³ See Chapter XII.

assassinated by a Mohammedan fanatic, and shortly afterwards the entire French force was obliged to surrender to the English.

The French reverses in Egypt, however, were soon made up by fresh victories in Europe. A few months after the battle of Marengo, Moreau gained a decisive victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden (Dec. 3, 1800), which opened the way to Vienna. The Emperor Francis II was now constrained to sign a treaty of peace at Lunéville (Feb. 9, 1801).

This treaty was in the main merely a confirmation of the articles of the Treaty of Campo Formio (par. 352). The Emperor Francis ratified the cession to France of the Austrian Netherlands, recognized the Rhine as the eastern boundary of France, while both parties guaranteed the independence of the Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine,⁴ and Ligurian republics.

But the most important part of the treaty was that which provided for the reconstruction of the Germanic body—a reconstruction which, when consummated, resulted in the extinction of the Holy Roman Empire and the creation of an entirely new German system.⁵ But as this reorganization of Central Europe was not completed until after the battle of Austerlitz, we shall defer further explanation of it until we reach that important event (par. 370).

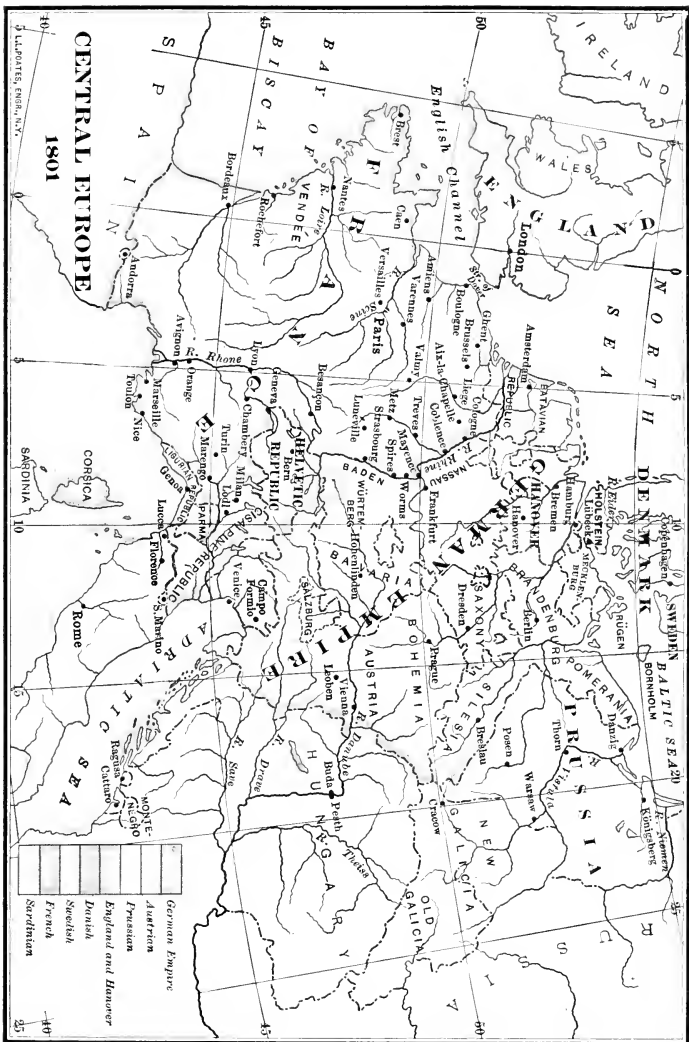
⁴ The Cisalpine Republic was reëstablished by Bonaparte just before the battle of Marengo.

⁵ The situation at this time was this. The advance of the French frontier to the Rhine had deprived a great number of German princes of their domains. These dispossessed rulers were now to be "indemnified" by being given lands of the ecclesiastical princes and of the free cities east of the Rhine. The adjustment of these territorial matters was ostensibly given into the hands of a committee of the German Diet, known as the Imperial Deputation; as a matter of fact the committee was merely the agency through which Bonaparte worked his will on Germany. The committee was in session during the years 1802-1803. Its findings were embodied in what is known as the Principal Resolution of the Imperial Deputation (1803). The essence of this was the suppression of the ecclesiastical states and of most of the free cities—one hundred and twelve in all—and the creation or enlargement of a limited number of hereditary monarchical states (see par. 370).

CENTRAL EUROPE

1801

7) L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.



360. The Peace of Amiens with England (March 27, 1802).

—The year following the peace between France and Austria, England also signed the Peace of Amiens.⁶ In this treaty England acquiesced in the situation which France had created on the Continent, restored all the colonies (save the islands of Trinidad and Ceylon) which she had taken from France and her allies, the Protestant Netherlands and Spain, and agreed conditionally to withdraw from the island of Malta, which was one of the most important naval stations in the Mediterranean.

France on her part agreed to withdraw her forces from Naples and the Papal States, and to recognize the independence of the Ionian Islands.⁷

All these provisions of the treaty show how largely commercial and colonial were the interests which had set the two rival nations in such mutual antagonism.

361. Bonaparte attempts to reëstablish the French Colonial Empire in the West. — Peace with England gave France the freedom of the sea and enabled the First Consul to pursue his favorite project at this time of the restoration of the French colonial empire in the West.

Bonaparte had already taken one important step towards this end. After his successful campaign against Austria in Italy he had taken the Grand Duchy of Tuscany from its Austrian prince, renamed it the Kingdom of Etruria, and given it to a Spanish Infante, in return for which Spain had ceded to France Louisiana in the New World (1800). Thus France was once more in possession of a large portion of the North American mainland.

By the Treaty of Amiens she had regained her island colonies in the West Indies. The western part of the important

⁶ During the war with France, England had become involved in trouble with the northern maritime powers (Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia) concerning the trade of neutrals. These complications issued in the battle of Copenhagen (1801), in which the English admiral Nelson destroyed the Danish fleet.

⁷ These islands had been taken from France by Russia and Turkey in 1798 and erected into an independent state under their joint guardianship.

island of Haiti, however, which once belonged to France, had been lost during the Revolution by a successful revolt of the negroes and mulattoes against the whites.⁸ In imitation of the motherland the self-emancipated blacks had set up a republic. Napoleon now sent an army of twenty thousand men to reconquer the island. The French troops were successful at first, but in the end the entire force was virtually destroyed by fever and the weapons of the blacks.

362. Bonaparte as an Enlightened Despot ; the Regeneration of France ; the Civil Code. — Having secured from both Austria and England an acknowledgment of his government, Bonaparte was now free to devote his amazing energies to domestic affairs ; consequently at this time were begun by him many of those reforms and undertakings which were continued throughout the period of his domination, and which concerned almost every phase of the material, social, intellectual, religious, and civil life of France. It was his work here which constitutes his true title to fame. He was, in the words of his biographer Professor Sloane, “one of the greatest social reformers of the world.”

We shall best understand Bonaparte in his rôle as a reformer, and best determine his place in history, if we regard him as the successor of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century. As the historian Fyffe says, “Bonaparte was no child of the Revolution ; he was the last and the greatest of the autocratic legislators who worked in an unfree age.”

Bonaparte's mission was to carry on and to perfect the work of the reforming absolute sovereigns and ministers of the pre-revolutionary period, and to consummate the reforms and to organize and make secure the social results of the Revolution.

To close the wounds inflicted upon France by the Revolution was one of the first aims of Bonaparte. Already the royalist exiles had been invited to return. Forty thousand

⁸ The leader of the revolt was the celebrated Toussaint Louverture, one of the most remarkable men ever produced by the black race.

families came back, and many of the old supporters of the Bourbons now entered the service of the First Consul. The prison doors were thrown open. The past was forgotten and forgiven. There were no longer to be parties; all were to be simply Frenchmen. These wise measures of amnesty did much towards restoring confidence and bringing back internal peace and prosperity to France.

But the deepest wound given France by the Revolution was the schism created by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (par. 316). This had divided the nation into two bitterly opposed parties. Moreover, since 1794 the government had ceased to pay the salaries of the priests, with the result that many communes were wholly without regular religious services. To remedy this state of things, Bonaparte entered into an agreement with the Holy See known as the Concordat (July 15, 1801). The First Consul was to appoint archbishops and bishops impartially from both parties, that is, the party which had acquiesced in the revolutionary programme and the party which had opposed it, and the state was again to assume as a public charge the salaries of the clergy.⁹ The Pope was to be recognized as the head of the French Church, and was to confirm in their ecclesiastical offices the persons appointed by the government.

The Concordat closed the great breach which the Revolution had opened in the French Church, and attached the Catholics to the government of the First Consul.

Not less successful was Bonaparte in his efforts to restore those material interests of the country which had suffered greatly during the Revolution. The contemporary Pasquier in his *Memoirs* declares that "there were hardly two or three main roads in a fit condition for traffic," and that "the navigation of rivers and canals was no longer possible." Bonaparte

⁹ This arrangement has held good down to the present time. The salaries of all the French clergy, including Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis, are paid out of the public treasury.

threw himself with his habitual energy into the work of restoration. He repaired and constructed roads and bridges, dug canals, opened the rivers to navigation, and improved the seaports of the country. The great military roads which he caused to be constructed over the Alps are marvels of engineering skill, and served as a chief means of communication between Italy and the north of Europe until the mountains were pierced with tunnels.

The public buildings and monuments of France had fallen into decay. Bonaparte restored the old and built new ones. He embellished Paris and the other chief cities of France with public edifices and memorial monuments of every description. Many of these works are the pride of France at the present day.

Education was not neglected. By the establishment of schools and the endowment of libraries, museums, and art galleries, and by the creation finally of the University of France, Bonaparte gave an impulse to the educational system of France which is felt at the present time, and which has done much to secure for the French people the preëminent place they hold to-day in the world of art, science, and letters. It is to be borne in mind, however, that in this field the First Consul built upon foundations which had been laid by the Convention.

But the most noteworthy, the most enduring, and the most far-reaching in its influence upon civilization of all the works of Napoleon Bonaparte, either as First Consul or as Emperor, was the compilation of what is known as the Civil Code, or the Code Napoléon, which has caused his name to be joined with that of the Emperor Justinian as one of the great lawgivers of history.

The compiling of this Code was one of the earliest undertakings of the First Consul. Almost immediately after coming to power he appointed a commission of five eminent jurists to take up the work, which had already been begun by the

Constituent Assembly and the Convention.¹⁰ These experts were busied with the labor for about four years (1800–1804). Bonaparte himself often met with them and assisted in the work by sagacious criticism and suggestion.

The Code was made up of the ancient customs of France, of Roman law maxims, and particularly of the principles and the legislation of the Revolution. This great mass of material was condensed, harmonized, and revised in some such way as the jurists of the Emperor Justinian handled the accumulated mass of law material — old and new, pagan and Christian — of their time, in the creation of the celebrated *Corpus Juris Civilis*.¹¹

The influence of the Civil Code upon the development of Liberalism in Western Europe was most salutary. It secured the work of the Revolution. It swept away the old unequal, iniquitous, oppressive customs, regulations, decrees, and laws that were an inheritance from the feudal ages. It recognized the equality in the eye of the law of noble and peasant. Either its principles or its direct provisions were soon introduced into half of the countries of Europe. Upon the laws of Italy, Spain, Prussia, Western Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and many of the Spanish-American states, it has exerted a profound influence.

363. Bonaparte becomes Consul for Life (August, 1802); **Creation of the Legion of Honor.** — Through the Senate and the Council of State, in which bodies the majority of the members were wholly subservient to Bonaparte, it was now proposed to the French people that he should be made Consul for life, in

¹⁰ It is now recognized that the Code was not so novel a thing as some writers have represented it as being. Code-making was a favorite work of the enlightened despots (*e.g.*, Catherine the Great of Russia, the Emperor Joseph II of Austria, Frederick the Great of Prussia, etc.). The Civil Code is almost an exact transcript of the *Projet du code civil* prepared by Cambacérès for the Convention.

¹¹ The Civil Code was soon supplemented (1806–1810) by four other codes, known as the Code of Civil Procedure, the Code of Commerce, the Code of Criminal Instruction, and the Penal Code.

order that his magnificent projects of restoration and reform might be pursued without interruption. With almost a single voice the people approved the proposal.¹² Thus did the First Consul move a step nearer the imperial throne. From this time on Bonaparte, imitating a royal custom, used only his first name, Napoleon, and it is by this name, which was destined to fill such a great place in history, that we shall hereafter know him.

Among those who recognized whither things were drifting was Lafayette. He voted against the proposal to extend Napoleon's term of power, and chided him for wishing to reëstablish arbitrary government in France.

An institution which Napoleon established at just this time shows in what direction his thoughts were turning. This was an order known as the Legion of Honor, an order designed to take the place of the old feudal orders which had been abolished by the Revolution. Preëminent public service, either in military or in civil life, was to be the passport to membership in the new society.

The creation of this order gave offense to many of the more thoroughgoing republicans, who looked upon it as an ominous departure from the principles of social equality established by the Revolution. But Napoleon, as we shall soon have additional evidence, had little regard for this maxim when it served his purpose to ignore it.

In connection with the institution of this Legion of Honor we have revealed how Napoleon habitually controlled men by an appeal not to their nobler impulses but to their less worthy instincts and ambitions. When some one ventured to speak contemptuously of ribbons, badges, and similar decorations as mere children's toys, Napoleon cynically remarked, "Well,

¹² There is a most extraordinary unanimity in the plebiscites, or popular votes, of this period. The present measure was carried by a vote, in round numbers, of 3,500,000 to 8000. But this unanimity is to be explained in large part by the fact that it was not safe, or at least not prudent, to vote the other way.

it is with toys that men are managed. . . . These are the things for the people."

364. Plot against Napoleon's Life; Execution of the Duke of Enghien (March 21, 1804). — The year following the conferring of these new powers and dignities upon Napoleon, a royalist plot, headed by a Breton named Georges Cadoudal, was laid for his assassination. The distinguished general Pichegru and others were implicated. The conspiracy was abetted by certain English officials,¹³ war having been renewed between France and Great Britain.

The plot was discovered and the chief conspirators were arrested. Pichegru committed suicide in prison; others of the real or supposed leaders were executed or banished. The Duke of Enghien, a Bourbon prince in whose interest it was suspected the conspiracy had been formed, was, in gross violation of international law, seized by Napoleon's soldiers at Ettenheim, in Baden, carried to Vincennes, hastily condemned to death by a midnight military commission, and in the gray of the morning shot by the side of an open grave — which had been dug before sentence was passed.

No act of Napoleon's has been more severely censured than this, for the young prince was very generally regarded as innocent of any participation in the plot. To say nothing of the lawlessness and criminality of the act, Napoleon could have done nothing more impolitic. It foreshadowed Waterloo. "Two actions," writes Chateaubriand in his *Memoirs*, "both bad, began and caused Napoleon's fall: the death of the Duc d'Enghien and the war with Spain."¹⁴

The high-handed proceeding contributed to the calling into existence of a formidable coalition of the powers of Europe against Napoleon, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak.

¹³ See Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i, pp. 416-418.

¹⁴ See par. 379.

II. THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE (1804-1815); THE WAR OF LIBERATION

365. The Restoration of the Empire of Charlemagne¹⁵ (May 18, 1804). — The above conspiracy and the increased activity of the enemies of the First Consul resulted in a movement to increase his power and to insure his safety and the stability of his government, by placing him upon a throne. Napoleon, while seeming to resign himself to the popular movement, really incited and directed it. A decree of the Senate conferring upon him the title of Emperor of the French having been submitted to the people for approval, was ratified by an almost unanimous vote, less than three thousand persons opposing the measure.¹⁶

The coronation took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, Dec. 2, 1804, Pope Pius VII having been induced to come from Rome to take part in the ceremonies. The presence of the Pope was desired by Napoleon because it was his design to have himself regarded, not as the successor of the Bourbons, but as the successor of Charlemagne and the Cæsars, and it had always been thought necessary, by many at least, that the candidate for the imperial dignity should be consecrated to his office by the Roman pontiff. The Pope poured the holy oil upon the head of the kneeling Emperor and girded him with the imperial scepter; but when he would have placed the crown upon his head, Napoleon checked him, and, taking the diadem from the Pope, crowned himself with his own hands.

What portion of the spirit of the old divine-right monarchies entered into the new French Empire may be inferred from the doctrines which in less than a year after Napoleon's coronation the subservient French clergy were teaching the youth of

¹⁵ See *The Middle Ages*, chap. vii.

¹⁶ The actual figures were 3,572,329 affirmative and 2569 negative votes (see par. 363, note 12).

France. "The Emperor is the minister and the power of God, and his image on earth," ran the new catechism; "to honor and serve him is to honor and serve God."

Thus was reëstablished in the opening years of the nineteenth century the Empire which had fallen fourteen hundred years before, which a thousand years before had been restored by Charlemagne, and which had lived through the mediæval time under the name of the Holy Roman Empire. When Julius and Augustus Cæsar established the Empire at Rome, the world was calling for Imperialism. Cæsarism, the rule of one strong man, was then a necessity and a blessing. But Cæsarism, the universal dictatorship, in 1804 — after the Renaissance, after the Reformation, after the English and American Revolutions, after the French Declaration of the Rights of Man — was an anachronism and was foredoomed to failure. The future belonged not to the Empire but to the Nations. It is the remote future, the future beyond the age of the Nations, that belongs to the Universal State — and that State will not be an Empire, the embodiment of selfish autocratic despotism, such as Napoleon attempted to set up.

366. The Republics created by the Revolution are changed into Kingdoms. — The First French Republic was now completely metamorphosed into an unveiled empire. Napoleon had taken up his residence in the palace of the Tuileries and was creating a court as much as possible like the court of the Bourbons.

The original republic having been thus transformed, we may be sure that the cluster of republics which during the Revolution had been raised up around it will speedily undergo a like transformation; for Napoleon was right when he said that a revolution in France is sure to be followed by a revolution throughout Europe. As France a republic would make all states republics, so France a monarchy would make all nations monarchies. Within two years from the time that the government of France assumed an imperial form, three of the

surrounding republics raised up by the revolutionary ideas and armies of France had been transformed into states with monarchical governments dependent upon the French Empire or had been incorporated with France. In a word, all these states now became practically the fiefs of Napoleon's Empire, the provinces and dependencies of a new Rome.

Thus the Cisalpine, or Italian, Republic was changed into a kingdom, and Napoleon, crowning himself at Milan with the iron crown of the Lombards,¹⁷ assumed the government of the state, with the title of King of Italy (May, 1805).

A little later the same year the Emperor incorporated the Ligurian Republic, embracing Genoa and a part of Piedmont, with the French Empire (June, 1805).

Then he remodeled the Batavian Republic into the kingdom of Holland, and conferred the crown upon his favorite brother Louis (May, 1806).

Thus was the political work of the Revolution undone. Political liberty was taken away. "I set it aside," said Napoleon, "when it obstructed my road." Civil equality was left.

367. The Empire and the Old Monarchies. — It will not be supposed that the powers of Europe were looking quietly on while France was thus transforming herself and all the neighboring countries. The colossal power which the soldier of fortune was building up was a menace to all Europe. The Empire was more dreaded than the Republic, because it was a military despotism, and as such was an instrument of irresistible power in the hands of a man of such genius and resources as Napoleon. Coalition after coalition, of which England was "the paymaster," was formed by the sovereigns of Europe against the "usurper," with the object at first of pushing France back within her original boundaries, and then later of deposing Napoleon as the disturber of the peace of Europe and the oppressor of the Nations.

¹⁷ Here again Napoleon imitated Charlemagne. He said, "I am Charlemagne, for like Charlemagne I unite the crown of France with that of Lombardy."

From the coronation of Napoleon in 1804 until his final downfall in 1815, the tremendous struggle went on almost without intermission. It was the war of the giants. Europe was shaken from end to end with such armies as the world had not seen since the days of Xerxes. Napoleon, whose hands were upheld by a score of distinguished marshals, performed the miracles of genius. His brilliant achievements still dazzle, while they amaze, the world.

To relate in detail the campaigns of Napoleon from Austerlitz to Waterloo would require the space of volumes. We shall simply indicate in a few brief paragraphs the successive steps by which he mounted to the highest pitch of power and fame, and then trace hurriedly the decline and fall of his astonishing fortunes.

368. Napoleon's Preparations for invading England; the Camp at Boulogne (1803-1805).—Even while the transactions which we have recorded were taking place, the air was filled with notes of preparation for war. The Peace of Amiens between France and England (par. 360) proved merely a short truce; even before Napoleon's coronation as Emperor war had been renewed between the two countries.¹⁸

One of Napoleon's first acts of preparation for the coming struggle was the sale (in 1803) to the United States, for fifteen million dollars, of the territory of Louisiana, which he had so recently acquired from Spain (par. 361). He was impelled to do this because his inferiority at sea made it impossible for him to defend such remote possessions.

The sale and purchase of this immense region of boundless resources, looked at in relation to its consequences, was one of the most important transactions in history. Napoleon's intuition seems to have revealed to him its significance for the

¹⁸ England complained of Napoleon's appropriation of Piedmont and his invasion of Switzerland, and, believing that he purposed to renew his aggressions in the Orient, refused to withdraw from Malta before the conditions of the Treaty of Amiens had been complied with.

expansion and development of the great American Republic. "I have given England a rival," he said, "which sooner or later will humble her pride."

As early as 1803 Napoleon had begun to mass a great army at Boulogne, on the English Channel, and to build an immense number of flat-bottomed boats preparatory to an invasion of England. "Carthage must be destroyed," was the menacing and persistent cry of the French press. "Masters of the Channel for six hours," said Napoleon, "and we are masters of the world."¹⁹

It is worth while in this connection to call to mind the fact that the American inventor, Robert Fulton, laid before Napoleon his invention of propelling vessels by steam at just the time when the Emperor was making his preparations for the invasion of England. Napoleon seems to have seen nothing in the invention. "Never," writes the contemporary Pasquier, "was he more badly served by his instincts. What might he not have been able to accomplish had he been the first to avail himself of this new means of reaching his most mortal enemy."

369. Campaign against Austria : Austerlitz (Dec. 2, 1805).
— Napoleon's menacing preparations for the invasion of England produced throughout the island an alarm unequalled by anything the English people had experienced since the days of the Spanish Armada. The navy and the army were both put in a state of readiness to ward off the impending blow. The younger Pitt, at this time head of the English government, was untiring in fostering a new coalition of the powers against France. Early in the year 1805 England and Russia formed an alliance which was intended to constitute the nucleus of a

¹⁹ It is one of the open questions of history whether Napoleon ever had any serious intention of making a descent upon England. In the opinion of many, all these elaborate preparations were simply designed by Napoleon as a cover under which he might, without exciting suspicion, raise and equip an army intended from the first to be used against a wholly different foe. It is Captain Mahan's opinion, however, that Napoleon really intended to strike a blow at London. See his *Life of Nelson* (Boston, 1897), vol. ii, chap. xx.

general European league. Austria and other states soon joined the coalition.

Intelligence reaching Napoleon that both the Austrian and the Russian armies were on the move, he suddenly broke up the camp at Boulogne and transported his troops to the eastern frontier of France.

Advancing to meet the attack of the allies, Napoleon flung his Grand Army, as it was called, across the Rhine, outmaneuvered and captured a great Austrian army at Ulm, and then marched in triumph through Vienna to the field of Austerlitz beyond, where he gained one of his most memorable victories over the combined armies of Austria and Russia, numbering more than eighty thousand men.

Austria was now shorn of large tracts of her dominions.²⁰ She was forced to give up Venetia — which Napoleon added to the kingdom of Italy — and other territories. Besides these cessions, Austria was required to cede the Tyrol and other lands to Bavaria.

370. The Reorganization of Germany; the Confederation of the Rhine; End of the Holy Roman Empire (1806).— That reconstruction of the Germanic body which Napoleon had begun after the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden (par. 359) was now substantially completed, save as regards Prussia and Hanover.

Napoleon's primary motive in reducing the Germanic chaos to order was not to render Germany a service, but to create a system which would enable him to control German affairs in his own interest.

His guiding principle in the work of reconstruction was this: to create in Western Germany a small number of states which should be bound to him by selfish interests and strong enough to be useful as allies, and which should constitute barrier states between France on the one side and Austria and

²⁰ The Treaty of Pressburg (Dec. 26, 1805) arranged affairs between Austria and France.

Prussia on the other. Both of these latter states were to be kept weak and dependent upon France.

In pursuance of this plan Napoleon ultimately reduced the three hundred and more states comprising the Germanic system to about forty. It was the ecclesiastical states, the free imperial cities, and the petty states of the minor princes which suffered extinction, their lands being bestowed upon the princes of the states selected for survival. Among the rulers especially favored at this time were the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Würtemberg, both of whom were made kings and given enough territory to enable them to maintain becomingly this new dignity. The Margrave of Baden was also made a Grand Duke, and his dominions were enlarged. All these princes formed marriage alliances with the family of Napoleon.

These favored states, together with others, — sixteen in all, — now declared themselves independent of the old Holy Roman Empire, and were formed into a league called the Confederation of the Rhine, with Napoleon as Protector²¹ (July 12, 1806).

Napoleon now absolved the feudatories of the Holy Roman Empire from their allegiance to the imperial crown. This action, taken in connection with the withdrawal of the Rhenish states, effected the complete break-up of the ancient Empire. Emperor Francis II, recognizing that his office was virtually abolished, now laid down the imperial crown (Aug. 6, 1806), and henceforth used as his highest title *Francis I, Emperor of Austria*.²²

Thus did the Holy Roman Empire come to an end, after having maintained an existence, since its revival under Charlemagne, of almost exactly one thousand years. Reckoning from its establishment by Cæsar Augustus, it had lasted eighteen

²¹ The Confederation came ultimately to embrace thirty-seven states, with a population of about fifteen millions.

²² He had already assumed this title in August, 1804, just after Napoleon's coronation as Emperor.

hundred and thirty-six years, thus being one of the longest-lived of human institutions — if mere existence may be reckoned as life. The *Kingdom of Germany*,²³ which was created by the partition of the Empire of Charlemagne, now also passed out of existence, even in name.

371. Good Results of Napoleon's Reorganization of Germany. — Napoleon's reorganization of the Germanic body, arbitrary and personal though his action was, brought ultimately great blessings to the German folk. It marked the beginning of the regeneration of the German fatherland. Out of the new German system which Napoleon created was to rise the German Empire of to-day. Hence we may regard Napoleon's reconstruction of Central Europe as one of the most important, in its far-reaching consequences, of all his acts.

An immediate benefit conferred upon the states of the Confederation of the Rhine was the introduction into them of all the reforms which had regenerated France and made her strong. Serfdom was abolished where it still lingered ; equality of the noble and the non-noble classes before the law was established ; and the new French Civil Code was partly put in force. This meant the broadening and the carrying out of the work begun, and in part accomplished, in some of these German states by the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century.

372. Trafalgar (Oct. 21, 1805). — Napoleon's brilliant victories in Germany were clouded by an irretrievable disaster to his fleet, which occurred on the day following the surrender of the Austrians at Ulm. Lord Nelson having met, near Cape Trafalgar on the coast of Spain, the combined French and Spanish fleets, — Spain was at this time Napoleon's ally, — almost completely destroyed the combined armaments. The gallant English admiral fell at the moment of victory. "Thank God, I have done my duty," were his last words.

This decisive battle gave England the control of the sea and relieved her from all danger of a French invasion. Even

²³ See *The Middle Ages*, par. 365.

the "wet ditch," as Napoleon was wont contemptuously to call the English Channel, was henceforth an impassable gulf to his ambition. He might rule the Continent, but the sovereignty of the ocean and its islands was denied him.

373. Campaign against Prussia: Jena and Auerstädt (1806). — Prussia was the next state after Austria to feel the weight of Napoleon's hand. King Frederick William III, following the dictates of selfish prudence, had thus far held aloof from the coalitions against Napoleon, and had profited greatly by such a policy. He had remained inactive while Austria was being beaten to the ground; but realizing at last the perfidious character of the man with whom he was dealing, and goaded by insufferable insult,²⁴ he recklessly threw down the gauntlet to the victor of Austerlitz.

King Frederick William was blinded by the glory of the great Frederick, then only twenty years dead. Unfortunately, in that short time the Prussian army had sadly degenerated and had utterly forgotten the discipline of the great drillmaster.

Moving with his usual swiftness, Napoleon overwhelmed the Prussian armies in the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, which were both fought on the same day (Oct. 14, 1806). The greater part of Prussia was now quickly overrun by the French armies. The Prussian generals, at least most of them, exhibited the most incredible incapacity and cowardice. Strongly garrisoned fortresses were surrendered without a blow being struck in their defense. The capital, Berlin, was entered by the French in triumph.

Thus almost with a single blow the great military power consolidated by the genius of Frederick the Great was crushed and practically annihilated. What had proved too great an

²⁴ After the battle of Austerlitz Napoleon gave Hanover, which he had seized in 1803 upon the renewal of war with Great Britain, to Frederick William; indeed, compelled him to take it, his purpose being to involve him in war with England. Having accomplished his purpose, Napoleon now turned about and offered to restore the province to King George III, as the price of peace.

undertaking for the combined powers of Europe during the Seven Years' War, Napoleon had effected in less than a month.

The sword of the great Frederick, the famous car of victory over the Brandenburg Gate, together with many treasures stolen from the museums and art galleries of Berlin, were carried as trophies to Paris.

374. Campaigns against the Russians : Eylau and Friedland (1807). — The Russian army, which the Tsar Alexander had sent to the aid of Frederick William, was still in the field against Napoleon in the Prussian territories east of the Vistula.

Early in the year 1807 Napoleon attacked, on a stormy winter day, the Russian forces at Eylau. The battle was sanguinary and indecisive, each army, it is estimated, leaving over thirty thousand dead and wounded on the snow.

During the summer campaign of the same year Napoleon again engaged the Russians in the terrible battle of Friedland and completely overwhelmed them. The Tsar was constrained to sue for peace.

375. The Treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807); the Partition of the World. — Napoleon arranged a series of interviews with the Tsar Alexander at Tilsit. The first of the meetings took place on a pavilioned raft moored midway in the Niemen, the frontier river of Russia.

These interviews between Napoleon and Alexander mark one of the most dramatic situations in European history. The old order of things had been destroyed, and a new order of things was being projected. The subject of converse of the two emperors was nothing less than the partition of the world between them. "Napoleon spread before the eyes of the Emperor of Russia his favorite conception of the reëstablishment of the old Empires of the East and the West. They were to be faithful allies. France was to be the supreme power over the Latin races and in the center of Europe; Russia was to represent the Greek Empire and to expand into Asia. These grandiose views charmed the Emperor Alexander, who believed

that in adopting them he was following out the policy of Peter the Great and of the Empress Catherine. The one enemy to be feared and crushed, according to Napoleon, was England.”²⁵

Thus the modern world was to be made over on the old Romano-Byzantine model. All the special understandings arrived at by the two emperors looked to the realization of this magnificent conception. Several states were marked out for dismemberment or extinction. Russia had already absorbed the greater part of Poland. The Tsar Alexander was now encouraged by Napoleon to take Finland from Sweden and the Danubian provinces from Turkey.

Napoleon promised to aid the Tsar in carrying out this part of the programme. In return the Tsar Alexander agreed to close the ports of Russia against English goods and to cede to France the Ionian Isles.²⁶ This group of islands was valuable to Napoleon as a sort of naval watch station in the Mediterranean and as a base of operations in the Orient.

As regards Poland and Prussia the interests of the two emperors clashed. It would have been to the advantage of Napoleon to restore the Polish nation, but he could not do this without alienating the Tsar Alexander; so he merely organized the greater part of Prussian Poland — he gave a portion of it to the Tsar — into what he named the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and bestowed it upon the vassal king of Saxony.²⁷

Thus were the hopes of the Polish patriots sacrificed upon the altar of Napoleon's imperial ambitions. Here was a nation of fifteen million souls which had been partitioned by brigand kings like a herd of cattle. The patriot Poles, who with pathetic devotion had followed Napoleon to every battlefield of the Consulate and the Empire, looked to him to unite and restore their nation. He had allowed them to hope that he

²⁵ Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815*, p. 249.

²⁶ See par. 360, note 7.

²⁷ Napoleon had made the Elector of Saxony a king just after the battle of Jena.

would do so. Never were hopes more cruelly disappointed. Had Napoleon here acted the part of a real liberator, he would have undone one of the greatest wrongs of which history knows, and in the gratitude of a redeemed and valiant nation would have raised for himself an enduring monument as one of the greatest benefactors of humanity.

As to Prussia, Napoleon was minded to erase it from the map of Europe. The intercession of the Tsar Alexander, however, saved the state from total extinction.²⁸ But neither the Tsar's mediation in behalf of his ally, Frederick William III, nor the personal entreaties of the beautiful and patriotic Queen Louisa, who humiliated herself by appearing as a suppliant before Napoleon at Tilsit, availed to save the monarchy from dismemberment and the deepest abasement.

Besides stripping Prussia of her Polish provinces Napoleon took away from her all her territories west of the Elbe, out of which, in connection with some other lands, he made the new kingdom of Westphalia, and gave it to his brother Jerome. This kingdom, into the making of which went twenty-four free cities and principalities, Napoleon now added to the Confederation of the Rhine.

Prussia thus lost fully one-half of her territory. What was left became virtually a province of Napoleon's Empire. The mutilated and exhausted state was forced to pay an enormous war indemnity, which finally mounted up to a thousand million francs, to meet the cost of a great French army of occupation numbering a hundred and seventy-five thousand men, and to furnish a contingent for the French army whenever called upon by Napoleon to do so.

376. The Continental Blockade ; the Berlin and Milan Decrees (1806-1807). — After the Peace of Tilsit, England was Napoleon's sole remaining enemy. The means which he employed

²⁸ Alexander wished to maintain Prussia as a barrier state between Russia and Napoleon's Empire. He viewed with apprehension the advance of Napoleon's frontier towards the western boundary of his own dominions.

to compass the ruin of this formidable and obstinate foe, the subsidizer of the coalitions which he was having constantly to face, affords the key to the history of the great years from 1807 to the final downfall of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. These means were what is known as the Continental Blockade or the Continental System. A very brief retrospect will make the situation clear.

We have seen how the English Admiral Nelson destroyed the allied French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar (par. 372). The effect of this victory upon European history can hardly be exaggerated. "Trafalgar was not only the greatest naval victory, it was the greatest and most momentous victory won either by land or by sea during the whole of the revolutionary war. No victory, and no series of victories, of Napoleon produced the same effect upon Europe. . . . A generation passed after Trafalgar before France again seriously threatened England at sea. The prospect of crushing the British navy, so long as England had the means to equip a navy, vanished. Napoleon henceforth set his hopes on exhausting England's resources, by compelling every state on the Continent to exclude her commerce. Trafalgar forced him to impose his yoke upon *all* Europe, or to abandon the hope of conquering Great Britain. . . . Nelson's last triumph left England in such a position that no means remained to injure her but those which *must result in the ultimate deliverance of the Continent.*"²⁹

As we have just intimated, the history of the remaining years of Napoleon's domination is hardly more than a commentary upon these words.

Alleging violations by England of the law of nations respecting the trade of neutrals and the right of blockade, Napoleon by two celebrated edicts, called from the cities whence they were issued the Berlin and Milan decrees, closed all the ports of the Continent against English ships, and forbade any of the

²⁹ Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, vol. i, p. 28; quoted by Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, vol. ii, p. 196.

European nations from holding any intercourse with Great Britain, all of whose ports he declared to be in a state of blockade. All ships engaging in trade with her were made subject to capture. All English subjects wherever found were to be made prisoners of war and their property confiscated.³⁰

The policy thus adopted by Napoleon to ruin England was a suicidal one, and resulted finally in the destruction of his own empire. English traders indeed suffered some severe losses, while the retaliatory measures adopted by the English government contributed to involve it in an unfortunate war with the United States,³¹ yet on the whole England was rather benefited than injured by Napoleon's Continental System, for since Napoleon was practically without a navy, the blockade could not be made effective, and immense quantities of English goods were smuggled into the continental ports and sold at high prices.³² Even Napoleon's own soldiers were sometimes clad in English-made clothes and shod with English-made shoes.

On the other hand, the effect upon the trade and commerce of the continental states was simply ruinous. Every trading center seethed with suppressed anger. "The hurling of twenty kings from their thrones," writes Napoleon's secretary Bourrienne, "would have produced less hatred."

377. The English seize the Danish Fleet (September, 1807). — Events of great moment, all connected directly with Napoleon's Continental Blockade, now tread closely one upon the heels of another.

A part of the understanding between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit was that Napoleon should seize upon Denmark and Portugal and appropriate their fleets, in order that he might be able to carry on more effectively his commercial war with

³⁰ England replied to these decrees by so-called Orders in Council (Jan. 7, 1807, and Nov. 11, 1807), whereby vessels trading between ports from which Napoleon had excluded English ships were made subject to capture as lawful war prizes.

³¹ The War of 1812-1814.

³² Napoleon himself neutralized in a great measure his own edicts by selling licenses to French traders.

Great Britain. In this contemplated action no regard was paid to the fact that both these countries, notwithstanding Portugal was friendly towards England, were neutral states.

The English ministers got information respecting this secret article of the Tilsit treaty. The situation in the North was already serious for the English. The Directory in taking possession of the Dutch Netherlands had got control of the Dutch trade. Napoleon's campaign against Prussia had resulted in his getting actual or virtual possession of all the ports of North Germany. Should he now be allowed to seize Denmark he would be able to control absolutely the commerce of the Baltic Sea.

The English government resolved to forestall Napoleon by seizing the Danish fleet. An English squadron descended upon the Danish capital, Copenhagen, and demanded of the astonished Danes the surrender of all their ships and naval stores. It was explained by the English officials that the fleet and stores would be held by England merely as a "deposit," and would be given back at the end of the war with France.

The Danes indignantly refused to give up their ships. Thereupon the English bombarded Copenhagen, destroying over eighteen hundred of the houses of the city, and quickly compelled compliance with their demand. The entire Danish fleet, and all the naval stores which could be found, were carried off by the English as war booty.

The proceeding was admittedly a high-handed one, and probably England lost more by it than she gained; for it aroused against her a feeling of bitter indignation on the Continent, and caused Denmark, hitherto neutral, to enter into a close alliance with Napoleon.

378. Napoleon takes Possession of Portugal (November, 1807).—The English had foiled Napoleon in his designs upon the Danish fleet. They also marred his plans concerning Portugal.

The Emperor created a pretext for an attack upon that little state by making of the Prince Regent demands which

he knew would not be granted. He required him to close the ports of the country against England, to declare war against her, and to confiscate all British property in Portuguese territory. The Regent acceded to the first two of these demands, but refused to comply with the last.

Thereupon Napoleon, having first secured the coöperation of the Spanish government,³³ sent an army under the command of Junot into the peninsula. Upon the approach of the French army to Lisbon, the royal family, acting upon the advice of the English government, embarked on board the Portuguese fleet, and, escorted by several English warships, sailed for Brazil.

Thus the fleet was got out of Napoleon's reach, but the country passed into the hands of the French. A proclamation issued by Junot declared that "the House of Braganza had ceased to rule," and Portugal now became virtually a province of Napoleon's Empire, — Napoleon cynically disregarding the agreement he had made with the Spanish king for a division of the spoils.

379. Napoleon places his Brother Joseph upon the Spanish Throne (June 6, 1808); the Spanish Uprising. — The seizure of Portugal was only the first step in the carrying out by Napoleon of his scheme for making himself master of the whole of the Iberian peninsula. Spain was next appropriated.

Arrogantly interfering in the affairs of that country, — the government it must be said was desperately incompetent and corrupt, and the condition of things in the royal family most disgraceful, — Napoleon induced the weak-minded Bourbon king, Charles IV, to resign to him as "his dearly beloved friend and ally" his crown,³⁴ which he at once bestowed upon his brother Joseph (June 6, 1808). The throne of Naples,

³³ The Treaty of Fontainebleau, Oct. 27, 1807.

³⁴ He had already, upon the appearance in Spain of a French army under Murat, abdicated in favor of his son Ferdinand, an act which had given great joy to the Spaniards. Napoleon decoyed Ferdinand over the Pyrenees to Bayonne, and forced him to give up all claims to the crown.

which Joseph had been occupying,³⁵ was transferred to Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law. Thus did this audacious man make and unmake kings, and give away thrones and kingdoms.

But the high-spirited Spaniards were not the people to submit tamely to such an indignity as Napoleon had inflicted upon them. The entire nation from the Pyrenees to the Straits of Gibraltar flew to arms. The uprising had world-wide significance. "The effect produced by Spanish enthusiasm in all its reckless wildness was incalculable, and makes this rebellion stand out as the greatest European event which had happened since the French Revolution, and the beginning of a new and grand chapter in European history."³⁶

Portugal also rose, and England sent to her aid a force under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, and the hero of Waterloo.

Both in Spain and in Portugal humiliating disasters, like an avenging Nemesis, overtook the French. In Southern Spain an army of over twenty thousand was forced to surrender to the Spaniards.³⁷ This made necessary the abandonment of Madrid by the French. Joseph fled in dismay from his throne before he had been seated upon it more than eight days. The French army retreated beyond the Ebro, almost to the foot of the Pyrenees.

In Portugal fate was equally adverse to the French. After a serious defeat at the hands of the English, Junot signed an agreement³⁸ according to the terms of which the French were to evacuate Portugal, the English agreeing to carry them home by sea.

Napoleon, aside from his unfortunate expedition to Egypt, had never before met with such a check. The warning words of his brother Joseph, who had written him, "Your glory will

³⁵ Napoleon had dethroned the Bourbons in Naples in 1806.

³⁶ Seeley, *Life and Times of Stein*, vol. i, p. 346.

³⁷ This was the memorable capitulation of Baylen (July 20, 1808).

³⁸ The Convention of Cintra (Aug. 30, 1808).

suffer shipwreck in Spain," seemed to have found quick fulfillment. Napoleon realized that he must take the field himself if the prestige of the French arms was to be restored.

380. The Congress at Erfurt (September–October, 1808). — Before setting out on this enterprise, however, Napoleon deemed it politic to have an interview with the Emperor Alexander, in order to renew the friendship and cement afresh the alliance entered into between them at Tilsit — for he was well aware that the Tsar was chafing under the workings of the Continental Blockade.

The meeting took place at Erfurt. This celebrated Congress marks the culminating point of Napoleon's extraordinary career. Europe probably had never seen anything in imperial magnificence, in civil and military display, to equal this gathering. Napoleon on this occasion played host to four vassal kings, to scores of princes and ambassadors, and to the greatest poets and men of letters of the time. French actors, brought from Paris, presented night after night to "a parterre of kings" the masterpieces of the French stage.

The obsequiousness of all, in particular of the petty German princes, to Napoleon is what most amazes us. Even the brother of King Frederick William of Prussia, on Napoleon's brutal invitation, joined in a hunt on the battlefield of Jena.

The meeting between Napoleon and Goethe and Wieland possesses a painful interest. Both of the great poets seemed dazzled by the genius of the conqueror of Europe, and bowed in homage at his feet. Goethe was flattered when Napoleon greeted him with the words, "You are a man"; and both accepted at his hands the cross of the Legion of Honor.³⁹

Amidst festivals, parades, balls, and operas the main purpose of the meeting was not forgotten by Napoleon. The Tilsit

³⁹ Of course, in judging the conduct of the German princes and German men of letters at this Erfurt meeting, we should bear in mind how weak at this time the sentiment of nationality among the Germans really was. For the attitude of Goethe and other German thinkers towards Nationalism, see par. 389, note 46.

alliance between him and the Russian Emperor was renewed. In return for being allowed to absorb Finland — Alexander had at this time nearly completed the conquest of that province — and to appropriate the Danubian provinces of the Sultan, the Tsar was to keep Austria quiet while Napoleon was busy in Spain, and was to rigorously enforce against England the Continental Blockade.

381. Napoleon in Spain (November, 1808–January, 1809). — From the Congress at Erfurt Napoleon hastened into Spain. At the head of an army of over a hundred thousand men he marched southward, entered Madrid in triumph, reseatd his brother upon the Spanish throne, and then told the Spaniards that if they did not respect Joseph he would put the crown on his own head and teach them what was becoming conduct in subjects.

Napoleon now began the pursuit of a British army which under Sir John Moore had marched from Portugal into Spain. Threatening tidings from another quarter of Europe caused him to give over the pursuit into the hands of one of his marshals,⁴⁰ while he himself hastened back to Paris.

382. Napoleon's Third Campaign against Austria (1809). — Taking advantage of Napoleon's troubles in the Iberian peninsula, Emperor Francis I of Austria had put his army on a war footing, and was making ready to throw down the gage of battle to the French Emperor.

Napoleon, since his best troops were occupied in Spain, sincerely desired peace with Austria. But the Emperor Francis was bent on war, his hopes of regaining what had been lost apparently rendering him forgetful of Austerlitz. "The waters of Lethe and not the waters of the Danube," said

⁴⁰ The retreat of Sir John Moore from the heart of Spain before a greatly superior French force is given a place along with that of the Ten Thousand Greeks among the memorable retreats in history. Moore was killed in the battle of Corunna (Jan. 16, 1809), on the northern coast of Spain, and the remnant of his army, which his skill and gallantry had saved, were taken on board the English fleet.

Napoleon to a group of foreign ambassadors, "seem to wash the walls of Vienna."

The war opened in the spring of 1809. At the end of a short campaign, the most noted engagements of which were the hard-fought battles of Aspern (Essling) and Wagram, Austria was again at Napoleon's feet.

The Emperor Francis was now forced to cede large tracts of his dominions to Bavaria and to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and to surrender to Napoleon Carniola, Istria, and other lands. These last, together with certain cessions made by Austria in 1805, Napoleon added to his empire under the name of the Illyrian Provinces.

The cession by Austria of her Illyrian lands deprived her of her water front on the Adriatic Sea and shut her out from the Mediterranean. At the same time these lands were a valuable acquisition for Napoleon. He now had actual or virtual control of the whole of the European coast line from the frontier of Turkey on the Adriatic to the frontier of Russia on the Baltic.

The real significance of this attempt of Austria to shake off Napoleon's yoke was that it was more of a national movement, that is, a movement inspired by patriotic feeling, than any which Napoleon had yet encountered outside of Spain. This foreshadowed the destruction of the Napoleonic Empire.

383. Union of the Papal States with Napoleon's Empire (May, 1809).—Napoleon's Continental System had led him into deep trouble in the Iberian peninsula. It now contributed to bring him into trouble with the Papacy. Pope Pius VII refused to enforce the blockade against England and further presumed to disregard other commands of Napoleon. Thereupon Napoleon declared that the Pope "was no longer a secular prince," and took possession of his domains. Pope Pius straightway excommunicated the Emperor, who thereupon arrested him, and for three years held him a state prisoner. He further removed the College of Cardinals to Paris. Thither

he also transferred all the chief offices of the papal government, together with the papal archives. Hundreds of wagonloads of books and documents were dragged to the French capital.

Napoleon's idea in all this was to get the entire machinery of the papal government under his hand. He had in mind to preside over the councils of the Church as Constantine and Charlemagne had done. After his fall he commented as follows upon this part of his plan for setting up a universal autocracy: "Paris would have become the capital of Christendom, and I should have governed the religious as well as the political world."

384. Napoleon's Second Marriage (1810). — Soon after his triumph over the Emperor Francis, Napoleon divorced his wife Josephine, in order to form a new alliance with the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria.⁴¹ Josephine bowed meekly to the will of her lord, and went into sorrowful exile from his palace. Napoleon's object in this matter was to cover the reproach of his own plebeian birth by an alliance with one of the ancient royal families of Europe, and to secure the perpetuity of his government by leaving an heir who might be the inheritor of his throne and fortunes.

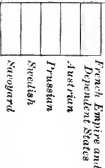
The desire and ambition of Napoleon to found a dynasty seemed realized when, the year following his marriage with the archduchess, a son was born to them, who was given the title of King of Rome. His enemies could now no longer, as he reproached them with doing, make appointments at his grave. He had now something more than "a life interest" in France. The succession was assured.

In forming this family alliance with Napoleon, the conqueror and oppressor of Germany, the Emperor Francis undermined

⁴¹ Josephine was divorced Dec. 15, 1809; the marriage to Marie Louise took place April 2, 1810. Josephine retained her title of Empress, and was assigned the palace of Malmaison as a residence with a pension of two million francs a year. To the very last she and Napoleon were good friends. Her death occurred May 29, 1814, just a few weeks after Napoleon's first abdication (par. 391).

1810

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his position as German leader in the coming War of Liberation, and left the way clear for Prussia to assume that place of venture and of honor.

385. Holland and North German Coast Lands annexed to Napoleon's Empire (1810). — During this year of his second marriage Napoleon made two fresh territorial additions to his empire.

Louis Bonaparte, — king of Holland, it will be recalled, — disapproving of his brother's Continental System, which was ruining the trade of the Dutch, abdicated the crown. Thereupon Napoleon incorporated Holland with the French Empire (July 9, 1810).

A few months later Napoleon also annexed to his empire all the German coast land from Holland to Lübeck, in order to be able to close the important ports here, including the old Hanseatic cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck, against English trade (Dec. 13, 1810).

386. Napoleon's Empire at its Greatest Extent (1811). — In these additions the Napoleonic Empire received its last enlargement. Napoleon was now, in outward seeming,⁴² at the height of his marvelous fortunes. Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram were the successive steps by which he had mounted to the most dizzy heights of military power and glory.

The empire which this soldier of fortune had built up stretched from Lübeck to beyond Rome, embracing France proper, the Netherlands, part of Western and Northwestern Germany, all Western Italy as far south as the kingdom of Naples, together with the Illyrian Provinces and the Ionian Islands.

On all sides were allied, vassal, or dependent states. Several of the ancient thrones of Europe were occupied by Napoleon's relatives or his favorite marshals. He himself was king

⁴² It is probably true that the height of Napoleon's real power is marked by the Treaty of Tilsit (1807).

of the kingdom of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Mediator of Switzerland. Austria and Prussia were completely subject to his will. Russia and Denmark were his allies.

Such were the relations of the once great powers and independent states of Europe to "the Corsican adventurer." Not since the time of the Cæsars or of Charlemagne had one man's will swayed so much of the world.

387. Elements of Weakness in the Empire. — But, splendid and imposing as at this moment appeared the external affairs of Napoleon, the sun of his fortunes, which had risen so brightly at Austerlitz, had already passed its meridian. There were many things just now contributing to the weakness of Napoleon's Empire and foreboding its speedy dissolution. Founded and upheld by the genius of Napoleon, it depended solely upon the life and fortunes of this single man. The diverse elements it embraced were as yet so loosely joined that there could be no good hope that it would survive either the misfortune or the death of its founder.

Again, Napoleon's Continental System, through the suffering and loss it inflicted particularly upon the maritime countries of Europe, had caused murmurs of discontent all around the circumference of the Continent. This ruinous policy had also, as we have seen, involved the French Emperor in a terribly wasteful war with Spain, which country was destined — more truly than Italy, of which the expression was first used — to become "the grave of the French." Napoleon after his downfall himself admitted that his passage of the Pyrenees was the fatal misstep in his career.

Still again, the conscriptions of the Emperor had drained France of men, and her armies were now recruited by mere boys, who were utterly unfit to bear the burden and fatigue of Napoleon's rapid campaigns. The heavy taxes, also, which were necessary to meet the expenses of Napoleon's wars, and to carry on the splendid public works upon which he was

constantly engaged, produced great suffering and discontent throughout the empire.

Furthermore, Napoleon's harsh and unjust treatment of Pope Pius VII had alienated the Catholic clergy and created a resentful feeling among pious Catholics everywhere.

At the same time the crowd of deposed princes and dispossessed aristocrats in those states which Napoleon had reconstructed, and in which he had set up the new code of equal rights, were naturally resentful, and were ever watching an opportunity to regain their lost power and privileges.⁴³

Even the large class who at first welcomed Napoleon as the representative of the French ideas of equality and liberty, and applauded while he overturned ancient thrones and stripped of their privileges ancient aristocracies, which, like the monarchy and the feudal nobility in France swept away by the Revolution, represented despotism and inequality—even many of these early adherents had been turned into bitter enemies by Napoleon's adoption of imperial manners and the formation of a court, by his violation of the principle of equality through the creation of an hereditary aristocracy, and especially by his setting aside his first wife Josephine and forming a marriage alliance with one of the old hated royal houses of Europe.⁴⁴

⁴³ Even those princes who owed their crowns to Napoleon covertly worked against him. "My object was to point out here as a fact," writes Metternich, "that there was in the power of Napoleon, up to the point it had now reached, and in his political creations, a radical defect, which, it appeared to me, must injure his consolidations and even prepare his fall. Napoleon delighted in annoying, humiliating, and tormenting those whom he had elevated; they, placed in a perpetual state of mistrust and irritation, worked secretly to injure the power which had created them, and that they already regarded as their principal enemy." — *Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 13.

⁴⁴ A Nemesis of another kind followed Napoleon's Austrian marriage of policy. By inspiring in him false confidence it was a potent factor in his final undoing. "It was his trust in his father-in-law that induced Napoleon to continue the exhausting war in Spain whilst he armed all the Continent against Russia. It was the same trust that led him, after the catastrophe [see par. 391], to refuse terms which would have still left France greater than he found her." — MALLESON, *Life of Metternich*, p. 195.

388. The New Force destined to destroy Napoleon's Empire : the Nations. — But the active force which was to overwhelm Napoleon's empire and to free Europe from his tyranny was the sentiment of national patriotism which was being aroused in the dismembered and vassal states, and in those threatened with the loss of independence. Up to the time of his invasion of Spain, Napoleon had warred against the governments of Europe. Those governments he had been able to overturn easily because they were not based on the love and loyalty of their subjects.

But now Napoleon, in his ambition to make himself master of all Europe, was contemptuously disregarding the claims of race and nationality. The Empire threatened to become the tomb of the nations. In the face of this danger national patriotism was being everywhere awakened.

After the surrender of Ulm, when Austria was for the second time beaten to the ground by Napoleon, the English minister Pitt said to some desponding friends who expressed the opinion that the French Emperor could never be resisted on land, that "Napoleon would meet with a check when he encountered a *national* resistance ; and that Spain was the place for it ; and that then England would intervene."

Commenting upon this prophecy, Lord Acton pronounces it "the most astounding and profound prediction in all political history, where such things have not been rare."⁴⁵

We have already witnessed the popular uprising in Spain ; we shall now witness a similar movement in North Germany and in Russia.

389. The Regeneration of Prussia ; Stein, Hardenberg, and Scharnhorst. — It was in Prussia that this patriotic movement found typical expression. After the crushing defeat at Jena, Prussia, as we have seen, had been subjected by Napoleon to every indignity, and forced to drain to the dregs the cup of humiliation. This had for a result the calling into life in the

⁴⁵ *A Lecture on the Study of History*, p. 61.

nobler souls among the Germans of the long dormant sentiment of national patriotism. The growth of the new feeling was stimulated and directed by various agencies.

Foremost among these agencies were the stirring patriotic songs of the poets Arndt, Körner, and others, which kindled in thousands of German hearts an hitherto unwonted fervor of enthusiasm for the German fatherland. Never did the power of song to move the deepest and noblest feelings of the human soul have a more remarkable illustration.

Education became another of the means of national quickening and regeneration. In the year 1808, while Napoleon's garrisons held all the chief fortresses of Prussia and his spies and informers made dangerous any utterance adverse to his rule, the philosopher Fichte delivered before Berlin audiences a remarkable course of lectures entitled "Addresses to the German Nation." No such appeal had been made to the German mind and heart since Luther published his "Address to the German Nobility" (par. 26).

Fichte's idea was that public education was the only hopeful agency for the moral and political regeneration of the German nation. The German youth must be taught the duty of unselfish devotion to the public welfare, and must be made to realize the joy of making sacrifices for the fatherland. Thus was a wholly new spirit breathed into German education and German philosophy.⁴⁶ Thousands of German youths were

⁴⁶ Hitherto the greatest thinkers and writers of Germany had insisted that the individual seek culture simply for his own sake. The state was the thing of last concern with the great poet Goethe. National patriotism he regarded as a narrow sentiment unworthy of a great mind. The poet Lessing declared patriotism to be "a heroic weakness," and love of the fatherland a sentiment which he had never felt. Equally free from this "heroic weakness," as related to a *German* fatherland, was the philosopher Hegel. Although living in Jena at the time of the battle of Jena, when the Prussian armies were beaten to the ground by Napoleon and the independence of Prussia was lost, he knew nothing of what was going on until twenty-four hours after it had all happened, and then learned about it through a mere chance. The idea with all these great poets and philosophers was that Cosmopolitanism is a nobler thing than Nationalism,

stirred by a sentiment they had never felt before, — ardent love for the German name and the German land.

This educational movement represented by Fichte culminated in the establishment in 1810 of the University of Berlin. This institution was founded by Frederick William III to take the place of the University of Halle, which Prussia had lost along with the provinces Napoleon had taken from her. "The state must replace what it has lost in physical resources by moral strength," was the declaration of the king in establishing the institution.

The work of organizing the University was intrusted to the celebrated scholar, William von Humboldt. In the faculty which he gathered we find the names of Fichte, Schleiermacher, Savigny, Boeckh, and Niebuhr, — names which remind us how full of great scholars and thinkers Germany was at this time. The spirit at work in the new University is shown by the fact that out of between two and three hundred students only twenty-eight were left in the session of 1813, — the year in which the War of Liberation began.

At the same time that the poets, philosophers, and teachers were creating by their appeals and methods a new spirit in Prussian society, the masses of the people were being reached and awakened by the social and economic reforms carried out by the eminent patriot statesmen, Stein and Hardenberg.⁴⁷

Two-thirds of the population of Prussia were at this time serfs. Now Stein's controlling idea was that the strength of a state depends upon the patriotism of the people. But Stein's

— that men should regard themselves not as citizens of a paltry state but as citizens of the world. But while geniuses like Goethe and Lessing and Hegel may from the outset be cosmopolites, it seems to be the law for ordinary men that they must first become citizens of a state and learn to practice the duties of this relationship before they can become true citizens of the world.

⁴⁷ Baron vom Stein was made chief minister by King Frederick William, Oct. 4, 1807, and given a free hand in carrying out proposed reforms. At the end of thirteen months Napoleon, who recognized the tendency and aim of Stein's measures, forced the king to dismiss him from office. Prince von Hardenberg succeeded him and carried on more cautiously the work he had begun.

insight revealed to him the truth that "patriots cannot be made out of serfs." Hence his policy of enfranchisement.

By a celebrated Edict of Emancipation⁴⁸ serfdom was abolished. This decree, by reason of its far-reaching consequences, deserves a place along with the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln and the Edict of the Emperor Alexander II which liberated the Russian serfs. The Prussian king, in the words of Stein, was no longer "the king of slaves, but of free men." Prussia's future was now secure. Henceforth she was not merely a state but a nation.

Along with serfdom, class privileges and distinctions, which had divided the population of Prussia into classes separated by almost impassable lines, were now swept away. The towns were given a measure of local self-government, which was to prepare the way for the representatives of the people to participate in the national government.

While Stein and Hardenberg were effecting these reforms in the civil realm, Scharnhorst, the Minister of War, was reorganizing the army on the model of that of France. The old army, which had gone to pieces so disgracefully on the field of Jena, was made up of conscripted peasants, officered by incompetent and insolent nobles. Flogging was the punishment for even the most trivial offenses. The new army was an army of self-respecting citizens, a truly national army, based on the principle of universal military service.⁴⁹

Thus equality in all relations, civil and military, replaced galling and degrading inequality. The effect of these reforms upon the spirit of the people was magical. They effected the political and moral regeneration of Prussia. In a word, Stein and Hardenberg and Scharnhorst did for Prussia, in the name of the king, what the Constituent Assembly and the Convention,

⁴⁸ Issued Oct. 9, 1807, to take effect three years later.

⁴⁹ Napoleon did not allow the Prussian army to be raised above 42,000 men; but Scharnhorst evaded this prohibition by keeping the recruits in service only a few months. By this quick renewal of the army he soon had trained a good part of the Prussian youths and men of military age.

in the name of the people, had done for France. Prussia now became strong like France, because Prussia was no longer simply the king and the aristocracy, but the Prussian people.

Prussia regenerated became the leader of the German nation in the memorable War of Liberation, which we are now approaching. This uprising of the Prussian nation against Napoleon forms one of the most dramatic and inspiring passages in the history of the German people.

390. Napoleon's Invasion of Russia (1812-1813).—The signal for the general uprising of Germany and the rest of Europe was the terrible misfortune which befell Napoleon in his invasion of Russia.

Various circumstances had concurred to weaken the friendship and break the alliance between the Russian Emperor and Napoleon. Poland was one of the causes of Alexander's distrust and alienation. After the humiliation of Austria in 1809 Napoleon had enlarged the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. This had displeased and alarmed Alexander, who feared that it was Napoleon's secret purpose to restore the independence of the Polish nation.

But the main cause of Alexander's dissatisfaction was the Continental Blockade. This was inflicting great loss upon Russian trade, and the Tsar finally refused to carry out Napoleon's decrees, and entered a coalition against France.⁵⁰

Napoleon resolved to force Russia, as he had the rest of continental Europe, to bow to his will. Gathering contingents from all his vassal states, he crossed the Russian frontier at the head of what was proudly called the Grand Army, numbering upwards of four hundred thousand men. The steppes of Russia had never been invaded by such an army since

⁵⁰ There were not lacking personal grounds for the Tsar's hostility. For the sake of the Austrian family alliance, Napoleon had abruptly abandoned marriage negotiations for the hand of a Russian princess; and just recently (in 1810) he had annexed to France the Duchy of Oldenburg, whose ruler was a relative of Alexander.

Darius I of Persia led his immense hosts across the Lower Danube five hundred years before the Christian era.

The tactics of the Russians were now practically the same as those adopted by the ancient Scythians. After making a single stand at Smolensk the Russian army avoided battle, and as it retreated into the interior devastated the country in front of the advancing enemy. Finally, at Borodino, seventy miles from Moscow, the Russians halted and offered battle to cover the city, but in a terribly bloody struggle, in which the aggregate loss in killed and wounded of the two armies was upwards of seventy thousand men, their resistance was broken and the invaders entered in triumph the ancient capital.

To his astonishment Napoleon found the city practically deserted by its inhabitants; and two days after he had established himself in the empty palace of the Tsar (in the Kremlin), fires, started in some unknown way, broke out simultaneously in different quarters of the city: The conflagration, like the Great Fire in Nero's Rome, raged for five days, until the greater part of the city was reduced to ashes.

Napoleon's situation was now critical. He had confidently expected, from his knowledge of the Emperor Alexander, that as soon as the French army was in Moscow he would sue for peace. But to Napoleon's messages Alexander returned for reply that he would not enter into negotiations with him so long as a single French soldier stood upon Russian soil.

In the hope that the Tsar would abandon his heroic resolve, Napoleon lingered about the ruined city until the middle of October, and then finally gave orders for the return march. This delay was a fatal mistake, and resulted in one of the greatest tragedies in history. Before the retreating French columns had covered half the distance to the frontier, the terrible Russian winter was upon them. The sufferings of the ill-clad soldiers was intense. Thousands were frozen to death. The spot of each bivouac was marked by the circle of dead around the watch fires. Sometimes in a single night as many

as two or three hundred perished. Thousands more were slain by the peasants and the wild Cossacks, who hovered about the retreating columns and harassed them day and night. The passage of the river Beresina was attended with appalling losses.

Soon after the passage of this stream, Napoleon, conscious that the fate of his Empire depended upon his presence in Paris, left the remnant of the army in charge of his marshals, and hurried by post to his capital. Marshal Ney, the "bravest of the brave," performed miracles in covering the retreat of the broken and dispirited columns. Almost single-handed he beat back again and again the pursuing bands of the enemy. He was the last man, it is said, to cross the Niemen.⁵¹ His face was so haggard from care and so begrimed with powder that no one recognized him. Being asked who he was, he is said to have replied, "I am the rear guard of the Grand Army."

The loss by death of the French and their allies in this disastrous campaign is reckoned at upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand men, while that of the Russians is estimated to have been almost as large.

391. The War of Liberation; the Battle of Leipzig, the "Battle of the Nations" (Oct. 16-19, 1813). — Napoleon's fortunes were buried with his Grand Army in the snows of Russia. His woeful losses here, taken in connection with his great losses in Spain, encouraged the European powers to think that now they could crush him. A sixth coalition was formed, embracing Russia, Prussia, England, Sweden, and later Austria.

Napoleon made gigantic efforts to prepare for the final struggle. By the spring of 1813 he was at the head of a new army, numbering eventually over three hundred thousand men, — boys we should say, so extremely young were a large number of the fresh recruits.

⁵¹ The first troops of the invading army had crossed the Niemen June 23; the recrossing of the river took place Dec. 14, with less than 20,000 men.

Falling upon the allied armies of the Russians and Prussians, first at Lützen and then at Bautzen, Napoleon gained a decisive victory upon both fields. Austria now appeared in the lists, and at Leipzig, in Saxony, Napoleon was attacked by the leagued armies of Europe. So many were the powers represented upon this renowned field that it is known in history as the "Battle of the Nations." The combat lasted three days. Napoleon was defeated and forced to retreat into France.

Some attempts at negotiations which were now made proved futile, since Napoleon, desperate as was his situation, would not accept the reasonable terms offered him by the allies, which were in substance that France should be content with her natural boundaries, — the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees.

The armies of the allies now poured over all the French frontiers. Wellington, having driven Napoleon's marshals from the Iberian peninsula, was already in the south of France; the Swedes were advancing through the Netherlands; while in the east two strong armies, made up of Prussians, Russians, and Austrians, commanded by Blücher and Schwarzenberg, were upon the Rhine.

Napoleon's tremendous efforts to roll back the tide of invasion were all in vain. Paris surrendered to the allies (March 31, 1814). As the struggle became manifestly hopeless, his most trusted officers deserted and betrayed him. The French Senate, acting under the inspiration of the celebrated Talleyrand, who had earlier served Napoleon as his Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued a decree deposing the Emperor and restoring the throne to the Bourbons. Napoleon was forced to abdicate and was banished to the little island of Elba in the Mediterranean, being permitted to retain his title of Emperor, and to keep about him a few of his old guards. But Elba was a very diminutive empire for one to whom the half of Europe had seemed too small, and we shall not be surprised to learn that Napoleon was not content with it.

392. "The Hundred Days" (March 20-June 29, 1815). — Upon invitation of the French Senate the brother of Louis XVI now assumed the crown with the title of Louis XVIII. With this new Bourbon king the allies arranged a treaty,⁵² the shifty Talleyrand acting as Louis's representative. This treaty gave France the frontiers she had in 1792.

In accordance with a promise he had made, Louis gave France a constitution, but with the suffrage so restricted that there were not more than a hundred thousand qualified voters. Notwithstanding the constitution Louis acted very much as though his power were unlimited. He styled himself "King of France and Navarre *by the grace of God*." He always alluded to the year in which he began to rule as the nineteenth of his reign, thus affecting to ignore wholly the government of the Republic and the Empire. This excited alarm, because it seemed to question the validity of all that had been done since the dethronement and execution of Louis XVI.

The result of this reactionary policy was widespread dissatisfaction throughout France. Some, fearing lest all the work of the Revolution would be undone, began to desire the return of Napoleon, and the wish was perhaps what gave rise to the report which was spread about that he would come back with the spring violets.

In the month of March, 1815, as the commissioners of the various powers were sitting at Vienna⁵³ rearranging the landmarks and boundaries obliterated by the French inundation, news was brought to them that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and was in France. At first the members of the Congress were incredulous, regarding the thing as a jest, and were with difficulty convinced of the truth of the report.

Taking advantage of the general dissatisfaction with the rule of the restored Bourbons, Napoleon had resolved upon a bold push for the recovery of his crown. Landing with about eight

⁵² First Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814.

⁵³ This celebrated Congress had convened in November, 1814. See par. 393.

hundred guardsmen at one of the southern ports of France, he aroused all the country with one of his stirring addresses, and then immediately pushed on towards Paris.

Never was the excitable, impulsive character of the French people better illustrated than now; and never was better exhibited the wonderful personal magnetism of Napoleon. His journey to the capital was one continuous ovation. One regiment after another, forgetting their recent oath of loyalty to the Bourbons, hastened to join his train. His old generals and soldiers embraced him with transports of joy.⁵⁴ Marshal Ney, sent to arrest the Emperor, whom he had promised to bring to Paris in a cage, at the first sight of his old commander threw himself into his arms and pledged him his sword and his life.

Louis XVIII, deserted by his army, was left helpless, and, as Napoleon approached the gates of Paris, fled from his throne.

Napoleon desired peace with the sovereigns of Europe; but they did not think the peace of the Continent could be maintained so long as he sat upon the French throne. For the seventh and last time the allies leagued their armies against "the disturber of the peace of Europe." A half million of men were ready to pour over all the frontiers of France.

Hoping to overwhelm the armies of the allies by striking them one after another before they had time to unite, Napoleon moved swiftly into Belgium with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand in order to crush there the English under the Duke of Wellington and the Prussians under Blücher. He first fell in with and defeated the Prussian army, and then faced the English at Waterloo (June 18, 1815).

The story of Waterloo need not be told, — how all day the French broke their columns in vain on the English squares;

⁵⁴ Napoleon's return was welcomed by the army, especially by the returned prisoners from Russia and Germany, but it was not welcomed by the French people generally.

how, at the critical moment towards the close of the day when Wellington was wishing for Blücher or for night, Blücher with a fresh force of thirty thousand Prussians turned the tide of battle; and how the famous Old Guard, which knew how to die but not how to surrender,⁵⁵ made its last charge and left its hitherto invincible squares upon the lost field.

A second time Napoleon was forced to abdicate,⁵⁶ and a second time Louis XVIII ascended his unstable throne.⁵⁷

Napoleon made his way to the coast, purposing to take ship for the United States; but the way was barred by British watchfulness, and he was constrained to surrender to the commander of the English war ship *Bellerophon*. "I come, like Themistocles," he said, "to throw myself upon the hospitality of the English people. I put myself under the protection of their laws."

But no one believed that Napoleon could safely be left at large, or that his presence, even though he were in close confinement, anywhere in Europe would be consistent with the future security and repose of the Continent. Some even urged that he be given up to Louis XVIII to be shot as a rebel and an outlaw. The final decision was that he should be banished to the island of Saint Helena, in the South Atlantic. Thither he was carried by the English, — who, with the consent of the allies, assumed all responsibility in the matter, — and closely guarded by them until his death, in 1821.

⁵⁵ General Cambronne, the commander of the Guard, when summoned to surrender, is said to have returned this reply: "The Guard dies, but never surrenders." There is doubt concerning the origin of the famous phrase.

⁵⁶ His abdication was in favor of his little son, whom he proclaimed "Napoleon II, Emperor of the French."

⁵⁷ The allies now signed with Louis what is known as the Second Treaty of Paris (Nov. 20, 1815). Its terms were much more severe than those of the first treaty. France had now to accept the frontiers which were hers in 1789, to pay an indemnity of seven hundred million francs, and to defray for five years the cost of an army of occupation consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand men. Before the treaty was entered into, all the manuscripts and works of art which Napoleon at different times had appropriated were restored to their rightful owners.

The story of these last years of Napoleon Bonaparte, as gathered from the companions of his exile, is one of the most absorbing and pathetic in all history. At the time of his death Napoleon was in his fifty-second year. As a military genius and commander, he left a deeper impress upon the imagination of the world, and fills a larger place in history, probably, than any other man who ever lived.

Sources and Source Material. — Almost all the contemporary literature of the Napoleonic age, and there is an extraordinary mass of it, must be read with more or less caution, large allowance being made for the personal equation. As has been often remarked, it seems to have been almost impossible for any one to approach Napoleon Bonaparte without making him an object either of worship or of execration.

Of the numerous Recollections or Memoirs obtainable in English the following are among the most interesting and valuable: BOURRIENNE, *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte*. Many editions. Bourrienne was Bonaparte's schoolfellow and comrade, and then his private secretary from 1796 to 1802. BARON DE MÉNEVAL, *Memoirs* (trans. by Robert H. Sherard, London, 1894), 3 vols. Méneval was Napoleon's private secretary under the Consulate and the Empire. His work, like Bourrienne's, must be used with caution. METTERNICH, *Memoirs* (trans. by Mrs. Alexander Napier, New York, 1880), vols. i and ii; the remaining three volumes cover a later period than the one under review. The first two books of vol. i will prove of most interest to the general reader. Vol. ii is made up wholly of documents and letters. For a word concerning Metternich, see par. 395. TALLEYRAND, *Memoirs* (trans. by M. de Beaufort, New York and London, 1891), vols. i and ii. The reader will find the account of the Erfurt interview (vol. i, pp. 293-342) especially interesting. PASQUIER, *Memoirs* (trans. by Charles E. Roche, New York, 1893), 3 vols. Valuable for the Restoration and the Hundred Days. CHATEAUBRIAND, *Memoirs* (New York and London edition, 1902), vol. ii, pt. ii, pp. 252-293; for the execution of the Duc d'Enghien. These pages have a special value as showing the feeling of indignation which this crime aroused. MADAME DE RÉMUSAT, *Memoirs* (trans. by Mrs. Cashel Hoey and John Lillie, New York, 1900). The following extract from a letter shows in what spirit the author wrote: "I exhaust myself with an effort to find something to praise, but this man was such an exterminator of worth, and we were brought so low, that I grow utterly disheartened, and the cry of truth utters itself irresistibly." BARON DE MARBOT, *Memoirs*, and BARON THIÉBAULT,

Memoirs, 2 vols. (both works translated, with slight abridgment, by Arthur John Butler). SERGEANT BOURGOYNE, *Memoirs* (compiled from the original MS. by Paul Cottin, New York, 1899). A graphic personal narrative of the Moscow campaign by one who took part in it. LAS CASES, *Journal of the Private Life and Conversation of the Emperor Napoleon at Saint Helena* (London, 1823), 4 vols. Las Cases' admiration for Napoleon amounted to superstitious worship. "The Napoleon of Las Cases," wrote Metternich, after reading his journal, "bears the same relation to the true Napoleon that the Achilles of the opera bears to the veritable Achilles himself."

In *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. ii, No. 2, "The Napoleonic Period," will be found the text of the treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville, and other important documents, edited by Prof. J. H. Robinson. Tarbell's *The Words of Napoleon* (Day's Work Series, Boston, 1900) contains interesting selections from Napoleon's addresses and letters. In reading these extracts it should be borne in mind that Napoleon's speeches, like his bulletins, often bore no relation to the actual facts or to his own real thoughts and purposes. See also Henderson's *Side Lights on English History*, pp. 284-297, and Colby's *Selections from the Sources of English History*, Nos. 109-112.

Secondary Works. — Among the numerous biographies of Napoleon the following possess special scholarly merit and authority: ROSE (J. H.), ***The Life of Napoleon I* (1902), 2 vols.; SLOANE (W. M.), ***Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, 4 vols.; LANFREY (P.), *The History of Napoleon the First* (from the French), 4 vols. (left incomplete by the death of the author); SEELEY (J. R.), *Napoleon the First*; and ROPES (J. C.), *The First Napoleon*. The last author, who takes a favorable view of the character of Napoleon, should be read in connection with Lanfrey, who makes the Emperor the subject of bitter reproach.

One of the best extended histories of the Napoleonic period is THIERS (L. A.), *History of the Consulate and the Empire* (trans. by D. Forbes Campbell, London, 1845-1847), 8 vols. Excellent short accounts are STEPHENS (H. MORSE), *Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815*, chaps. vii-xi; ADAMS (G. B.), *The Growth of the French Nation*, chap. xvii; HASSALL (A.), *The French People* (The Great Peoples Series), chap. xvii; LE BON (ANDRÉ), *Modern France* (Story of the Nations), chaps. iv-vii; ROSE (J. H.), *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era* (Cambridge Historical Series), last part, chap. vii; and ANDREWS (C. M.), *The Historical Development of Europe*, vol. i, chap. ii.

Works dealing with special phases of the history of the period: MAHAN (A. T.), *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, vol. ii, and the same author's *Life of Nelson*, 2 vols.

SEELEY (J. R.), *Life and Times of Stein*, 2 vols. HENDERSON (E. F.), *A Short History of Germany*, vol. ii, chaps. vi and vii. NAPIER (SIR W. F. P.), *History of the War in the Peninsula*. Various editions. To a considerable extent this work is a primary source of information on its subject. SOUTHEY (R.), *The Life of Nelson*. Different editions. This is a classic in biography. ROPES (J. C.), *The Campaign of Waterloo*; affords the best study in English of a Napoleonic campaign. TAINE (H. A.), *The Modern Régime*, vol. i. BRYCE (J.), *The Holy Roman Empire*, chap. xx; for the import of Napoleon's abolition of the "German Empire." BIGELOW (P.), *History of the German Struggle for Liberty*, 2 vols., and FITCHETT (W. H.), *How England saved Europe*, 4 vols. Both of these works are popular in character. The last presents the English-French phase of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. LORD ROSEBERY, *Napoleon: the Last Phase*; on the Emperor's imprisonment at St. Helena.

III. THE RESTORATION OF 1815 AND THE DEMOCRATIC REACTION: THE SEQUEL TO THE REVOLUTION

(1815-1903)

CHAPTER XVI

INTRODUCTION

393. Ideas bequeathed by the French Revolution to the Nineteenth Century. — The social and political history of Europe since the overthrow of Napoleon is a continuation of the history of the great social and political upheaval which we have been witnessing. The dominant forces at work throughout this period have been the ideas or principles inherited from the French Revolution.

There were three of these ideas. In tracing the story of the Revolution and the Empire we have already become familiar with these ideas as revolutionary forces in history. The first was the idea or principle of equality. The Revolutionists proclaimed this doctrine with religious fervor. It was spread broadcast over Europe. The French army, as it has been tersely expressed, was "equality on the march." The Code Napoléon, as we have seen, embodied this principle of equality, and wherever it was set up, in the Netherlands, in the West German states, in part of Poland, in Switzerland, and in Italy, it exerted the same leveling influence that it had in France. As Christianity brought in equality before God, so did the Revolution bring in equality before Cæsar. The one made all men equal in the religious realm, the other made all men equal in the civil realm.

The second principle promulgated by the Revolution was that of popular sovereignty. According to this doctrine, governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The laws should be the expression of the will of all. The people either directly or through their representatives should have part in the government. All rulers and magistrates are the servants of the people and are responsible to them.

The third principle that underlay the Revolution was that of nationality. This principle requires that the state shall coincide with the nation. It demands that every nation shall be free to choose its own form of government and to manage its own affairs in its own way. This idea worked itself out during the course of the Revolution. It was evoked, as we have seen (par. 388), in great measure by Napoleon's cynical disregard of national sentiment and his wanton violation of national rights.

These principles or ideas, as we have said, were the precious political heritage which the nineteenth century received from the Revolution.¹ They were full of vitality and energy. Their outworking, their embodiment in social institutions, in law, in government, makes up a large part of the history of the more advanced nations of the world since the downfall of Napoleon.

Throughout the century that generous sentiment of '89, that all men are born and remain free and equal in rights, has been at work emancipating and elevating the hitherto unfree and downtrodden orders of society, and in removing civil and religious and race disabilities from disqualified classes in the state. The period is especially rich in emancipation edicts and statutes. Slavery and serfdom and every form of mediæval feudal

¹ Of course these ideas were not novel doctrines promulgated now for the first time. All that is meant by calling them the ideas of the French Revolution is that by the Revolution they were invested with new authority and were given a new course in the world.

inequality, under the influence of the new spirit of equality, have disappeared or are fast disappearing from the civilized world.

The doctrine of the sovereignty of the people has likewise been a potent force in shaping the events of the period. A chief feature of the history of the century has been the substitution of representative constitutional government for autocratic monarchy. In 1815, after the settlement of Europe effected by the Congress of Vienna, the government of every state in Europe, except Switzerland, was in the hands of an absolute sovereign or of a sovereign and a small aristocratic or property-owning class. To-day in all the countries of Europe, save Russia and Turkey, the people are sovereign. It is this cause of democracy, of self-government, that has enlisted the efforts and inspired the self-sacrifice of the noblest spirits of the age. The people of every country where any considerable degree of enlightenment has come to prevail have passionately espoused this principle and have fought for its establishment as the best hope for a better future for themselves and for their children.

Equally powerful as a revolutionary force has been the sentiment of nationality. This has been at once a disruptive and a creative force. It has partly dismembered states (the Austrian and the Ottoman Empire) which are ill-assorted collections of different nationalities and in a greater or less degree has remoulded or is remoulding their elements in accordance with national or race affinities. It has called into existence the great nation-states of the new German Empire and the kingdom of Italy, the smaller states of Belgium and Greece, and the Balkan principalities. In a word, it has in a great measure reconstructed the European state system and given a wholly new appearance to the political map of Europe.

But these ideas, as we have intimated, have not had free course. Their embodiment in social institutions and in political forms has, in most of the European countries, been a process violent and revolutionary in character. This has resulted from these liberal principles coming into conflict with

certain opposing conservative doctrines with which they have had to struggle for supremacy. And this brings us to the starting point of the history of the nineteenth century,—the celebrated Congress of Vienna.

394. The Congress of Vienna (September, 1814–June, 1815).—After the first abdication of Napoleon, as we have seen, the European sovereigns, either in person or by their representatives, met at Vienna to readjust the affairs of the Continent.² From Lisbon to Cracow, from Lübeck to Naples, almost everything pertaining to the old political order of things had been overturned and disarranged by Napoleon.

It was a great task to harmonize the conflicting claims that came before the convention, and to effect a resettlement of the Continent that should satisfy all parties. At one time war among the allies seemed inevitable. But after nearly a year of negotiation and debate agreements respecting the boundaries and relations of the various states were reached. As we shall hereafter, in connection with the history of the separate European countries, have occasion to say something respecting the relations of each to the Congress, we shall here say only a word regarding the spirit and temper of the assembly and the general character of its work.

The Vienna commissioners seemed to have but one thought and aim,—to restore everything as nearly as possible to its condition before the Revolution. They had no care for the people; the princes were their only concern. The principle of nationality was wholly ignored, while that of popular sovereignty was, by most of the plenipotentiaries, looked upon as a principle of disorder to be repressed in every possible way.

The first principle adopted by the Congress was one formulated by Talleyrand, who, it must be borne in mind, now

² Louis XVIII of France was represented by Talleyrand, who did more than any other diplomatist in shaping the action of the Congress; England was represented at first by Castlereagh and then later by Wellington; Prussia, by Prince von Hardenberg and William von Humboldt; Austria, by Metternich, the famous Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

represented the restored Bourbons of France. This was the principle of legitimacy. According to this principle a throne is to be regarded like any ordinary piece of property. Long possession gives a good and indefeasible title.

Under this rule all the new usurping families set up by Napoleon were swept aside without ceremony, and the old exiled dynasties were restored. The most important of these restitutions, effected either by the direct action of the Congress or already consummated by events and confirmed by it, were those which brought back the banished Bourbon dynasties in France, Spain, and Naples.

The principle was applied only in the case of hereditary lay rulers. It was not applied to the republican or semi-republican governments of city-states like Venice or the free cities of Germany, nor to ecclesiastical states. The crowd of ecclesiastical German princes whom Napoleon had dispossessed of their territories were not reinstated. The Pope, however, was made an exception to this exception. Pius VII was given back the Papal States. These formed now the only ecclesiastical state left in Europe.

Another exception in the application of the principle was in the case of the hundreds of petty German rulers whose territories Napoleon in his reorganization of Germany had given to the larger states. These princelets were not restored.

This question of legitimacy having been settled, the next question was how the territories recovered from Napoleon should be distributed among the dynasties recognized as legitimate. For most of the sovereigns this was the subject of chief interest. "The real purpose of the Congress," frankly wrote one of the plenipotentiaries, "was to divide amongst the conquerors the spoils taken from the vanquished." "I am perhaps the only one," said Talleyrand, speaking for France, "who asks nothing." Russia wanted the whole of Poland; Prussia wanted the kingdom of Saxony; Sweden wanted Norway; Austria wanted territory in Italy.

1815

SARDINIA 10



In all these matters pertaining to territorial readjustments the Vienna map makers took no thought whatever of the rights and claims of race or nationality. The inhabitants of the countries available for division were apportioned among the different sovereigns exactly as a herd of cattle might be divided up and apportioned among different owners. That a people united by the bond of blood and language and possessing common treasured traditions constitute a spiritual entity and have a soul, seems never to have occurred to the minds of the bargaining sovereigns and diplomatists.

The following territorial settlements were among the most important.

The Belgian and Dutch provinces were united into a single state, which under the name of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was given to a prince of the House of Orange. The idea here was to create on this side of France as strong a barrier as possible against French aggression in the future. The fact that the Dutch and the Belgians, by reason of differences in race, in religion, and in industrial development, formed really two distinct nations, was wholly ignored.

Sweden was confirmed in the possession of Norway, which Denmark lost as a consequence of her alliance with Napoleon.³

Russia was allowed to retain Finland and Bessarabia, and was given the greater part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The Polish lands acquired by Russia were made into what was called the Kingdom of Poland, with the Tsar as its king. The Poles were informed that they must give up all thought

³ In 1812 the Emperor Alexander had promised Norway to Bernadotte, king of Sweden, in return for his renouncement of his claims on Finland and support against Napoleon. In the midst of the War of Liberation, Bernadotte forced from the Danish king (Treaty of Kiel, Jan. 14, 1814) the cession of Norway. The territorial arrangement in the Scandinavian peninsula confirmed by the Congress has subsisted to the present time. The two countries form a dual monarchy, each having its own Parliament or Diet, but united under a single crown.

and hope of the restoration of their national independence. Thus Russia came out of the turmoil of the revolutionary period with her territorial position as a European power essentially advanced and strengthened.

Prussia was given about half of the kingdom of Saxony, extensive territories on both sides of the Rhine, and other lands, which gave her a more preponderant position in Germany than she had before the Revolution.

Austria, in compensation for the loss of her Netherland provinces, was given, besides a long strip of the eastern shore lands of the Adriatic Sea, Lombardy and Venetia in Upper Italy. This extension of Austrian rule over Italian lands was one of the grossest violations of the principles of nationality of which the Congress was guilty, and was to be signally avenged when the hour for Italian unity and independence arrived.

In Germany the Congress built upon the basis laid by Napoleon. Thirty-nine of the forty-two sovereign states, including Prussia and Austria, to which he had reduced the hundreds of states constituting the old Germanic system, were organized into a confederation modeled upon the Confederation of the Rhine.⁴

In Italy, on the other hand, Napoleon's work was undone, and the old order of things was reëstablished. With the exception of the provinces in the north which had been given to Austria, the peninsula was divided into independent states, such as had existed before the Revolution.⁵

Switzerland was given three additional cantons, one of which was the former republic of Geneva, which brought the number of cantons up to twenty-two, and the independence and neutrality of the little federal state was guaranteed by all the European powers.

⁴ For further details concerning the reorganization of Germany, see par. 452.

⁵ Genoa was given to Piedmont in order to strengthen the Sardinian state as a bulwark against future incursions into Italy of the French armies.

Great Britain's acquisitions were in keeping with the maritime and colonial interests she had at stake in the great struggle with Napoleon. Of the islands and coast lands which she had wrested from France and her allies, she kept in the Mediterranean and in the East, Malta and Mauritius, snatched from the French, and the Cape of Good Hope and British Guiana, taken from the Dutch. She also secured the protectorate of the Ionian Islands, which gave her control of the Adriatic Sea. In the West Indies she retained Tobago and St. Lucia, taken from France.⁶

A third matter which occupied the attention particularly of the committee on German affairs was the granting of constitutions to their subjects by the different sovereigns. In spirit and in temper the restored rulers were for the most part the old pre-revolutionary despots come into their own again, but thoroughly frightened by what had happened. Their desire was to rule in the old arbitrary way; but there were those among them who recognized that a change had come over the world, and that the old absolutism could not with safety be reëstablished. The Emperor Alexander seemed to entertain some genuine liberal ideas. Talleyrand also recognized the necessity of making concessions to the spirit of the time.

Consequently constitutions were talked about. Louis XVIII had been required by the terms of the treaties of Paris to give France a constitution, the allies understanding perfectly that if the restored Bourbons should attempt to rule as absolute sovereigns there would be trouble again which would unsettle everything in Europe. And now the Congress recommended to the German princes that representative bodies ("Assemblies of Estates") be established in each state. But the use of the word "Constitution" was carefully avoided. The only states, besides France, which at this time actually

⁶ The little island of Heligoland, which commands the mouth of the Elbe, was at this time ceded to Great Britain by Denmark. In 1890 Great Britain ceded the islet to the new German Empire.

received constitutions were the Netherlands, Switzerland, Poland, and Norway.⁷

But even where constitutions already existed or were now granted, these charters gave the people very little share in the government. They were constitutions of the aristocratic type, that is, they placed the government, where its form was monarchical, in the hands of the sovereign and a very narrow electorate or body of voters. Practically the old régime of absolutism was almost everywhere reëstablished. The principle of the sovereignty of the people was rejected as a doctrine subversive of the peace and good order of society.⁸

But the Revolution had impaired beyond restoration reverence for the divine right of kings. An attempt to restore autocratic government in Europe was an attempt to restore an outgrown cult,—to set up again the fallen Dagon in his place. Notwithstanding, the commissioners at Vienna, blind to the spirit and tendencies of the times, did set up once more the broken idol,—only, however, to see it flung down again by the memorable political upheavals of the next half century. The kings had had their Congress; the people were to have theirs,—in 1820 and '30 and '48.

395. Prince Metternich, the Incarnation of the Spirit of the Restoration.—The spirit of the monarchical restoration of 1815,

⁷ The Swedes had in 1809 wrested from their king a constitution which made Sweden an aristocratic instead of an absolute monarchy; and the Norwegians, when in 1815 they were forced to accept the Swedish king, Bernadotte, as their king, had managed to secure his recognition of a constitution which they had drawn up in 1814. Hungary, like England, had a constitution which had taken form during mediæval times.

⁸ Besides reconstituting the state system of Europe, the Congress dealt with several other subordinate matters of general concern, such as the navigation of rivers, the rights of aliens, and the slave trade. In this latter matter the Congress, under the influence of Great Britain, made a distinct recognition of the principles of equality and personal liberty promulgated by the Revolution. It issued a declaration condemning the slave traffic, and the several powers agreed to use their best endeavors in its suppression. This was almost the only action of the Congress in which it put itself in line with the social and moral forces which were to mould the history of the century then opening.

the spirit which controlled the Congress of Vienna, was incarnate in the celebrated Austrian minister, Prince Metternich.

Metternich hated the Revolution, which to him was the spirit of evil let loose in the world. The democratic spirit he declared to be the spirit of disorder which could not fail "to change daylight into darkest night." The demand of the people for a share in government he regarded as presumptuous, and was wholly convinced that any concession to their demands could result in nothing save horrible confusion and bloodshed. He was fully persuaded that the only hope of the world lay in legitimate government, which to him meant the old divine-right absolutism. He thought with the grand vizier of Turkey, that the peace and order of the world depended upon the recognition of the rights of sovereigns over their subjects.

Metternich's system, therefore, was a system of repression. His maxim was, Let nothing be changed. A diplomatist of wonderful astuteness, of wide experience, and possessed of an intimate knowledge of the public affairs of all Europe, Metternich exerted a vast influence upon the history of the years from 1815 to 1848. This period might appropriately be called the Age of Metternich. Such a leading part, indeed, did the great Austrian minister play in its affairs that it hardly offends our sense of propriety when we find him writing to a friend as follows: "I have become a species of moral power in Germany, and perhaps in Europe — a power which will leave a void when it disappears."

It was due largely to Prince Metternich that the old autocratic form of government prevailed so generally in Europe for a full generation after the fall of Napoleon. We shall learn later with what measure of success his efforts to thwart the European peoples in their aspirations for national independence and self-government were attended.

396. Metternich and the Holy Alliance. — The activity of Metternich during the earlier portion of the period of his

influence was so closely connected with a celebrated league known as the Holy Alliance that we must here say a word respecting the origin of this association.

The Holy Alliance was a religious league formed just after the fall of Napoleon by the Tsar Alexander⁹ and having as its chief members Russia, Austria, and Prussia.¹⁰ The ostensible object of the league was the maintenance of religion, peace, and order in Europe, and the reduction to practice in politics of the maxims of Christ. The several sovereigns entering into the union promised to be fathers to their people, to rule in love and with reference solely to the promotion of the welfare of their subjects, and to help one another as brothers to maintain just government and prevent wrong. In a solemn address to the world (Sept. 26, 1815) they announced that they would henceforth rule in exact accord with Christian love, regarding themselves as the "plenipotentiaries of Heaven."

All this had a very millennial look. But the Holy Alliance very soon became practically a league for the maintenance of absolute principles of government, in opposition to the liberal tendencies of the age. Under the pretext of maintaining religion, justice, and order, the sovereigns of the union acted in concert to suppress every aspiration among their subjects for political liberty.

397. Other Nineteenth-Century Principles, Movements, and Interests. — Lest the foregoing paragraphs, which are intended merely as an introduction to the present division of our narrative, should create in the mind of the reader a wrong impression of nineteenth-century history, we must here remind him of what we have said repeatedly, namely, that no single

⁹ For the Emperor's relations to the religious enthusiast, Madame de Krüdener, see par. 475.

¹⁰ Eventually all the Christian sovereigns of the Continent, save the Pope, signed the agreement. England declined to have anything to do with the alliance. This religious league should be carefully distinguished from the political alliance of all the great powers which guaranteed the various treaties embodying the decisions of the Congress of Vienna.

formula will suffice to sum up the history of any age. History is ever very complex, for many ideas and many forces are always simultaneously at work shaping and coloring events.

The history of the nineteenth century presents a special complexity. While the great ideas transmitted to the age as a bequest from the Revolution were forces that gave the age its chief features, still throughout the century various other ideas, principles, and interests manifested themselves and contributed greatly to fill particularly the later years of the period with a vast complexity of movements, — intellectual, political, and industrial.

Alongside the ideas that have been designated as the ideas of '89, there were at work ideas and forces evoked by the earlier revolutions of society.

The spirit of the Renaissance was in the society of the period a pervasive and powerful influence. Throughout the century intelligence was becoming more diffused, and modern science, the special product of the Revival of Learning, was constantly revealing fresh wonders, arming man with new instruments of research and of mastery over nature, and thereby lending a deeper meaning to the historical movement and opening up new outlooks for humanity.

The spirit of the Reformation, too, was at work. As the century advanced, creeds grew more liberal, and the beneficent sentiment of toleration in religion, which has been declared to be "the best fruit of the last four centuries,"¹¹ made rapid progress in the world.

Furthermore, the century was marked by a wonderful expansion movement of the European peoples, which it would be best to regard not as the direct result either of the Renaissance or of the Reformation or of the Revolution, but rather as the outcome of the new intellectual, moral, political, and economic life created by the combined influences of all these

¹¹ The inscription written by President Charles W. Eliot for the Water Gate of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893.

great revolutions. It was a movement which has given the world into the possession of the new and higher civilization created by these revolutions in the home land of Europe. To this significant movement we shall devote a separate chapter under the heading "The Expansion of Europe."

Lastly, the nineteenth century witnessed an unparalleled industrial development, resulting from fortunate mechanical inventions (par. 286) and a great variety of other causes. This progress of society on material lines connects itself so closely with all the revolutions of the past ages and is creating problems of such import and seriousness, that it must be regarded as one of the most noteworthy of the developments of recent times and the forerunner perhaps of a new era in history.

To the phenomena of this new movement we shall be able to devote only a few closing paragraphs. In these we shall attempt nothing more than merely to indicate the relation of this industrial revolution to the general development of human society.

Sources and Source Material. — *Memoirs of Prince Metternich* (see bibliography of preceding chapter), vol. ii, pp. 553-599, and vols. iii-v. These volumes cover the years from 1815 to 1829. They are of the first importance for this period. In them the spirit of the Restoration is incarnated. *Memoirs of Prince de Talleyrand* (edited by the Duc de Broglie and translated by Mrs. Angus Hall, London and New York, 1891-1892). Are concerned chiefly with the Restoration and the Revolution of 1830. *Life and Letters of Madame Krüdener*, by Clarence Ford. This work lights up a remarkable passage in the life of the Russian Emperor Alexander I, and reveals the genesis of the Holy Alliance. *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. i, No. 3, "The Restoration and the European Policy of Metternich," edited by Professor J. H. Robinson. The diplomatic Correspondence and Despatches of Castlereagh and Wellington, the English plenipotentiaries at Vienna, are too voluminous for school use, except with advanced classes.

Secondary Works. — Among the great number of works on nineteenth-century history the following are among the best of those in

English which present in brief survey the whole or some considerable part of the history of the period. FYFFE (C. A.), ** *A History of Modern Europe, 1792-1878*, 3 vols. Also issued in a single volume (New York, 1896). PHILLIPS (W. A.), *Modern Europe, 1815-1899* (Periods of European History). ANDREWS (C. M.), *The Historical Development of Modern Europe*, 2 vols.; student's edition in one volume. ** SEIGNOBOS (C.), *A Political History of Europe since 1814* (translation edited by Professor S. M. Macvane). MÜLLER (W.), *Political History of Recent Times*. JUDSON (H. P.), *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*. An excellent manual. SEARS (E. H.), *An Outline of Political Growth in the Nineteenth Century*. Contains a bibliography of twenty-two pages which forms a good guide to much of the best literature on the period covered.

ALISON (A.), *History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon, in 1815, to the Accession of Louis Napoleon, in 1852*. There are various editions of this work. Although impaired by Tory prejudices and rhetorical faults, still it is regarded as one of the best of the extended histories of the period which it embraces. A valuable syllabus of the history of the whole period down to 1890 with lists of the best authorities will be found in STEPHENS (H. MORSE), *Lectures on Modern European History*, pp. 205-290.

Biographies, and works dealing with some particular subject or some limited portion of the nineteenth century: STEPHENS (H. MORSE), *Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815* (Periods of European History), "Introduction," for suggestive paragraphs on the principles which have moulded nineteenth-century history, and chap. xi, for the Congress of Vienna; MURDOCK (H.), *The Reconstruction of Europe*, for the diplomatic and military history of the years from 1850 to 1871; MALLESON (G. B.), *Life of Prince Metternich* (Statesmen Series); SEELEY (J. R.), *Life and Times of Stein*, vol. ii, pts. viii and xi; LOWELL (A. L.), *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, 2 vols.; and LODGE (R.), *A History of Modern Europe*, chaps. xxv-xxviii.

CHAPTER XVII

FRANCE SINCE THE SECOND RESTORATION

(1815-1903)

398. Character of the Period. — The social and political history of France since the second restoration of the Bourbons may be characterized briefly. It has been simply a continuation of the Revolution,¹ of the struggle between democratic and monarchical principles. The aim of the Revolution was to abolish privileges and establish rights, — to give every man lot and part in the government under which he lives. These liberal ideas and principles have on the whole, notwithstanding repeated reverses, gained ground; for revolutions never move backward. There may be eddies and countercurrents in a river, but the steady and powerful sweep of the stream is ever onward towards the sea. Not otherwise is it with the great social and intellectual movements of history.

399. The Reign of Louis XVIII (1815[14]-1824). — “Your king, whose fathers reigned over your fathers for more than eight centuries, now returns to devote the rest of his days to defend and to comfort you.”

Such were the words used by Louis upon his second return to his people after Waterloo. The events of the Hundred Days had instructed and humbled him: “I may have made mistakes,” he said frankly, “and probably have done so.”

Profiting by his experience, Louis ruled throughout a great part of the remainder of his reign with reasonable heed to the changes effected by the Revolution. But as he grew old and

¹ Each of the revolutions of the period may be characterized as Metternich characterized the Revolution of 1830, namely, “as nothing else than a recurrence of the Revolution of 1789.”

infirm he yielded more and more to the extreme royalist party, which was again raising its head, and the government entered upon a course looking to the restoration of the old order of things.

400. The Reign of Charles X (1824-1830); the Revolution of 1830. — Upon the death of Louis in 1824 and the accession of Charles X, this reactionary policy soon became more pronounced. The new king seemed utterly incapable of profiting by the teachings of the past. It was particularly his blind, stubborn course that gave point to the saying, "A Bourbon learns nothing and forgets nothing."

It is not necessary for our purpose that we rehearse in detail what Charles did or what he failed to do. His aim was to undo the work of the Revolution, just as it was the aim of James II in England to undo the work of the Puritan Revolution. He disregarded the constitution, restored the clergy to power, reestablished a strict censorship of the press, and changed the laws by royal proclamation. He seemed bent on restoring divine-right monarchy in France. He declared that he would rather saw wood for a living than rule after the fashion of the English kings.²

The outcome of Charles's course might have been foreseen: Paris rose in revolt; the streets were blocked with barricades; Charles was escorted to the seacoast, whence he took ship for England.

France did not at this time think of a republic. She was inclined to try further the experiment of a constitutional monarchy. Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who represented the younger branch of the Bourbon family, was placed on the throne, and the constitution was revised. In the charter which Louis XVIII had granted he had styled himself "King

² At the outset Charles was supported in his reactionary policy by the Legislative Assembly. The temper of this body is revealed in its grant of 1,000,000,000 francs to the emigrant nobles as compensation for their confiscated estates.

of France *by the grace of God.*" The new constitution declared Louis Philippe to be "King of the French by the grace of God *and by the will of the nation.*" The first principle of the Revolution — the sovereignty of the people — was thus embodied in the fundamental law of France.

Louis Philippe had traveled about the world considerably, and had lived in a democratic sort of way. He had looked on complacently at the taking of the Bastille, had been in America, and had taught school in Switzerland. The middle classes therefore with some reason looked upon him as one of themselves, and gave him the title of "Citizen King."

401. Effect upon Europe of the "July Revolution" of 1830. — France has been called the Enceladus of Europe. There is sufficient instruction in the suggested parable to make it worth our while to recall the myth to memory. As fable has it, Enceladus was one of the giants who made war upon Olympian Jove. In the rout of the giants, Minerva, helping Jove, disabled Enceladus by throwing *Ætna* on top of him and pinning him forever to the earth. The stability of things in Sicily was thereby endangered, for as often as the giant turned his weary sides the whole island was convulsed.

France having made war upon the Olympian hierarchy of divine-right kings is by them worsted in battle and then pinned to the earth with the weight of Bourbonism. As often as the giant turns his weary sides there is an eruption, and the whole continent, like *Trinacria* of old, trembles to its remotest verge.

The convulsion in Paris shook all the restored thrones, and for a moment threatened to topple into ruins the whole fabric of absolutism that had been so carefully upreared by Metternich and the other political restorationists of the Congress of Vienna.

In the Netherlands the artificial order established in 1815 (par. 394) was wholly destroyed. The Belgians arose, declared

themselves independent of Holland, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as their king (1831). Thus came into existence the separate kingdom of Belgium. The independence and neutrality of the little state was guaranteed by all the great powers.

402. The Revolution of 1848 and the Establishment of the Second Republic. — The reign of Louis Philippe up to 1848 was very unquiet, yet was not marked by any disturbance of great importance. But during all this time the ideas of the Revolution were working among the people, and the democratic party was constantly gaining in strength. Finally there came a demand for the extension of the suffrage. At this time there were only about two hundred thousand voters in France, the possession of a certain amount of property being required as a qualification for the franchise. The government stubbornly refused all electoral reforms. Guizot, the king's chief minister, declared that "this world is no place for universal suffrage."

Enceladus at last turned his weary sides. There was a convulsion like that of 1830. The center of this disturbance of course was Paris. Louis Philippe, thoroughly frightened by the prodigy, fled to England. After his departure the Paris mob dragged the throne out of the Tuileries and made a bonfire of it.

The Second Republic was now established, with the poet-historian Lamartine as its provisional Minister for Foreign Affairs. A new constitution, some features of which were copied from the constitution of the United States, established universal suffrage.³ The number of voters was at a stroke increased from a quarter of a million to upwards of eight millions. An election being ordered, Louis Napoleon

³ There was a socialistic element in this Revolution of '48. It was inaugurated by the working classes of Paris. One of the demands of the socialists was that the government should find work for the unemployed. National workshops were established by the provisional government, but the experiment was unsuccessful and the shops were soon closed.

Bonaparte,⁴ a nephew of the great Napoleon, was chosen President of the new Republic (Dec. 10, 1848).

The Paris "February Revolution," as it is called, lighted the beacon fires of liberty throughout Europe.⁵ "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, during the month of March, 1848, not a single day passed without a constitution being granted somewhere." France had made another of her irresistible invasions of the states of Europe, — "an invasion of ideas."

403. The Second Empire (1852-1870). — The life of the Second Republic spanned only three years. By almost exactly the same steps as those by which his uncle had mounted the imperial throne, Louis Napoleon now also ascended to the imperial dignity, crushing the Republic as he rose.

A contest having arisen between the President and the National Assembly, the President planned a *coup d'état*, — a second Eighteenth Brumaire (par. 356). He caused the arrest at night of the most prominent of the deputies opposed to him in the Assembly and such popular leaders in Paris as might incite the people to resistance. When the inhabitants of the capital awoke in the morning (Dec. 2, 1851) they found the city placarded with proclamations announcing the dissolution of the Assembly and outlining the main articles of a new constitution. The new programme was to be immediately submitted to the people of France for approval.

Paris, as was her wont, threw up barricades. Several hundred persons were killed in street fighting. After all resistance

⁴ This man had already played a singular rôle. In 1836 he had appeared suddenly at Strasburg, thinking to raise the French garrison there against the government. He was arrested and banished to America. Again in 1840 the adventurer, taking advantage of the revival of popular interest in the first Napoleon caused by the bringing of his ashes from St. Helena to France, made a somewhat similar attempt at revolution at Boulogne. He was arrested a second time and condemned to imprisonment for life in the fortress of Ham in Picardy. After about five years' confinement he escaped and found his way to England.

⁵ The revolution in Paris was not so much the cause as merely the signal for revolutions elsewhere. It imparted fresh energy to revolutionary forces which were ready to break forth or which had already found vent in violent explosions.

had ceased, a lamentable slaughter of citizens by soldiers under the influence of panic or of drink occurred in one of the most fashionable quarters of the city. This affair, known as the "Massacre of the Boulevards," cast a dark shadow over the remainder of the reign of Louis Bonaparte.

The President's appeal to the people to indorse what he had done met with a most extraordinary response. By a majority of almost seven million votes⁶ the nation approved the President's *coup d'état* and rewarded him for it by extending his term of office to ten years. This was in effect the revival of the Consulate of 1799. The next year Louis Napoleon was made Emperor, and took the title of Napoleon III (1852).

The secret of Louis Napoleon's success in his *coup d'état* was in part the great fear that prevailed of the renewal of the Terror of '93, and in part the magic power of the name he bore. At just this time the name Napoleon was in France a name to conjure with. There had been growing up a Napoleonic legend. Time had idealized the founder of the First Empire.

As the Second and the Third Republic were simply revivals and continuations of the First Republic, so was the Second Empire merely the revival and continuation of the First Empire. It was virtually the same in origin, in spirit, and in policy.

Louis Napoleon had declared that the Empire meant peace. But it meant anything except that. The pages of its history are filled with the records of wars. There were three important ones in which the armies of the Empire took part:⁷ the Crimean War (1853-1856), the Austro-Sardinian War (1859), and the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871).

The first two of these wars need not detain us at this time, since we shall speak of them later in connection with Russian

⁶ The exact vote was 7,481,216 to 684,419.

⁷ During the reign there were also military expeditions to Syria, China, Cochinchina, and Mexico.

and Italian affairs.⁸ All that need be said here is that in each of them Louis Napoleon greatly enhanced his prestige throughout Europe.

The real cause of the third war, the one between Prussia and France, was French jealousy of the growing power of Prussia, around which as the preponderant German state the unification of Germany was fast proceeding.⁹

Louis Napoleon, now aging and broken in health, was himself averse to the war. But he was forced into it by the mad clamor of Paris and the vehemence of the war party throughout the country. Even the Empress Eugénie was eager for war, since she believed that thereby the Empire would be strengthened in the affections of the French people and the succession of her son to the imperial throne assured.

With everything in a state of culpable and incredible unreadiness, although the highest military authority had declared that the army was ready and more than ready, France, "with a light heart," plunged into the fateful war. The French had no other thought than that their armies would repeat the campaign of Jena and Auerstädt (par. 373). "Down with Prussia! On to Berlin!" was the cry.

There came a quick and terrible disillusionment. A single small column of French soldiers was barely able to set foot for a moment on German soil — just long enough to enable the Prince Imperial to receive there his "baptism of fire." In a few days after the French declaration of war the great German hosts had been gathered. Three immense armies, numbering half a million of men, all animated by the spirit of 1813, swept over the frontier.

One large French army was defeated in the memorable battle of Gravelotte (Aug. 18, 1870) and shut up in Metz. Then followed the surrender at Sedan, where eighty-three thousand men, including the Emperor himself, gave themselves

⁸ See pars. 445 and 479.

⁹ Consult chapter xxi.

up as prisoners of war¹⁰ (Sept. 2, 1870). This was the Leipzig of the Second Empire.

The German columns now advanced to Paris and began the investment of the city (Sept. 19, 1870). All reasonable hope of a successful defense of the capital was soon destroyed by the surrender to the Germans of Marshal Bazaine at Metz (Oct. 23, 1870). One hundred and seventy-three thousand soldiers and six thousand officers became prisoners of war, — the largest army ever taken captive.

But Paris held out stubbornly, with great suffering from cold and hunger, three months longer; and then, all outside measures for raising the siege having failed, finally capitulated (Jan. 30, 1871).

Outside of Paris, at Bordeaux, was a sort of provisional government headed by M. Thiers, which had been organized after the capture of the Emperor. With this body the conquerors carried on their negotiations for peace. The terms of the treaty were that France should surrender to Germany the Rhenish province of Alsace and one half of Lorraine, pay an indemnity of five thousand million francs (about \$1,000,000,000), and consent to the occupation of certain portions of French territory until the fine was paid. Never before was such a ransom paid by a nation.

The most lamentable part of the struggle now began. The Red Republicans or Communists of Paris,¹¹ rising in insurrection against the provisional government both because of what

¹⁰ After the war Louis Napoleon found an asylum in England (at Chislehurst), where he died Jan. 9, 1873.

¹¹ The strength of this party lay in the workingmen of Paris. It was the heir of the extreme Republican party of 1848 (par. 402, note 3) and in a sense the precursor of the socialist party found to-day in almost every country. Its programme was at once political and economic, one of its chief aims being radical industrial reform. It advocated the fundamental socialistic measure of public ownership of all the means of production, and the management by each commune of its own financial, educational, and industrial affairs. The self-governed communes it would organize into a loose federation, in opposition to the rigid unity and centralization of the Monarchy, the Empire, and the Republic alike.

it represented — the cause and programme of the conservative, property-holding classes — and because of its action in assenting to the dismemberment of France, organized a Committee of Public Safety in imitation of that of '93, and called the population of the capital to arms.

The Germans left to the provisional government the task of reducing the insubordinate capital to submission. As the French armies were in captivity in Germany, the government was forced to wait for them to be sent home. With the regular army upon the ground, the Communists were able to hold out but a short time. When they saw that they would soon be overpowered, they resolved that the capital should perish with them. The Tuileries, the Hotel de Ville, and many other public buildings were given to the flames, and a second Reign of Terror was set up. Finally the government succeeded in suppressing the insurgents, and order was restored, though only after frightful slaughters in the streets and squares of the city (May, 1871).

404. The Third Republic (1870–). — The provisional government which replaced the Empire was republican in form. M. Thiers, the historian, was the first President (1871–1873). But not until 1875 was it definitely decided that France should be a republic and not a monarchy or an empire. In that year a constitution¹² was adopted, the tenth since 1791, which provided definitely for a republican form of government.

France has now (1903) been under the government of the Third Republic for thirty-three years, a longer period of freedom from revolution than any other since 1792. The current of political events, however, has during this time run somewhat

¹² This constitution is not, like our own, a single document, but consists of a series of laws passed at different times. Since its first adoption it has been modified by legislative action. As it now (1903) stands it provides for a legislature of two chambers, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, a President elected for seven years by the chambers in a joint meeting, and a Cabinet responsible to the legislature. The suffrage is universal.

turbulently. There have been many changes of presidents¹³ and of ministries, and much party rancor has been displayed ; yet in spite of all untoward circumstances the cause of the Republic has steadily advanced, while that of the Monarchy and that of the Empire have as steadily gone backward. Bourbons and Bonapartes, like Stuarts, have gone into an exile from which there is no return.

Many of the difficulties and problems which have confronted the Republic were legacies to it from the Monarchy and the Empire, or more directly from the Franco-Prussian War.

An unfortunate heritage from the war that destroyed the Empire is the Alsace and Lorraine question. The French people have never been able to reconcile themselves to the loss of these provinces, and their determination to regain them has moulded large sections of the history of the Third Republic and of general European history as well. It has contributed largely to convert the Continent into a permanent armed camp, and to make times of peace almost as burdensome to the nations as times of war.

A second legacy to the Republic was influential parties of Monarchists and Imperialists, who have endeavored in every way to discredit the republican régime, and who have watched for an opportunity to set up again either the Monarchy or the Empire. The dangerous intrigues of these parties led in 1886 to the expulsion from France of all the Bourbon and Bonaparte claimants of the throne and their direct heirs.¹⁴

A third bequest to the Republic from the ancient régime was the educational problem. Before the Revolution, education

¹³ These are the presidents of the Republic since the resignation of Thiers in 1873: Marshal MacMahon (resigned), 1873-1879; M. Grévy (resigned), 1879-1887; M. Carnot (assassinated), 1887-1894; M. Casimir-Périer (resigned), 1894-1895; M. Félix Faure (died in office), 1895-1899; and M. Loubet (1899-).

¹⁴ The agitation known as the Boulangist movement is connected with these anti-republican intrigues. General Boulanger was Minister of War in 1886. Representing the party of revenge against Germany, he achieved an immense popularity, and seemed to be aiming at a dictatorship. Prosecuted for conspiring against the Republic, he fled to Belgium, where he committed suicide in 1891.

in France was mainly in the hands of the religious orders. The Revolution swept away these bodies and secularized the educational system.

The restoration of the Monarchy brought about also the restoration of the religious orders. In 1814 the Pope restored the Society of Jesus,¹⁵ and a little later the Jesuits were allowed to reënter France. Other religious orders, many of them being teaching associations, multiplied. The system of education was now mixed, being in part lay and in part clerical. Two wholly different spirits were at work in it, — the spirit of the ancient, and the spirit of the modern, régime.

Among the Liberals a strong section demanded the suppression of the clerical schools and the complete secularization of education. The ground of opposition to the monastic schools was that the religious orders were reactionary, that the instruction given by the monks was opposed to modern progress, and that their schools were nurseries of ideas hostile to the Republic.

The first of the religious associations to suffer was the Society of Jesus. In 1880 the convents and schools of the Jesuits were closed and the Society was expelled from France.

In 1903 fifty-four religious orders of men, embracing teaching, preaching, and commercial associations, were suppressed. Over two thousand convents were closed.¹⁶

The wisdom as well as the justice of this censorship of teaching may well be questioned. As a recent writer justly says, "To attempt to base the moral unity of the country upon compulsion, would be to repeat the disastrous experiment of the old régime."¹⁷

The Republic has also had troubles which can in no sense be regarded as an inheritance from the ancient régime.

¹⁵ Consult par. 293, note 2.

¹⁶ This action was taken by the government under what is known as the Law of Associations, passed in 1901, which requires all associations of every kind to secure authorization from the state; in other words, to become incorporated.

¹⁷ Compare par. 177.

During the years 1889-1892 all France was shaken by a great scandal arising from the gross mismanagement and failure of a company organized by Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had won great fame by the successful construction of the Suez Canal, for the digging of a similar canal at the Isthmus of Panama. After the expenditure of the enormous sum of upwards of \$260,000,000, with the work in a very unsatisfactory condition, the company became bankrupt. It then developed that bribery and corruption on a scale as gigantic as the undertaking itself had been resorted to by the promoters of the enterprise, and that directors of the company, deputies of the legislature, ministers, journalists, and others were involved in these shameful transactions.

Prosecutions followed. Among those condemned to severe punishment was Ferdinand de Lesseps himself. He was already dying from age, worry, and a broken heart, when this final blow fell upon him. It was a pathetic ending of a career which, aside from this last deplorable incident, is one of the most illustrious in modern French history.¹⁸

Respecting the intellectual and the industrial life of France under the Third Republic, it need here only be said that the French people have participated in all the literary activity and the scientific progress of the age, and have borne an honorable part in all the industrial undertakings and achievements which have made the last three decades memorable in the records of the world's advance in material civilization.¹⁹

As to the part which France has taken in recent colonial enterprises, particularly in the opening up to civilization of the "dark continent" of Africa, we shall find it more convenient to speak in another connection (see Chapter XXIV).

¹⁸ Another unfortunate affair belonging to this period is the case of Alfred Dreyfus, a young Jewish captain of artillery in the French army, who became the victim of a cruel and unjust sentence by a military court. The story is too long for recital here.

¹⁹ In 1878, 1889, and 1900 there were held at Paris international expositions which drew to the capital immense throngs of visitors from all parts of the world.

Sources and Source Material. — *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. i, No. 3; for the Constitutional Charter of 1814. TALLEYRAND, *Memoirs* (see bibliography for preceding chapter). *Conversations with M. Thiers, M. Guizot, and other Distinguished Persons, during the Second Empire*, by N. W. Senior, 2 vols. VICTOR HUGO, *History of a Crime*. This is the "deposition of a witness" and a victim of the *coup d'état* which ushered in the Second Empire. It is consolatory reading for one who believes that the downfall of Louis Napoleon was the work of Nemesis. For the other side, read M. DE MAUPAS, *The Story of the Coup d'État* (trans. by Albert D. Vandam, London, 1884), 2 vols. De Maupas was prefect of police at the time of the *coup d'état*. ARCHIBALD FORBES, *My Experience of the War between France and Germany* (London, 1871), 2 vols. *The War Correspondence of the Daily News* (2d ed., London, 1871). *The Franco-German War, 1870-71*, by officers who took part in the campaign. Translated by Major General J. F. Maurice. CAPTAIN BINGHAM, *Journal of the Siege of Paris*. A graphic account of the siege by an Englishman who remained in Paris in order "to observe the conduct of the citizens."

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For the Second Empire: JERROLD (B.), *** The Life of Napoleon III*, 4 vols. FORBES (A.), *The Life of Napoleon the Third*.

For brief summaries of the events of the period: LEBON (A.), *Modern France* (Story of the Nations), chaps. viii-xvi; DURUY (V.), *A History of France* (trans. by Mrs. M. Carey), Appendix, — written by Professor J. Franklin Jameson; ADAMS (G. B.), *The Growth of the French Nation*, chap. xviii; and HASSALL (A.), *The French People* (The Great Peoples Series), chaps. xviii-xxi and xxiii.

CHAPTER XVIII

ENGLAND SINCE THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

(1815-1903)

405. The Four Chief Matters. — English history during the nineteenth century embraces a multitude of events. A short chapter covering the entire period will possess no instructive value unless it reduces the heterogeneous mass of facts to some sort of unity by placing events in relation with their causes, and thus shows how they are connected with a few broad national movements or tendencies.

Studying the period in this way, we shall find that very many of its leading events may be summed up under the four following heads : (1) progress towards democracy ; (2) extension of the principle of religious equality ; (3) England's relations with Ireland ; and (4) the growth of the British colonial empire.

The political and religious tendencies mentioned have found expression for the most part in legislative acts of Parliament, which have liberalized and broadened the English Constitution ; Irish history for the period is likewise embodied in Parliamentary acts and in debates both within and outside the Houses of Parliament ; while the expansion of England into Greater England has in large part been recorded in her wars and foreign policies, particularly in her jealous competition with Russia.

We shall attempt nothing more in the present chapter than to indicate the most prominent matters that should claim the student's attention along the first three lines of inquiry, reserving for a later section the consideration of England's colonial affairs.

I. PROGRESS TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

406. Introductory. — The English Revolution of 1688 transferred authority from the king to the Parliament. The elective branch of that body, however, rested upon a very narrow electoral basis. Out of upwards of five million Englishmen who should have had a voice in the government, less than two hundred thousand were voters, and these were chiefly of the rich upper classes. The political democratizing of England during the nineteenth century consists in the widening of the electorate, — in the giving to every intelligent and honest man a right to vote, to participate in the government under which he lives.

407. Effects of the French Revolution upon Liberalism in England. — Throughout the eighteenth century, under the Hanoverian sovereigns, there was a certain but slow growth of liberal principles. The Tories gradually renounced the untenable doctrine of the divine right of kings, and acknowledged the sovereignty of Parliament. But they retained their old political instincts. They faced the past. They deprecated change. They became the representatives of conservatism, and held themselves out as “the defenders of the Constitution and Church against the inroads of liberalism.”

The Whigs, on the other hand, grew to be more and more distinctively the party of progress and reform, the champions of democratic principles. Having made the king dependent upon Parliament, they would now make Parliament dependent upon the people.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century some of the leading English statesmen of liberal tendencies, notably the younger Pitt, who in his earlier career adopted the programme of the reforming sovereigns and ministers of that period, began to urge reform in the electoral system.

The French Revolution at first gave a fresh impulse to these liberal tendencies. The English Liberals watched the course

of the French republicans with the deepest interest and sympathy. It will be recalled how the statesman Fox rejoiced at the fall of the Bastille, and what auguries of hope he saw in that event (par. 310). The young writers, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey, were all infected with democratic sentiments, and inspired with a generous enthusiasm for political liberty and equality.

But the wild excesses of the French levelers terrified the English Liberals. There was a sudden revulsion of feeling. All suggestions of reform were looked upon with distrust. Liberal sentiments were denounced as dangerous and revolutionary. "The great part of the people," says the constitutional historian May, "recoiled from the bloodthirsty Jacobins, and took part with the government in the repression of democracy. . . There was a social ostracism of liberal opinion, which continued far into the present century."

408. Revival of Democratic Sentiments. — But England's rapid growth in wealth after the close of the Napoleonic wars, together with the growing enlightenment of the people, led to a widespread desire for political reform. The terrors of the French Revolution were forgotten. Liberal sentiments began to spread among the masses. The people very justly complained that, while the English government claimed to be a government of the people, they had no part in it.

Now, it is instructive to note the different ways in which Liberalism was dealt with by the English government and by the rulers on the Continent. In the continental countries the rising spirit of democracy was met by cruel and despotic repressions. The people were denied by their rulers all participation in the affairs of government. We have seen the result of this policy in France, and later shall see the outcome of it in other continental countries. Liberalism triumphed indeed at last, but triumphed only through revolution.

In England the government did not resist the popular demands to the point of revolution. It made timely concessions

to the growing spirit of democracy. Hence here, instead of a series of revolutions we have a series of reform measures which, gradually popularizing the House of Commons, at last rendered the English nation, not alone in name but in reality, a self-governing people.

409. The Reform Bill of 1832. — The first Parliamentary step in reform was taken in 1832. To understand this important act a retrospective glance becomes necessary.

When, in 1265, the Commons were first admitted to Parliament, members were called only from those cities and boroughs whose wealth and population fairly entitled them to representation. In the course of time some of these places dwindled in population and new towns sprang up; yet the decayed boroughs retained their ancient privilege of sending members to Parliament, while the new towns were left entirely without representation. Thus Old Sarum, an ancient town now utterly decayed and without a single inhabitant, was represented in the Commons by two members. Furthermore, the sovereign, for the purpose of gaining influence in the Commons, had, from time to time, given unimportant places the right of returning members to the Lower House. It was inevitable that elections in these small or "pocket boroughs," as they were called, should almost always be determined by the corrupt influence of the crown or of the great landowners. The Lower House of Parliament was thus filled with the nominees of the king, or with persons who had bought their seats, often with little effort at concealment. At the same time, such large, recently-grown manufacturing towns as Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester had no representation at all in the Commons.

Agitation was begun for the reform of this corrupt and farcical system of representation. The movement was greatly aided and given a more popular character than any earlier reform agitation by the great newspapers which had come into existence during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The contest between Whigs and Tories, or Liberals and Conservatives, was long and bitter. The Conservatives of course opposed all reform, denying that there was any necessity for it. The Duke of Wellington extolled the existing system and declared that he could not conceive how it could be improved.

In 1830 came the "July Revolution" in Paris. This added force to the liberal movement in England. The excited state of the public feeling may be inferred from the following description by Lord Macaulay of the scene in the House of Commons upon the passage in that chamber of the first Reform Bill (1831): "Such a scene as the division of last Tuesday," he says, "I never saw, and never expect to see again. . . . It was like seeing Cæsar stabbed in the Senate-house, or seeing Oliver taking the mace from the table; a sight to be seen only once, and never to be forgotten. . . . The ayes and noes were like two volleys of cannon from opposite sides of a field of battle."

At last public feeling became so strong and menacing that the Lords, who were blocking the measure in the Upper House, were forced to yield, and the Reform Bill of 1832 became a law.

By this act the English electoral system was radically changed. Eighty-six of the "rotten boroughs" were disfranchised or semi-disfranchised and the hundred and forty-two seats in the Lower House taken from them were given to different counties and to large towns hitherto unrepresented. The bill also somewhat increased the number of electors by extending the right of voting to all persons in the towns owning or leasing property of a certain value, and by lowering the property qualification of voters in the counties.

The importance of this Reform Bill can hardly be exaggerated. It is the Magna Charta of English political democracy.

410. Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies (1833).—The reform of the House of Commons in the interest of the industrial as opposed to the landed class gave an impulse to legislation of a popular character. Laws were now more apt

to be made to promote the welfare of the many than to confer special privileges upon a few. The passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 marks the beginning of a period known as "The Era of Reform."

One of the earliest and most important measures of this period of reform was an act passed in 1833 for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. Nearly eight hundred thousand slaves, chiefly in the British West Indies, were freed at a cost to the English nation of £20,000,000. The English people thus rejected finally and forever what Lord Brougham, the most eloquent advocate of the act of emancipation, characterized as "the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man."¹

411. The Municipal Reform Act of 1835.—The government of the English towns of this period needed reform as urgently as had the British Parliament. This municipal system was a system inherited from the Middle Ages. Most of the towns were ruled by corrupt oligarchies. Long agitation for their overthrow resulted in the passing of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. This act accomplished for the government of

¹ This same year (1833) the first effective Factory Act was passed. This was the beginning of a long series of laws which gradually corrected the almost incredible abuses, particularly in connection with the employment of children, which had crept into the English factory system. A similar series of laws regulated labor in the mines.

Also this same year Parliament voted an annual grant of £20,000 to aid in the erection of schoolhouses. This was the first step taken by the English government in the promotion of public education.

In 1840 an act of Parliament established the "Penny Postage System," which made the rate upon letters, hitherto unequal and oppressive, uniform throughout the United Kingdom.

In 1846 England, by the repeal of her "corn laws," abandoned the commercial policy of protection, which favored the great landowners, and adopted that of free trade. The chief advocates of this important measure were Richard Cobden and John Bright. The enactment of the law was hastened by the blight of the potato crop in Ireland and consequent famine in the island. In a few years, out of a population of about eight million, more than three million emigrated or died of starvation. (In 1841 the population of Ireland was 8,199,853; in 1881 it was only 5,129,950.)

the cities what the Reform Bill of 1832 had effected for the general government of the kingdom. It transformed the cities from grotesque, iniquitous oligarchies into something like democracies, wherein the government was in the hands of a mayor and a council elected by the townsmen.

412. Chartism: the Revolutionary Year of 1848. — Although the Reform Bill of 1832 was almost revolutionary in the principle it established, still it went only a little way in the application of that principle. It admitted to the franchise the middle classes only. The great laboring class were given no part in the government. They now began an agitation, characterized by much bitterness, known as Chartism, from a document called the "People's Charter," which embodied the reforms they desired. These were "universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, the division of the country into equal electoral districts, the abolition of the property qualification of members, and payment for their services."

The agitation for these changes in the constitution went on with more or less violence until 1848, in which year, encouraged by the revolutions then shaking almost every throne on the European continent, the Chartists resolved to make an effective demonstration of their strength and the popularity of their cause. They assembled to the number of twenty-five thousand with the intention of carrying to the House of Commons a huge petition — the third they had drawn up in the course of the movement — signed, so it was asserted, by over five million persons.²

Tumultuous petitioning being illegal in England, the government took active measures to prevent the proposed march to the Parliament building. The great mass of the people, ever on the side of law and order, rallied to the support of the government, nearly a quarter of a million of men promptly

² There was doubt as to the correctness of this statement and thirteen clerks were set to work to count the signatures. There were found to be only 1,075,466, and many of these were fictitious.

responding to a call for special policemen. One of these conservators of the public peace was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, then an exile in England, whom the upheavals of this very year were destined to elevate to the presidency of the French Republic.

The Chartists were prevented from carrying out their programme, and their organization soon fell to pieces. The reforms, however, which they had labored to secure, were, in the main, desirable and just, and the most important of them have since been adopted and made a part of the English Constitution.

413. The Reform Bill of 1867 and the Education Act of 1870. — The Reform Bill of 1867 was simply another step taken by the English government in the direction of the Reform Bill of 1832. Like that measure, it was passed only after long and violent agitation and discussion both without and within the walls of Parliament.

The main effect of the bill was the extension of the right of voting, — the enfranchisement of the great “fourth estate.” By it also a few small boroughs in England — for the bill did not concern either Ireland or Scotland, separate bills of somewhat similar provisions being framed for them — were disfranchised, and several new ones created. The towns of Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Leeds were each given a third representative in the Commons, and the University of London was given a seat in the House.

As after the Reform Bill of 1832,³ so now the attention of Parliament was directed to the matter of public instruction: for all recognized that universal education must go along with universal suffrage. Three years after the passage of this second reform bill, Parliament passed an education act (1870) which aimed to provide an elementary education for every child in the British Isles by investing the local authorities with power to establish and maintain schools and to compel the attendance of the children.

³ See par. 410, note 1.

414. The Reform Bill of 1884. — One of the conservative leaders, the Earl of Derby, in the discussions upon the Reform Bill of 1867, said, "No doubt we are making a great experiment, and taking a leap in the dark." Just seventeen years after the passage of that bill the English people were ready to take another leap. But they were not now leaping in the dark. The wisdom and safety of admitting the lower classes to a share in the government had been demonstrated.

In 1884 Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, introduced and pushed to a successful vote a new reform bill more radical and sweeping in its provisions than any preceding one. It increased the number of voters from about three millions to five millions. The qualification of voters in the counties was made the same as that required of voters in the boroughs. Hence its effect was to enfranchise the great agricultural classes.

A redistribution bill, which was passed in connection with the Reform Bill, rearranged the electoral districts in such manner that the Commons should more fairly represent the popular will. The number of members from the boroughs was lessened and the number from the counties increased.

Referring to these extensive changes in the constitution of the House of Commons, the queen, in proroguing the Parliament whose labors had effected them, used these words: "I earnestly trust that these comprehensive measures may increase the efficiency of Parliament, and may promote contentment among my people. . . . I pray the blessing of God may rest upon their extended liberties, and that the members who are called upon to exercise new powers will use them with that sobriety and discernment which have for so long a period marked the liberty of this nation."

The first elections (in 1885) held under the new system sent to the House of Commons many men of humble origin and calling.

415. The Reform of Rural Local Government. — Parliament and the government of the municipalities were now fairly

democratized. The rural districts were the last to feel the influence of the liberal movement that was so profoundly reconstructing in the interest of the masses the governmental institutions of the United Kingdom.

The work of democratic reconstruction has been rounded out and completed by different acts of Parliament,⁴ which have created in the counties and in the rural and urban parishes⁵ popularly elected councils charged with the care and superintendence of matters of local concern. This reform legislation has swept away a multitude of boards and jurisdictions which were a part of the old régime, and has put more directly into the hands of the people of each of the smaller subdivisions of the United Kingdom the management of their local affairs.

416. Only the Forms of Monarchy remain. — The English government in its local as well as in its national branches is now in reality as democratic as our own. Only the forms of the aristocratic monarchy remain. It does not seem possible that these, in spite of the English love of ancient forms, can always withstand the encroachments of democracy. Hereditary right and privilege, as represented by the House of Lords and the Crown, must in time be abolished. Even now whenever the Lords attempt to thwart the will of the Commons there are ominous threats of abolishing the Upper House, as at present constituted. However stubbornly the Conservatives may continue to defend the constitution against the attacks of the Liberals, it seems inevitable that these monarchical and aristocratic forms, representing as they do an old order of things, should give way to purely modern democratic institutions; for, as the advocates of popular self-government maintain, the republic is the logical form of the democratic state.

⁴ The most important of these statutes are the Local Government Act of 1888 (for England and Wales), the Local Government Act of 1889 (for Scotland), the Local Government Act of 1898 (for Ireland), and the Parish Council Act of 1894.

⁵ The "counties" of the legislative acts are new administrative divisions, and not the old geographical counties. The English country parish corresponds in a manner to our township.

II. EXTENSION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS EQUALITY

417. Religious Freedom and Religious Equality. — Alongside the political movement traced in the preceding section ran a similar one in the religious realm. This was a growing recognition by the English people of the true principle of religious toleration.

At the opening of the nineteenth century there was in England religious freedom, but no religious equality. That is to say, one might be a Catholic or a Protestant dissenter, without fear of persecution. Dissent from the Established Church was not unlawful. But one's being a Catholic or a Protestant nonconformist disqualified him from holding certain public offices. Where there exists such discrimination against any religious sect, or where any one sect is favored or sustained by the government, there of course is no religious *equality*, although there may be religious *freedom*.

Progress in this direction, then, will consist in the growth of a really tolerant spirit, which shall lead to the removal of all civil disabilities from Catholics, Protestant dissenters, and Jews, and the placing of all sects on an absolute equality before the law. This is but a completion of the work of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

418. Methodism and its Effects upon Toleration. — One thing that helped to bring prominently forward the question of emancipating nonconformists from the civil disabilities under which they were placed, was the great religious movement known as Methodism, which during the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century revolutionized the religious life of England (par. 281). By vastly increasing the body of Protestant dissenters, Methodism gave new strength to the agitation for the repeal of the laws which bore so heavily upon them. So now began a series of legislative acts which made a more and more perfect application of the great principle of religious equality. We shall

simply refer to two or three of the most important of these measures.

419. Disabilities removed from Protestant Dissenters (1828).

—One of the earliest and most important of the acts of Parliament in this century in recognition of the principle of religious equality was the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, in so far as they bore upon Protestant dissenters. These were acts passed in the reign of Charles II, which required every officer of a corporation, and all persons holding civil and military positions, to take certain oaths and partake of the communion according to the rites of the Anglican Church. It is true that these laws were not now strictly enforced, and that an annual indemnity act gave a sort of relief to Protestant non-conformists. Nevertheless, the laws were invidious and vexatious, and the Protestant dissenters demanded their repeal.

Those opposed to the repeal argued that the principle of religious toleration did not require it. They insisted that, where every one has perfect freedom of worship, it is no infringement of the principle of toleration for the government to refuse to employ as a public servant one who dissents from the State Church.

The result of the debate in Parliament was the repeal of such parts of the ancient acts as it was necessary to rescind in order to relieve Protestant dissenters, — that is, the provision requiring persons holding office to be communicants of the Anglican Church.

420. Disabilities removed from the Catholics (1829). —

The bill of 1828 gave no relief to Catholics. They were still excluded from Parliament and various civil offices by the declarations of belief and the oaths required of office-holders, — declarations and oaths which no good Catholic could conscientiously make.⁶ They now demanded that the

⁶ In England Catholics were excluded from the privilege of voting as well as from the holding of office; in Ireland they could vote, that right having been granted by the Irish Parliament in 1793, but they could not hold office.

same concessions be made them that had been granted Protestant dissenters.

The ablest champion of Catholic emancipation was the eloquent Irish patriot, Daniel O'Connell; but the measure was also favored by many who did not commune with the Catholic Church, but whom the growth of a more liberal spirit in religious matters had led to perceive the injustice of the old laws.

A threatened revolt on the part of the Irish Catholics hurried the progress of what was known as the "Catholic Emancipation Act" through Parliament. This law opened Parliament and all the offices of the kingdom, below the crown,—save that of Regent, of Lord High Chancellor of England and Ireland, of Lord Deputy of Ireland, and a few others,—to the Catholic subjects of the realm.

But unhappily this act of toleration and justice had been too long delayed. "Thirty years of hope deferred, of right withheld, of discontent and agitation, had exasperated the Catholic population of Ireland against the English government. They had overcome their rulers; and, owing them no gratitude, were ripe for new disorders."

421. Disabilities removed from the Jews (1858).—Persons professing the Jewish religion were still laboring under all the disabilities which had now been removed from Protestant dissenters and Catholics.

In 1858 an act (Jewish Relief Act) was passed by Parliament which so changed the oath required of a person taking office—the oath contained the words, "Upon the true faith of a Christian"—as to open all public positions, except a few special offices, to persons of the Jewish faith.

The year of the passage of the act, Baron Rothschild,⁷ taking the oath of office upon the Old Testament, was admitted to a seat in the House of Commons.⁸

⁷ It was an Austrian title that he bore; the English barony in the Rothschild family was not created until 1885.

⁸ The act provided that each House of Parliament might, in its discretion, modify the oath to meet the scruples of any person professing the Jewish religion.

422. Disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869). — Forty years after the Catholic Emancipation Act the English government took another great step in the direction of religious equality by the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland.

The Irish have always and steadily refused to accept the religion which their English conquerors have somehow felt constrained to try to force upon them. The vast majority of the people are to-day, and ever have been, Catholics; yet up to the time where we have now arrived these Irish Catholics had been compelled to pay tithes and fees for the maintenance among them of the Anglican Church worship. Meanwhile their own churches, in which the great masses were instructed and cared for spiritually, had to be kept up by voluntary contributions.

The rank injustice in thus forcing the Irish Catholics to support a church in which they not only did not believe but which they regarded with special aversion and hatred as the symbol of their subjection and persecution, was perceived and declaimed against by many among the English Protestants themselves.

The proposal to do away with this grievance by the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland was bitterly opposed by the Conservatives, headed by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli; but at length, after a memorable debate, the Liberals, under the lead of Bright and Gladstone, the latter then Prime Minister, carried the measure. This was in 1869, but the actual disestablishment was not to take place until the year 1871, at which time the Irish Church, ceasing to exist as a state institution, became a free Episcopal Church. The historian May pronounces this "the most important ecclesiastical matter since the Reformation."

423. Proposed Disestablishment of the State Church in England and Scotland. — The perfect application of the principle of religious equality demands, in the opinion of many English

Liberals, the disestablishment of the State Church in England and Scotland.⁹ They feel that for the government to maintain any particular sect is to give the state a monopoly in religion. They would have the churches of all denominations placed on an absolute equality. Especially in Scotland is the sentiment in favor of disestablishment very strong.

In the elections of 1885 this question of disestablishment was virtually made one of the issues upon which the campaign was fought. Chamberlain, the representative at that time of the Radical wing of the Liberal party, unhesitatingly declared that the time for universal disestablishment had come. Gladstone, while concluding that the line along which the English people had been moving would sooner or later bring them to disestablishment, seemed inclined to the opinion that the times were not yet ripe for the measure.

III. ENGLAND'S RELATIONS WITH IRELAND

424. Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland (1800).—The history of Ireland in the nineteenth century, like her history in all preceding centuries, is in the main a story of Irish grievances against England. These grievances have for the most part arisen out of three distinct yet closely related subject-matters,—religion, Home Rule, and the land. Concerning the religious grievances of the Irish and their redress we have already spoken in connection with the general religious emancipation movement in England. For an understanding of the subject of Irish Home Rule a glance backward at Irish parliamentary history is necessary.

In 1800, a little less than a century after the legislative union of England and Scotland (par. 274), a similar union was effected of the Irish Parliament¹⁰ and that at Westminster.

⁹ The Established Church in Scotland is the Presbyterian.

¹⁰ For the character of the Irish Parliament and its relations to the English Parliament in the eighteenth century, see par. 284. note 24.

Ireland prior to this union was filled with unrest, being distracted with the quarrels between the Protestant minority who controlled the government and the Catholic majority. This placed in grave peril the integrity of the British Empire. There was danger lest Ireland should afford a foothold for the French in their threatened invasion of England.

As a measure of precaution the English government resolved to get rid of the Irish Parliament. By wholesale bribery its members were induced to pass a sort of self-denying ordinance whereby the Parliament was abolished, or rather merged with that of Great Britain, for, upon the dissolution of the Irish legislature, Ireland was given representation in the Parliament at Westminster. The two islands were henceforth to bear the name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." A new flag was designed, on which the cross of St. Patrick was added to those of St. George and St. Andrew. The Irish Parliament building at Dublin was sold to a banking company.

425. Agitation for the Repeal of the Union ; Fenianism.—The great body of Irish patriots did not at the time of these transactions admit, nor have they at any time since admitted, the validity of the Act of Union whereby their Parliament was taken from them. In the early forties the agitation for the repeal of the Union and the reestablishment of their native legislature assumed, under the incitement of the eloquence of the great leader Daniel O'Connell, almost the character of a rebellion.

Some years later, in the sixties, the agitation was carried to the point of actual insurrection. In 1858 there had been formed what was known as the Fenian Brotherhood. The avowed aim of this association was the separation of Ireland from England by force of arms and the establishment of an independent Irish republic. The Civil War in America favored the enterprise by giving thousands of Irish a military training. After the close of the war these Irish veterans were eager for a fight with England for the freedom of Ireland. A considerable

number of them went over to Ireland and in 1867 an uprising took place, but the movement was quickly suppressed and its leaders punished.¹¹ This was the end of Fenianism.

426. Gladstone and Home Rule for Ireland. — It was not long before the Irish question was again to the front. In 1886 William Ewart Gladstone became for the third time Prime Minister. Almost his first act was the introduction in the Commons of a Home Rule bill for Ireland. The main feature of this measure was an Irish legislature sitting at Dublin, to which was to be intrusted the management of all exclusively Irish affairs.

Gladstone's abandonment of his earlier position on this Irish question caused many influential Liberals, among them John Bright and Joseph Chamberlain, to withdraw from the Liberal and ally themselves with the Conservative party.

The chief arguments urged by the opponents of the bill were that an Irish legislature would deal unfairly with English landlords in Ireland, would oppress the Protestant portion of the population, and, above all, in time of national distress would sever Ireland from the British Empire.

After a long debate the bill was rejected by the Commons (1886). Gladstone appealed to the country. The elections resulted in his defeat. Lord Salisbury became the head of the next cabinet.

The agitation for Irish Home Rule, however, went on.¹² In 1892 the elections resulted in bringing Gladstone to the premiership for the fourth time. He now brought in a new Home Rule bill (1893), which in its essential features was like his first. There followed a long and bitter debate between the partisans of the measure and its opponents. The bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords by an almost unanimous vote.

¹¹ The Fenian raid into Canada in 1866 was a part of this revolutionary agitation.

¹² In 1890 the cause received a severe blow through the misconduct of one of the prominent Irish leaders, — Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell.

The following year, owing to the infirmities of advanced age, Gladstone laid down the burdens of the premiership and retired from public life. He died in 1898 at the age of eighty-eight, and, amidst unusual demonstrations of national grief, was buried in Westminster Abbey. His name has a sure place among the great names in English history.

427. Irish Local Government Bill (1898). — The cause of Irish Home Rule seemed to have descended into the tomb with Gladstone. The Conservative ministry of Lord Salisbury, however, in 1898, hoping to satisfy in a measure Irish demands, enacted a law which created local governing bodies in Ireland, like those which had then recently been established in other parts of the United Kingdom (par. 415).

The Irish had good reason in this matter to fear the Tories bringing gifts. One purpose of the Conservatives in this piece of legislation was “to kill Home Rule with kindness”; that is, by the creation of a number of local councils, to induce the Irish to cease their clamor for a general legislature for Ireland.

But it seems hardly likely that these tardy and partial concessions to the Irish demands for self-government will persuade the Irish to abate their demands for a national Parliament at Dublin, a body that shall truly represent the hopes and aspirations of the Irish people as one of the great nations of the British Empire.

428. Agrarian Troubles and Agrarian Legislation. — It is the opinion of many students of the Irish question that the question is at bottom an economic rather than a political one, and that if Irish economic grievances were removed the Irish would cease to care for Home Rule.

It is certainly true that very much of Irish misery and discontent arises from absentee landlordism. A great part of the soil of Ireland is owned by a few hundred English proprietors, who represent in the main, either as heirs or as purchasers, those English and Scotch settlers to whom the lands confiscated from

the natives were given at the time of the Cromwellian and other Protestant "settlements" of the island.¹³ Before the recent relief legislation, of which we shall speak directly, it was often the case that the agents of these absentee landlords dealt harshly with their tenants, and exacted as rent every penny that could be wrung from their poverty. If a tenant made improvements upon the land he tilled, and by ditching and subduing it increased its productive power, straightway his rent was raised. If he failed to pay the higher rent, he was evicted. The records of "evictions" form a sad chapter in the history of the Irish peasantry.

A long series of Irish land laws marks the efforts of the British Parliament to alleviate the distress of the Irish tenant farmers. Some of these acts have aimed to secure for the tenant fair and fixed rent, and to protect him against unjust eviction. Others have given to the evicted tenant compensation for the improvements made by him upon the land. Still others have empowered the government to assist the peasant, by loaning him money on easy terms of repayment, to purchase his little holding and thus to become a proprietor.

One of the most noteworthy of the various land laws is the Gladstone Act of 1881, for the reason that it embodied a new principle in dealing with the ancient trouble. This principle was that landowners should not be allowed to exact the highest rent possible under free competition, but that rents should be reasonable and their reasonableness should be determined by public authority. This act has been bitterly assailed¹⁴ as being a violation of the rights of property.

In 1903 a new Irish Land Purchase Bill, more sweeping and liberal than any preceding measure for Irish relief, was brought forward in the House of Commons.¹⁵ The bill differs from

¹³ See pars. 191 and 209.

¹⁴ See Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, vol. i, chap. ii.

¹⁵ At the present writing (August, 1903) it has passed, with almost unanimous approval, both Lords and Commons, and has received the signature of the king.

earlier bills in the provision that peasants desiring to buy their holdings shall be aided, not merely by a government loan on long time and low interest, but further by the government itself paying a part of the purchase price.

Should this liberal measure be carried into full effect it would convert nearly half a million of Irish tenants into proprietors and would thus wholly revolutionize the relation of the Irish peasantry to the Irish soil. It would empty of meaning the accusing and menacing cry, "Ireland for the Irish."

Sources and Source Material. — The student of nineteenth-century English history is embarrassed not by a lack but by a superabundance of contemporary documents and writings. The selections and references in the following source-books will perhaps serve as the best guide and introduction to some of the numerous sources available for a short study of the period: Lee's *Source-Book of English History*, pp. 483-541; Kendall's *Source-Book of English History*, chaps. xx and xxi; and Colby's *Selections from the Sources of English History*, Nos. 113-117. For important contemporary documents, turn to Adams and Stephens's *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, pp. 497-555. The principal speeches in Parliament on the Reform Bill of 1832 are given in a condensed form in Molesworth's *History of the Reform Bill of 1832*. Additional matter of this kind will be found in Adams's *Representative British Orations*, and in the collections of speeches of John Bright, Gladstone, and other Parliamentary leaders.

Secondary Works. — For Parliamentary reform: MAY (T. E.), *The Constitutional History of England*, 3 vols.; GAMMAGE (R. G.), *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837-54*; MOLESWORTH (W. N.), *The History of the Reform Bill of 1832*; MCCARTHY (J.), *The Epoch of Reform* (Epochs of Modern History); CARLYLE (T.), *Chartism*; and DICKINSON (G. L.), *The Development of Parliament during the Nineteenth Century*. See also, below, general histories of Walpole and Molesworth.

For Irish matters: LECKY (W. E. H.), *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, vol v, chaps. xii and xiii, for the Legislative Union of England and Ireland; *Two Centuries of Irish History, 1691-1870*, by different writers, with an Introduction by James Bryce; DUFFY (SIR C. G.), *Young Ireland*, being an account of the movement led by Daniel O'Connell for the repeal of the Union; DICEY (A. V.), *England's Case against Home Rule*; MCCARTHY (J.), *Ireland since the Union*;

MORRIS (W. O'CONNOR), *Ireland, 1494-1868* (Cambridge Historical Series), and KING (D. B.), *The Irish Question*.

Biographies: THURSFIELD (J. R.), *Peel* (Twelve English Statesmen); MORLEY (J.), *The Life of Richard Cobden*, 2 vols.; BRANDES (G.), *Lord Beaconsfield* (trans. by Mrs. George Sturge); FROUDE (J. A.), *Lord Beaconsfield* (The Prime Ministers of Queen Victoria series); and O'BRIEN (R. B.), *The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell*. A comprehensive biography of Gladstone is yet to be written; John Morley has undertaken the task of preparing such a work. Among the "Lives" and "Monographs" that have already appeared the following may be named: SMITH (G. B.), *Life of W. E. Gladstone*; MCCARTHY (J.), *The Story of Gladstone's Life*; LECKY (W. E. H.), *The Right Honorable William E. Gladstone*; and JAMES BRYCE, *William Ewart Gladstone*. In SMITH (G. B.), *The Prime Ministers of Queen Victoria*, will be found short accounts of the men who have shaped the policies of England during the last fifty years and more. See also, LEE (S. L.), *Queen Victoria*. It will hardly be necessary again to remind the reader of the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

For the social, intellectual, and industrial life of the period: TRAILL (H. D.), *Social England*, vol. vi; CHEYNEY (E. P.), *An Introduction to the Social History of England*, chaps. viii-x; ENGELS (F.), *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (from the German).

For a general review of the events of the period: WALPOLE (S.), *A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815*, 5 vols.; MOLESWORTH (W. N.), *The History of England from the Year 1830 to 1874*, 3 vols.; and MCCARTHY (J.), *History of our Own Times*, — different editions.

For helpful brief summaries, see the school texts of Gardiner, Montgomery, Coman and Kendall, and Terry. Consult Poole's Index for articles on special subjects in the various Magazines and Reviews.

CHAPTER XIX

SPAIN AND THE REVOLT OF HER AMERICAN COLONIES

429. Effects of Napoleon's Invasion of Spain. — The plan of our work permits us to touch upon only those passages in nineteenth-century Spanish history which, through their relation to the French Revolution or to the general democratic movement since 1815, constitute a part of universal history.

The invasion of Spain by Napoleon in 1808 (par. 379), wanton as was this attack upon Spanish nationality, resulted in the destruction of the old corrupt absolute monarchical system and marked the beginning of the social and political regeneration of the Spanish nation. Under the French régime the power of the clergy was curtailed, many of the monasteries were suppressed, and the Inquisition was abolished.

Furthermore, as an outcome of the national uprising against the French invaders, the country received from the Spanish patriot party a charter of liberty known as the Constitution of 1812. The maxims and principles underlying this instrument of government were like those embodied in the French Constitution of 1791. This marks the beginning of constitutional parliamentary government in Spain.

430. The Bourbon Restoration and the Revolution of 1820-1823. — The Restoration of 1814 brought back the Bourbons in the person of Ferdinand VII. Ferdinand was an absolutist. Straightway he set about the restoration of the old régime. He abolished the constitution, dissolved the Cortes or National Assembly, and banished or imprisoned the leaders of the Liberal party. The king's confessors became his political advisers and the virtual administrators of the government.

This policy of reaction and repression was met in 1820 by an uprising of the Liberals. The insurgents proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, and forced the king to swear to rule henceforth in accordance with its provisions.

But the absolute sovereigns of Europe would not allow the Spanish people to have a constitutional government. They regarded the setting up of such a system in the peninsula as a menace to their own system of absolutism. They met in conference¹ and France was assured of the moral and if necessary the material support of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, if she should undertake to suppress by force the liberal movement.

A French army a hundred thousand strong at once crossed the Pyrenees and marched upon Madrid. The constitutional government was overthrown and Ferdinand was restored to his former authority as an absolute ruler.²

For ten years the old régime was in force in all its rigor. Thousands of Liberals were immured in dungeons or driven

¹ During these troubled times the sovereigns of the great powers, either in person or by representatives, met in three celebrated conferences, — the Congress of Troppau (1820), the Congress of Laibach (1821), and the Congress of Verona (1822). It was at the Verona conference that action was taken concerning the state of affairs in Spain. England, jealous of French influence in the peninsula, protested against the proposed intervention, and withdrew from the Congress.

² The revolution in Spain incited a like movement in Portugal¹. It will be recalled that when the French invaded Portugal in 1807 the royal family fled to Brazil (par. 378). The seat of government was not retransferred to the home country in 1815, but Portugal was governed from Brazil as though it were a dependency of the colony. This situation was naturally displeasing to the people of Portugal. In 1820 the dissatisfaction culminated in a revolution. The insurgents proclaimed a liberal constitution. King John VI, urged to return from Brazil, finally set sail for Portugal. Upon his arrival he was constrained to take an oath to observe the new constitution. Then followed a long troubled period. Only since the middle of the nineteenth century can the country be said to have had anything like a regular constitutional government.

Before leaving Brazil King John had appointed his son Dom Pedro as Regent. In 1822 the colony declared its independence of Portugal and transformed itself into a constitutional empire with Dom Pedro as Emperor. In 1831 he abdicated in favor of his son, Dom Pedro II. In 1889 a revolution overturned the empire and drove the imperial family into exile. A republic was then proclaimed under the name of the United States of Brazil.

into exile. The monasteries were reopened. The Inquisition was reëstablished. The people were forbidden to read foreign books, which were presumably filled with the contagion of democratic ideas.

431. The Revolt of Spain's American Colonies. — Ferdinand was thus, through foreign aid, reëstablished in his absolute authority in the home land; but at the same time he lost control of all the Spanish colonies on the mainland of the American continent.

At the opening of the nineteenth century Spain's system of government in her over-the-sea dependencies was the seventeenth-century colonial system. It was based on the maxim that colonies exist for the sake of the mother country. There were unjust monopolies and a prohibition of manufactures in the colonies that would come into competition with industries in Spain. The colonists were forbidden to trade with any country save the home land. All the chief offices in State and Church were filled by persons born in Spain; the creoles, that is Spaniards born in the colonies, were allowed no part in the government. The Indians and half-breeds, who formed the great bulk of the population, were held in a kind of serfdom. Negro slavery prevailed in all the colonies. The Inquisition was maintained in all its rigor. A jealous censorship of the press prevented all free expression of opinion.

This oppressive and arbitrary system of government did not fail to arouse in the colonies a spirit of protest and rebellion. The successful revolt of the English colonies in the North and the French Revolution gave a great impulse to this revolutionary movement in all the Spanish American countries.³

³ The influence of foreign ideas upon the Spanish revolutionary movement is shown in the borrowings from the English, American, and French constitutions found in all the constitutions framed by the Spanish revolutionists after they had succeeded in freeing themselves from Spain. The French influence was first felt in the French colony upon the island of Haiti (par. 361). The free negro state which arose there was the first fruits in the New World of the teachings of the French Revolution.

The invasion of Spain by the French in 1808 was the signal for insurrection. Taking advantage of the deposition of their king (par. 379), the colonists arose against their Spanish sovereign, demanding reforms and a share in public affairs. They did not, however, at once renounce their allegiance to the Spanish crown. When the Napoleonic wars ended in 1815 Spain had almost suppressed these insurrections against her authority.

Then came the Restoration which placed Ferdinand VII upon the Spanish throne. Had he made wise concessions to the colonists, they might have been held in their allegiance. Just the opposite course was followed, which resulted in fanning into a fierce flame the smouldering embers of insurrection. The revolution of 1820 in Spain imparted fresh energy to the outbreak.

The aim of the colonists now was not simply a redress of grievances but a severance of all political relations with the mother country.

The details of this war of Spanish colonial independence belong to the special histories of Spain and her colonies. In the next paragraph we shall touch upon only a single international phase of the conflict, which throws a strong side light upon the great struggle at this time going on in Europe between the absolute rulers and the people.

432. The Holy Alliance and the Monroe Doctrine. — The principles of absolutism in government having been asserted anew in Spain,⁴ the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance now turned their attention to affairs in the New World. They began to discuss the project of aiding Spain to reduce to obedience her rebellious colonies.

These deliberations of the absolute sovereigns mark a critical moment in the history of the New World and of the cause of popular self-government. The threatened interference by the Old World monarchies in New World affairs awakened the

⁴ And also in Italy (par. 437).

apprehension of the government of the United States. Our clearest-sighted statesmen saw that such intervention would be a blow to republican institutions, and would seriously imperil our own recently established independence. John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, declared that "if the Holy Alliance subdues Spanish America, the ultimate result of the undertaking will be not to set up the standard of Spain but to portion out the continent among themselves. Russia might take California, Peru, and Chile, and thus make the Pacific a Russian lake."

Such was the situation when in 1823 President Monroe issued his famous message. After referring to the gloomy outlook for liberalism in the Old World and to the despotic system of government represented by the Holy Alliance, he said:

"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers [the "Holy Allies"], to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

This is the celebrated Monroe doctrine as first formulated. The solemn protest of the United States, supported as it was by the decisive stand of the English government,⁵ did not pass

⁵ The English government disapproved the plan of intervention, partly on account of its dislike of the principles of absolute government and partly on account of English trade interests in the Spanish American countries. The English Foreign Secretary Canning took to himself the credit of having enabled

unheeded by the continental European sovereigns. The contemplated intervention in the affairs of the Spanish colonies did not take place, and the year 1824 saw all the American dependencies of Spain freed from her oppressive yoke. Fifteen independent republics, embracing fifteen millions of her former subjects, arose on the ruins of her empire.⁶

433. The Spanish Republic of 1873-1874. — Spain was a corner of Europe which was not seriously agitated by the upheavals of the revolutionary year 1830. But there was here as elsewhere an increasing demand by the people for a share in the government. It was in recognition of this growing democratic sentiment that in 1837 the nation was given a revised edition of the Constitution of 1812. This date may be regarded as marking the end of absolute monarchy in Spain.⁷

The matter most worthy of notice in the internal history of Spain as a constitutional state is the establishment in the peninsula of the short-lived Republic of 1873-1874.

The circumstances leading up to the proclamation of this republic were these. In 1868 a revolution, provoked by the

the revolted colonies to gain their independence. Reproached with having allowed the French, by occupying Spain, to enhance their influence in the peninsula, he replied boastfully, "I called the New World into existence in order to redress the balance of the Old."

⁶ The most popular hero of the war of Spanish independence was Simon Bolivar, a native of Caracas. He caught the inspiration of liberty in the United States and Europe. He rendered some such service to the Spanish colonies as Washington rendered to the English, and received the title of The Liberator. San Martin, another hero of the war of liberation, was a military organizer and commander of real genius. When the independence of the colonies had been secured he went into voluntary exile in Europe, giving as his reason for this act of self-abnegation that the presence in a republic of a successful military leader was always a danger to the liberties of the people.

⁷ Ferdinand VII had died in 1833. During his lifetime he had altered the law of succession so as to exclude his brother Charles, or Don Carlos, in favor of his own daughter Isabella. The partisans of Don Carlos, known as Carlists, refused to acquiesce in this arrangement, and upon the death of Ferdinand plunged the country into civil war (1834-1839). They have since stirred up much trouble for the government, at every perilous juncture of affairs raising or threatening to raise the standard of revolt.

tyranny and corruption of the government, drove Queen Isabella II from the throne. There were at this time but few advocates of a republic. A constitutional monarchy was decided upon, and then a search for a king was instituted. The vacant throne was offered, among others, to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. He declined the proffered honor (par. 466). The crown was finally accepted by the Duke of Aosta, son of King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy, who took the title of Amadeo I (1870). He was not kindly received by the Spanish people, and was so harassed by the unpatriotic conduct of his ministers that after three years' trial of kingship he abdicated the throne.

The Cortes now proclaimed the Republic. The leading spirit of this republican movement, and the third President of the commonwealth, was Emilio Castelar, a brilliant orator and a sincere patriot.

But the people of Spain were not yet prepared for republican institutions. The republic lasted less than two years. Upon its downfall the monarchy was restored with a liberal constitution.⁸

434. Conclusion. — The century closed in gloom for Spain. In 1898 came the disastrous and humiliating war with the United States, respecting the causes and incidents of which the reader will turn to the later chapters of American history. It will be in place here simply to say that the war resulted in Spain's loss of Cuba and other insular possessions, — almost the last remnants of one of the most extended and magnificent of the colonial empires of modern times.

Sources and Source Material. — HART AND CHANNING'S *American History Leaflets*, No. 4, "Extracts from Official Declarations of the United States embodying the Monroe Doctrine."

Secondary Works. — HUME (M. A. S.), *Modern Spain* (Story of the Nations). WALTON (W.), *The Revolutions of Spain from 1808 to the*

⁸ The throne is now (1903) held by the young Alphonso XIII, whose reign dates from 1886.

End of 1836 (London, 1837), 2 vols., strongly pro-Carlist. MOSES (B.), *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, chap. xi, "Spain's Economic Policy in America." WINSOR (J.), *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. viii, chaps. iv and v. GILMAN (D. C.), *James Monroe* (American Statesmen), chap. vii, "The Monroe Doctrine." A valuable bibliography of Monroe and the Monroe Doctrine, by Professor J. F. Jameson, forms an appendix to the volume. REDDAWAY (W. F.), *The Monroe Doctrine*. This is the best monograph on the subject. STROEBEL (E. H.), *The Spanish Revolution, 1868-1875* (Boston, 1898). HANNAY (D.), *Don Emilio Castelar* (Public Men of To-day). HALE (E. E. and S.), *Spain* (Story of the Nations), later chapters. LATIMER (E. N.), *Spain in the Nineteenth Century*. SEIGNOBOS (C.), *A Political History of Europe since 1814* (trans. and ed. by Professor S. M. Macvane), chap. x. HARRISON (J. A.), *Spain in History*, concluding chapters.

CHAPTER XX

THE LIBERATION AND UNIFICATION OF ITALY.

435. Italy at the Downfall of Napoleon. — In Italy as well as in other countries the French Revolution awakened hopes which were doomed to bitter disappointment. It rid the Italians of their former masters, and for a moment gave them the institutions of freedom and self-government. But as liberty in France gave place to despotism, so did it in Italy, and the Italians soon discovered that they had simply exchanged masters. They were robbed of their art treasures; they were burdened with heavy taxes; their best blood was drained away on the battlefields of the Empire. Hence they were almost as ready in 1814 to help the allies, who held themselves out as "Liberators," to drive out the French as a little before, in response to Bonaparte's call, they had been to help chase the Austrians beyond the Alps.

But now came a second disappointment. Instead of being left to themselves to set up constitutional monarchies or republican governments as they might prefer, the Italian peoples, as being the most dangerously infected with the ideas of the Revolution, were, by the reactionary Congress of Vienna, condemned to the most strict and ignominious slavery. The former republics were not allowed to restore their ancient institutions, while the petty principalities were handed over in almost every case to the tyrants or to the heirs of the tyrants who had ruled them before the Revolution.

Austria, as has been stated, appropriated Venetia and Lombardy, and from Northern Italy assumed to direct the affairs of the whole peninsula. "The baton of Metternich," wrote

Mazzini, "governs and directs all the petty tyrants of Italy." Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Lucca were given to princes of the House of Hapsburg. Naples was restored to its old Bourbon rulers.

The Pope and Victor Emmanuel I, king of Sardinia, were the only native rulers, but they also were absolutists. The latter, besides the island of Sardinia, which had been his retreat during the Napoleonic upheaval, now came again into possession of Piedmont, to which was added the territory of Genoa.

The little republic of San Marino, whose very insignificance had protected it during the changes of the Revolution, was the only patch of free population left in the entire peninsula.¹ The Italians had become a "Helot nation." Italy, in the words of Metternich, was merely a "geographical expression."

But the Revolution had sown the seeds of liberty, and time only was needed for their maturing. The Cisalpine, Ligurian, Parthenopean, and Tiberine republics, short-lived though they were, had awakened in the people an aspiration for self-government; while Napoleon's kingdom of Italy, though equally delusive, had nevertheless inspired thousands of Italian patriots with the sentiment of national unity. Thus the French Revolution, disappointing as seemed its issue, really imparted to Italy her first impulse in the direction of freedom and national organization.

436. Arbitrary Rule of the Restored Princes. — The setting up of the overturned thrones meant, of course, the reinstating of the old tyrannies. The restored despots came back with an implacable hatred of everything French. The liberal constitutions of the revolutionary period were set aside, and all French institutions that were supposed to tend in the least to Liberalism were swept away.

¹ "On the top of a little mountain at the outskirts of the Apennines which overlook the sea by Rimini, sat Liberty, the queen of a few hundred citizens, surveying the muddy ocean of Franco-Spanish, Italo-Teutonic despotism which drowned Italy through all her length and breadth." — SYMONDS.

In the Papal States the restored Pope went to the most extreme lengths in his retrograde policy. The Inquisition was again set up, and a strict censorship of the press established. Convents that had been closed were reopened. Vaccination and street lamps, French innovations, were abolished.

In Sardinia, King Victor Emmanuel I, the "royal Rip Van Winkle," instituted an equally reactionary policy. Nothing that bore the French stamp, nothing that had been set up by French hands, was allowed to remain. Even cases that had been tried and decided in the French courts had now to be tried over again. Thus everything was unsettled. The monks were given back their monasteries, which had been converted into factories, colleges, and hospitals. The Jesuits were again placed in control of education. Even the French furniture in the royal palace at Turin was thrown out of the windows, and the French plants in the royal gardens were pulled up root and branch. The magnificent bridge over the Po, built by Napoleon, barely escaped destruction, and travel over the Mount Cenis road, also constructed by the French Emperor, was discouraged, in order that this monument of French genius might be forgotten.

Thus was Italy subjected to the despotism of the restored tyrants, who bowed in vassalage to Austria, and in obedience to her behests and to their own vindictive and reactionary impulses, set about carrying out in the Italian peninsula the principles of the Holy Alliance.

437. The Carbonari: Uprising of 1820-1821. — The natural results of the arbitrary rule of the restored princes was deep and widespread discontent. The French Revolution, as we have said, had sown broadcast in Italy the seeds of liberty, and their growth could not be checked by tyrannical repression. An old secret organization, the members of which were known as the *Carbonari* (charcoal burners), formed the nucleus about which gathered the elements of disaffection.

In 1820, incited by the revolution in Spain, the *Carbonari* raised an insurrection in Naples, and forced King Ferdinand, who was ruler of both Naples and Sicily, now united under the name of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, to grant his Neapolitan subjects the Spanish Constitution of 1812 (par. 429), which he swore faithfully to observe, in these words: "Almighty God, whose all-seeing eye reaches the soul and the future, if I lie or should break my oath, send down at once the lightnings of thy revenge upon me."

The new constitutional kingdom was very soon in trouble. First the people in Sicily rose against the revolutionary government and demanded independence; but this secession movement was quickly suppressed by the Neapolitan army.

Then Prince Metternich, who had been watching the doings of the liberal party in Naples, interfered to mar their plans. He reasoned that Lombardy and Venetia could be kept free from the contagion of liberalism only by the stamping out of the infection wherever else in Italy it might show itself. Consequently he now gave the *Carbonari* notice that Austria would maintain the existing order of things in the peninsula, and, having secured the assent or coöperation of the Tsar of Russia and the king of Prussia,² he announced to the Neapolitans that unless the revolutionary companies were straightway disbanded, an Austrian army would appear at Naples, and if need be, a Russian force to support it.

The Neapolitans, in a noble burst of indignation at this interference in their affairs by the insolent Austrian, resolved that death were better than submission to such dictation. But the sixty thousand Austrian troops which were sent against them very quickly crushed the revolutionary forces. The liberal constitution was suppressed, Ferdinand was reinstated

² It was in the congresses of the great powers at Troppau and Laibach, to which important conventions attention has already been called (par. 430, note 1), that the affairs of Italy were discussed, and Austria commissioned to suppress by force the democratic movement which was threatening "the tranquillity of Europe."

in his former absolute authority, and everything was put back on the old footing.

Meanwhile a similar revolution was running its course in Piedmont, the aim of which was to secure a liberal constitution for Sardinia, and to drive the Austrians out of Lombardy and join it to the Sardinian kingdom, and thus to make a beginning in the work of Italian liberation and unification. Advantage had been taken of the occupation of the Austrian army in Naples, and an uprising planned.

King Victor Emmanuel I, rather than yield to the demands of his people for a constitution, gave up his crown, and was succeeded by his brother Charles Felix, a despot by nature, who, by threatening to call to his aid the Austrian army, compelled his subjects to cease their clamor about kings ruling not by the grace of God but by the will of the people.

The suppression of the liberal uprisings seemed to Metternich the sure pledge of divine favor. He writes exultantly: "I see the dawn of a better day. . . . Heaven seems to will it that the world should not be lost."

438. The Revolution of 1830-1831. — For just ten years all Italy lay in sullen vassalage to Austria. Then the revolutionary years of 1830-1831 witnessed a repetition of the scenes of 1820-1821. The revolution in France which placed Louis Philippe upon the French throne sent a tremor of excitement and hope through all Italy. The center of the revolution was the Papal States. The death of the Pope towards the close of the year 1830 appeared to favor the undertaking. In a short time nearly all the territories of the Church were in open revolt, and a resolution of the insurrectionists declared that the temporal rule of the Pope was and by right ought to be forever ended. A new government with a president at its head was formed for what was to be known as the United Italian Provinces.

But the election of a new Pope, and the presence of Austrian troops, who, "true to their old principle of hurrying with

their extinguishers to any spot in Italy where a crater opened," had poured into Central Italy, resulted in the speedy quenching of the flames of the insurrection.

439. The Three Parties.—Twice now had Austrian armies crushed the aspirations of the Italians for national unity and freedom. Italian hatred of these foreign intermeddlers who were causing them to miss their destiny grew ever more intense, and "Death to the Germans!" as the Austrians were called, became the watch cry that united all the peoples of the peninsula.

But, while united in their deadly hatred of the Austrians, the Italians were divided in their views respecting the best plan for national organization. One party wanted a confederation of the various states; a second party wished to see Italy a constitutional monarchy, with the king of Sardinia at its head; while still a third, known as Young Italy, founded and inspired by the patriot Joseph Mazzini, wanted a republic.

Among those in favor of the federal plan was Pope Pius IX, who came to the papal chair in 1846. He was in favor of the states adopting liberal constitutions, and then forming a league, the center and head of which should be Rome and the Pope.

The constitutional monarchy party looked to the king of Sardinia as the only possible liberator of Italy, since he was the representative of the single royal house in the whole peninsula that might in any sense be regarded as native or national.

440. Joseph Mazzini, the Patriot and Prophet.—The leader of the third or republican party, as already stated, was Mazzini, who played so special a part in the movement for Italy's emancipation and regeneration that we must dwell for a moment upon his personality and work.

Mazzini wished to see Italy freed from foreign domination and the populations of her different provinces united in a strong centralized republic. The means of emancipation and regeneration were to be education and arms.

Mazzini realized that there can be no real and successful Revolution without Renaissance. "Great ideas," he said, "must precede great actions." Hence his aim was to create among the people a new intellectual and moral life. "Tell the people," he said, "of the great past of Italy; tell them of the advantages of liberty and independence; tell them what their brothers are doing in France, in Belgium, in Poland, in Hungary. Point to the Alps and cry, 'Those are Italy's true frontiers; out with the foreigner!'"

Mazzini believed also in the use of bayonets, but only on condition that they have "ideas at their point." Insurrection was to be carried on at first by means of guerrilla bands; then later with regular armies the people would overturn the thrones of the tyrants and set up the republic.

But Mazzini was not a narrow nationalist. He recognized the universal character of the democratic revolution. The people were oppressed not only in Italy but in Spain, in Portugal, in Hungary, in Poland, in Russia, in Turkey,—almost everywhere, in truth. Their cause was a common cause. In opposition to the Holy Alliance of the princes formed with aim to oppress, there must be a Holy Alliance of the peoples formed with aim to emancipate. The French Revolution, he said, had proclaimed the liberty, equality, and fraternity of individual men; the new revolution should proclaim the liberty, equality, and fraternity of nations.

In this great work of the emancipation and unification of the world, Italy was to be head and guide of the nations. To her this post of leadership was assigned by virtue of her leadership in the past. Italy had not yet consumed her life. She had still a third life to live. Once pagan Rome organized and ruled the world. Then papal Rome organized and ruled it for a thousand years. Now a third world-union was to be formed, and of this union of the free and federated nations Italy, Italy as a republic, was to be center and head. The first Rome was the Rome of the Cæsars; the second was the

Rome of the Popes; the third was to be the Rome of the Italian People.

Such was Mazzini's interpretation of the drama of world history. Such was his splendid ideal. Through kindling the enthusiasm of the Italian youth, awakening the sentiment of patriotism, and keeping alive the spirit of insurrection, Mazzini rendered a great service to the cause of Italian liberation and union.

441. The Revolution of 1848-1849. — After the suppression of the uprising of 1830 until the approach of the memorable year 1848, Italy lay restless under the heel of her oppressor. The republican movements throughout the continent of Europe which characterized that year of revolutions encouraged the Italian patriots in another attempt to achieve independence and nationality. Everywhere throughout the peninsula they rose against their despotic rulers, and forced them to grant constitutions and institute reforms. The interest of the conflict centered in North Italy. The Sardinian throne at this time was held by Charles Albert, who had just granted his people a liberal constitution (1848), — a constitution which was to become the charter of the liberties of united Italy. The king unfortunately was a vacillating and inefficient man, though a true-hearted and zealous patriot.

Taking advantage of the embarrassment of the Austrian government caused by popular uprisings in all parts of its dominions, Charles Albert declared war against Austria, and straightway flung upon her forces in Lombardy the Sardinian army, which had been augmented by volunteers from all parts of Italy, and by exiles who had flocked from their foreign places of refuge. At first he was everywhere successful, and Lombardy and Venice both placed themselves under his rule; but finally the veteran Austrian general Radetzky turned the tide of war against him, recovered Lombardy, and invading Piedmont, inflicted upon the Sardinian army such a defeat (battle of Novara, 1849) that Charles Albert was constrained to resign

his crown in favor of his son Victor Emmanuel II, who, he hoped, would be able to secure more advantageous terms from the victorious Austrians than he himself could expect to obtain. Going into exile in Portugal, the self-deposed king soon died of a broken heart, a martyr to the cause of Italian freedom.

Meanwhile the Romans, under the inspiration of Mazzini and Garibaldi, had risen, proclaimed the Republic, and driven out the Pope, Pius IX, who, frightened by the vehemence of the revolutionary movement, had become a reactionist, and had thus disappointed the extravagant hopes which his earlier espousal of the popular cause had awakened. But the new Tiberine Republic was soon overthrown by the troops of the French Republic, just recently set up (par. 402), and the Pope was reinstated in his authority. This interference by the French in Italian affairs was prompted by their jealousy of Austria, and by the anxious desire of Louis Napoleon to win the good will of the Catholic clergy in France.

Thus through the intervention of foreigners was the third Italian revolution brought to naught. By the spring of the year 1850 the Liberals were everywhere crushed, their leaders executed, imprisoned, or driven into exile, and the dream of Italy's unity and freedom was dispelled by the hard present fact of renewed tyranny and foreign domination.

Much, however, had been gained. The patriotic party had revealed to itself its strength, and at the same time the necessity of united action,—of the adoption of a single policy. Henceforth the Republicans and Federalists were more inclined to give up as impracticable their plans of national organization, and with the Constitutionalists to look upon the kingdom of Sardinia as the only possible basis and nucleus of a free and united Italy.

442. Victor Emmanuel II, Count Cavour, and Garibaldi.—We have just noticed the accession to the Sardinian throne of Victor Emmanuel II as a constitutional ruler,—the only one remaining in Italy. Austria had tried to get him to repeal the

constitution his father had granted, but he had resolutely refused to do so. To him it was that the hopes of the Italian patriots now turned. Nor were these hopes to be disappointed. Victor Emmanuel was the destined liberator of Italy, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that his was the name in which the achievement was to be effected by the wise policy of his great minister Count Cavour, and the reckless daring of the national hero Garibaldi.

Victor Emmanuel represented the only native Italian dynasty, — the old and famous House of Savoy, founded in the eleventh century, and thus one of the oldest of the reigning families of Europe. Starting at first with the title of Count, the princes of the family had won first the ducal and then the royal dignity. The possessions of the House consisted at first of the county of Savoy in Southeastern France ; but gradually it lost its territory north of the Alps and as constantly added to its possessions south of the mountains, until at the time where we have arrived its dominions had become essentially an Italian state, embracing Piedmont³ in Italy itself, and the island of Sardinia, which was acquired by the House of Savoy in 1720, and which raised the Dukes of Savoy to the kingly rank, and gave name to their kingdom. This was the state which was to become the center of a free and united Italy, just as Castile grew into Spain, and Prussia into the German Empire.

Count Cavour was the Bismarck of Italy,—one of those great men who during this formative period in the life of the European peoples have earned the title of Nation Makers. He was lacking in oratorical and poetic gifts. “I cannot make a sonnet,” he said, “but I can make Italy,”—an utterance suggested doubtless by that of the great Athenian statesman⁴ who boasted that, though “he knew nothing of music and song, he did know how of a mean city to make a great one.” Cavour was the real maker of modern Italy. As the minister

³ From the Latin *Pedemontium*, “foot of the mountain.”

⁴ Themistocles.

of Victor Emmanuel he looked not alone to the welfare of Sardinia, but to that of the whole peninsula. He expostulated with the despots of the different states, and urged upon them the adoption of more liberal forms of government.

Garibaldi, "the hero of the red shirt," the knight-errant of Italian independence, whose name has been already mentioned in connection with the uprising in Rome in 1848, was a most remarkable character. Though yet barely past middle life, he had led a career singularly crowded with varied experiences and romantic adventures. Because of his violent republicanism he was exiled from Italy in 1834. A little later we find him fighting in South America (1836-1848), then participating in the Italian struggle of 1848-1849. Banished from Italy a second time, he became a candle maker in the city of New York (1850). Then he returned to his native land in time to take part in the struggle of France and Sardinia against Austria in 1859-1860.

443. Sardinia in the Crimean War.—In 1855, in pursuance of a far-sighted policy, Cavour sent a Sardinian contingent of fifteen thousand men to aid England and France against Russia in the Crimean War (par. 479), with the threefold purpose of helping to humble the Tsar, whom Cavour regarded as one of the leading champions of despotic government, of giving Sardinia a standing among the powers of Europe, and of earning the gratitude of England and France, so that the Italians in their future struggles with Austria might not have to fight their battles alone.

A little incident in the trenches of the allies before Sevastopol shows in what spirit the Sardinians had gone to the war. A soldier, covered with mud and wearied with the everlasting digging, complained to his superior officer. "Never mind," was the consoling reply; "it is with this mud that Italy is to be made."

The war was closed by the Treaty of Paris (1856). Austria, incensed against the presumptuous little state of Sardinia,

protested against the admission of her plenipotentiaries to the congress which was to arrange the articles of peace. Cavour maintained that since Sardinia had appeared on the field of battle with the great powers she should also sit with them at the council board. His claim was supported by England and France, and so the representatives of Sardinia sat for the first time as peers among peers at a congress of the European states.

Nothing was actually done for Italy by the Paris commissioners; nevertheless much had been gained. Cavour's bold policy had called the attention of Europe to the intolerable situation of things in the peninsula, and had moreover secured for Sardinia the right to speak for the whole of Italy. All this foreshadowed the time, now near at hand, when Italy, free and united under the constitutional crown of Sardinia, should be counted among the great powers of Europe.

444. Cavour prepares for War with Austria. — After the Peace of Paris Cavour continued the vigorous domestic policy which he had adopted for Sardinia with the aim of developing her material resources and thus preparing her for great exertions. The most notable undertaking which he persuaded the Sardinian government to enter upon was the tunneling of the Alps beneath Mt. Cenis, in order that Sardinia might be brought into commercial intercourse with the north of Europe. "If we are to become great," he said to those who opposed the enterprise as chimerical, "we must do this. The Alps must come down."

Another part of Cavour's policy was to cultivate the friendship of the French Emperor Napoleon III. In a secret meeting with the Emperor⁵ he received from him a promise that a

⁵ The conference at Plombières, July, 1858. A few months before this interview an Italian revolutionist named Orsini had attempted to assassinate the French Emperor by means of an explosive bomb, because he regarded him as in part responsible for the perpetuation of the sufferings and wrongs of the Italians. This attempt upon his life, it is thought, contributed to incline the Emperor to seek effectually to remove those grievances which were filling Italy with such dangerous unrest and disorder.

French army two hundred thousand strong would, when the favorable moment arrived, aid the Sardinians in driving the Austrians out of Italy. In this proffer of help the French Emperor was actuated less by gratitude for the aid of the Sardinian contingent in the Crimean War than by a desire to lessen or to destroy the power of Austria in Italy and to replace it by French influence, and to secure Savoy and Nice, which were to be France's reward for her intervention in Sardinia's behalf.

445. The Austro-Sardinian War (1859-1860).—The hour for striking another blow for the freedom of Italy had now arrived. Sardinia began to arm. Volunteers flocked to Turin from all parts of Italy. Austria, alarmed at these demonstrations, called upon Sardinia to disarm immediately upon threat of war. Cavour eagerly accepted the challenge.

The French armies were now joined to those of Sardinia. The two great victories of Magenta and Solferino drove the Austrians out of Lombardy and behind the famous Quadrilateral, consisting of four strong fortresses, which sheltered Venetia. Just at this juncture the menacing attitude of Prussia and other German states, which were alarmed at the prospective aggrandizement of France, and the rapid spread of the revolutionary movement in Italy, which foreshadowed the union of all the states of the peninsula in a single kingdom,—something which Louis Napoleon did not wish to see consummated,⁶—this new situation of things, in connection with other considerations, caused the French Emperor to draw back and to enter upon negotiations of peace with the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph at Villafranca.

The outcome was that Austria retained Venice, but gave up to Sardinia the larger part of Lombardy. The Sardinians were

⁶ Napoleon III did not wish for a united Italy any more than he wished for a united Germany. His aim was to create a kingdom in Northern Italy which would exclude Austria from the peninsula and then to bring about a confederation of all the Italian states under the presidency of the Pope. Italy thus



bitterly disappointed that they did not get Venetia, and loudly accused the French Emperor of having betrayed their cause, since at the outset he had promised them that he would free Italy from the "Alps to the Adriatic."

But Sardinia found compensation for Venice in the accession of Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Romagna, the peoples of which states, having discarded their old rulers, besought Victor Emmanuel to permit them to unite themselves to his kingdom. Thus, as the result of the war, the king of Sardinia had added to his subjects a population of seven millions. A long step had been taken in the way of Italian unity and freedom. A strong Italian kingdom had been formed, and thus a firm basis laid for the national organization of the entire peninsula.

But, while the Sardinian kingdom was thus vastly extended to the east and to the south, it was cut away a little on the west. Savoy and Nice, the former "the cradle of the Savoyard House," were given, according to previous agreement, as the price of her services, to France.⁷ Victor Emmanuel's, or rather Count Cavour's, surrender of this territory greatly angered the Italians, and especially Garibaldi, who was a native of Nice. The Italian patriots mourn the loss of these provinces somewhat as the French mourn the loss of Alsace and Lorraine.

446. Sicily and Naples, with Umbria and the Marches, added to Victor Emmanuel's Kingdom (1860).—The adventurous daring of the hero Garibaldi now added Sicily and Naples, and indirectly Umbria and the Marches, to the possessions of Victor Emmanuel, and changed the kingdom of Sardinia into the kingdom of Italy.

The Bourbon king of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand II, was a typical despot. Hundreds of his subjects, fleeing from his

reconstructed would, he conceived, be fain to look to the French Emperor as her champion and patron.

⁷ Savoy and Nice, it should be noted, are provinces which though historically related to Italy are by geography and race French rather than Italian. The transfer to France was sanctioned by a vote of the inhabitants of the ceded districts.

intolerable tyranny, found an asylum in the dominions of Victor Emmanuel. His son, known as Francis II, who came to the throne in 1859, was narrow-minded and weak. The second year of his reign his subjects rose in revolt. Victor Emmanuel and his minister Cavour were in sympathy with the movement, yet dared not send the insurgents aid through fear that such action would arouse the jealousy of Austria and of France.

But Garibaldi, untrammelled by any such considerations and favored by the connivance of the Sardinian government, having gathered a band of a thousand volunteers, set sail from Genoa for Sicily, where upon landing he assumed the title of Dictator of Sicily for Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, and quickly drove the troops of King Francis out of the island. Then crossing to the mainland he marched triumphantly to Naples, whose inhabitants hailed him tumultuously as their deliverer.

The Mazzinians — though the Garibaldian exploits were none of their planning — were beside themselves with joy. Their dream of an emancipated and reconstructed Europe seemed on the point of realization. "The occupation of Naples," writes one who was an eyewitness of the wild demonstrations of the moment, "was popularly regarded as only the first step in a campaign which was to drive the French out of Rome, and to expel the Austrians from Venetia, and then in the near future to set Hungary free, to restore the independence of Poland, and to inaugurate the triumph of democracy throughout Europe."⁸

But Garibaldi's rashness was creating a situation which threatened to bring about intervention by France and Austria, and perhaps by other powers. Count Cavour saw that the time had come for the Sardinian government to assume guidance of the revolutionary movement. The papal territories of Umbria and the Marches were accordingly occupied

⁸ Dicey, *Victor Emmanuel*, p. 243.

by a Sardinian army,⁹ which then marched southward, and, by the capture after a long siege of the Neapolitan stronghold of Gaeta, completed the work of the Garibaldian volunteers.

Meanwhile, a plebiscite having been ordered, Umbria, the Marches, Naples, and Sicily, voted almost unanimously for annexation to the Sardinian kingdom (October, 1860). The hero Garibaldi patriotically surrendering his dictatorship into the hands of his sovereign, Victor Emmanuel, retired to the islet of Caprera, just off the northern coast of Sardinia. He had earned the lasting gratitude of his country.

In February, 1861, the first Italian Parliament was assembled in Turin, and by this body was formally conferred upon Victor Emmanuel the title of King of Italy, which had already been bestowed by universal acclamation.

Thus was another long step taken in the unification of Italy. Nine millions more of Italians had become the subjects of Victor Emmanuel. There was now wanting to the complete union of Italy only Venetia and Rome with the lands in the immediate neighborhood of the city, known as the "Patrimony of Saint Peter."

A few months after the liberation of Naples and Sicily the patriot Count Cavour, overburdened with cares and anxieties, was taken away by sudden death (1861). His work was done. The Italian people were already practically an independent and unified nation.

447. Venetia added to the Kingdom (1866).—The Seven Weeks' War (par. 464), which broke out between Prussia and Austria in 1866, afforded the Italian patriots the opportunity for which they were watching to make Venetia a part of the kingdom of Italy. Victor Emmanuel formed an alliance with

⁹ The Pope had afforded the Sardinian government a good excuse for this invasion of papal territory by his formation of an army of foreign mercenaries with the avowed purpose of recovering the Romagna, that portion of the Papal States which had been recently united to the Sardinian kingdom.

the king of Prussia, one of the conditions of which was that no peace should be made with Austria until she had surrendered Venetia to Italy. The speedy issue of the war added the coveted territory to the dominions of Victor Emmanuel. Rome alone was now lacking to the virtually complete unification of Italy.¹⁰

448. Rome becomes the Capital (1870). — It has been seen that after the liberation of Naples and Sicily the city of Turin, the old capital of the Sardinian kingdom, was made the capital of the new kingdom of Italy. In 1865 the seat of government was transferred to Florence. But the Italians looked forward to the time when Rome, the ancient mistress of the peninsula and of the world, should be their capital. The power of the Pope, however, was upheld by the French, who maintained a garrison in the Papal States from 1849 to 1870, and this made it impossible for the Italians to have their will in this matter without a conflict with France.

Twice did Garibaldi raise an army of volunteers to seize the city for Italy and for freedom, as he had seized Sicily and Naples; but the French Emperor informed Victor Emmanuel that he should hold him strictly responsible for the acts of this irrepressible "knight-errant," and thus the king was constrained to oppose Garibaldi by force, although it would have been very much more to his mind to aid him in his enterprise.

But events soon gave the coveted capital to the Italian government. In 1870 came the sharp, quick war between France and Prussia, and the French troops at Rome were hastily summoned home. Upon the overthrow of the French monarchy and the establishment of the republic, Victor Emmanuel was informed that France would no longer sustain

¹⁰ Some Italian patriots refuse to regard the unification of Italy as complete until Trieste and the Tyrol, together with Malta and Corsica, which provinces and islands are largely Italian in blood and speech, shall have been annexed to the Italian kingdom. To them these essentially Italian lands under foreign rule are "unredeemed Italy" (*Italia irredenta*).

the papal power. The Italian government at once gave notice to the Pope that Rome would henceforth be considered a portion of the kingdom of Italy, and forthwith an Italian army entered the city, which by a vote of almost a hundred to one¹¹ resolved to cast in its lot with that of the Italian nation. These events were marked by the return to Rome of a great crowd of exiles from all parts.

The family was now complete. Italy was a nation — and the only great nation in Europe “made not by conquest but by consent.” July 2, 1871, Victor Emmanuel himself entered Rome and took up his official residence there. Since then the Eternal City has been the seat of the national government,—the capital of a free and united Italy.¹²

449. End of the Temporal Power of the Papacy.—The occupation of Rome by the Italian government marked the end of the temporal power of the Pope, and the end of an ecclesiastical state, the last in Europe, which from long before Charlemagne had held a place among the temporal powers of Europe, and during all that period had been a potent factor in the political affairs not only of Italy but of almost the whole Continent. The papal troops, with the exception of a few guardsmen, were disbanded. The Vatican palace and some other buildings with their grounds were reserved to the Pope as a place of residence, together with a yearly allowance of over six million dollars. By a statute known as the “Law of the Papal Guarantees” (1871), the Pope was secured in the free exercise of his spiritual functions.

These arrangements have subsisted down to the present time. Under them the Pope is not to be regarded as a subject of the Italian government but rather as a sovereign residing at Rome. Like a sovereign he has the right to send and

¹¹ Exactly 133,681 to 1507.

¹² Victor Emmanuel II died in 1878, and his son came to the throne with the title of Humbert I. He was assassinated in 1900, and was succeeded by his only son, Victor Emmanuel III.

to receive embassies. His person, like that of an ambassador, is inviolable. No Italian officer may enter the Vatican or its grounds, which the Italian government respects the same as though they were foreign territory.¹³

450. The Vatican and the Quirinal: ¹⁴ **the Roman Question.**

—Not all the good has resulted from the independence and union of Italy that Italian patriots had confidently looked for. There have been many causes of this disappointment. Prominent among these has been the hostile attitude of the Papacy towards the Italian government. The Popes¹⁵ have steadily refused to recognize the legitimacy of the act whereby they were deprived of the temporal government of Rome and the Papal States, and have protested against it by refraining from setting foot outside the gardens of the Vatican, by refusing to accept the annuity provided for them, by forbidding the Italian priests to participate in the national elections, and in various other ways.

The partisans of the Papacy maintain that the act of dispossession was an act of violent and impious spoliation, and that there can be no settlement of the Roman Question save through the restoration of the Pope to his former status as an independent temporal sovereign. They contend that only through the possession of temporal power can the Pope be secure in his independence as the spiritual head of Catholic Christendom. They demand, therefore, the retrocession to

¹³ It is a matter worthy of note that just a few months before the loss of his temporal sovereignty a great ecumenical council of the Catholic Church (the Vatican Council of 1869-1870), had by a solemn vote proclaimed the doctrine of papal infallibility, which declares the decisions of the Pope, when speaking *ex cathedra*, "on questions of faith and morals" to be infallible.

¹⁴ The Palace of the Quirinal at Rome contains the offices of the Italian government, and thus the term *Quirinal* typifies the secular as the term *Vatican* typifies the spiritual power in Italy.

¹⁵ Pius IX died in 1878 and was followed in the pontificate by Leo XIII, who died July 20, 1903, at the patriarchal age of ninety-three, after having won a place among the greatest and the best of the Popes. The College of Cardinals elected as his successor Cardinal Joseph Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, who assumed the title of Pius X.

the Holy See of at least the city of Rome, — maintaining that either Turin or Florence or Venice or Naples would serve as well as Rome for the seat of the Italian government.

To these censures and demands of the papal party the friends of the monarchy reply that the extension of the authority of the Italian government over Rome and the papal territories was justified by the modern principle of nationality, which recognizes in every people the right to decide for themselves what form of government they shall live under.

As to the removal of the seat of the Italian government from Rome to some other city, they maintain that the force of unique historical associations, and race traditions and memories, make Rome the logical and inevitable capital of a united Italy.

The long and heated controversy has had lamentable consequences for Italy. It has called into existence two bitterly hostile parties; it has hampered the Italian government in many of its policies of reform; and at different times it has even imperiled the very existence of the monarchy.

451. Doubtful National Policies; Reform and Progress. — Other things have concurred with the antagonism between the Vatican and the Quirinal to retard Italy's progress under the new régime. Among these hindrances may be reckoned an ill-advised colonial policy (par. 495, n. 22) and an unfortunate yet natural ambition to play the rôle of a great European power, which have caused the government to neglect domestic concerns and to burden the country with the maintenance of an army and a navy altogether disproportioned to its needs and to its strength. The heavy taxation made necessary by these false national policies has greatly contributed to create economic distress and to drive thousands of the poorer classes as immigrants to the United States and to other lands.

Yet, notwithstanding all these hindrances to national progress, very much has been accomplished since the winning of independence and nationality. Brigandage, an element of the bad

heritage from the time of servitude, oppression, and disunion, has been in a great degree suppressed; railways have been built; the Alps have been tunneled; the healthfulness of the Campagna and other districts has been increased by extensive systems of drainage, and regions long given over to desolation have been made habitable and productive; the dense ignorance and the deep moral degradation of the masses, particularly in the southern parts of the peninsula, — another element of the evil inheritance from the past, — have been in a measure overcome and relieved by a public system of education; and Rome has been rebuilt, and from the position of a mean provincial town been raised to a place among the great capitals of modern Europe.

As to the progress made during the last thirty years in the development of the sentiment of nationality, upon the strength of which depends the peace, permanency, and prosperity of the new kingdom of Italy, a recent disaster furnishes a milestone by which to measure advance. In 1902 the great historic campanile, which dominated St. Mark's in Venice, fell in a great heap of ruins. Every city of the peninsula, says a chronicler of the event, mourned just as if the tower had been its own, — "and then they opened a subscription." Had the catastrophe happened a single generation ago Venice would have had to restore her own bell tower; but Italy is to-day a Nation, and the misfortune which befalls any Italian city afflicts all alike.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE MAKING OF THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE

452. Formation of the German Confederation (1815). — The creation of the new German Empire is the most important matter in the political history of Europe since Waterloo. The story of this great achievement affords a most instructive commentary upon the outworkings of the principles of the Revolution, — the principles of popular sovereignty and nationality. It tells how nearly forty autocratically governed and practically sovereign states, German in speech and blood, which had been long separated by the policy of their divine-right rulers or by the circumstances of history, won free institutions and united to form a true German fatherland.

This story, so far as it will be narrated in the present chapter, begins with the Congress of Vienna.¹ That body reorganized Germany as a Confederation, with the Emperor of Austria as President of the league. The union consisted of the Austrian Empire, and the four kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg, besides various principalities and free cities, — in all, thirty-nine states. A Diet formed of delegates from the several states, and sitting at Frankfort-on-the-Main, was to settle all questions of dispute arising between members of the Confederation, and to determine matters of general concern. The league was to maintain an army of three hundred thousand men, the commanders of which were to be chosen by the Diet. In all matters concerning itself alone, each state was to retain its independence. It might carry on war with foreign states, or enter into alliance with them, but it

¹ For a word as to how Napoleon's reconstruction of the Germanic body laid the basis of German unity, see par. 371.

must do nothing to harm the Confederation or any member of it.

The articles of union, in a spirit of concession to the growing sentiment of the times, provided that all sects of Christians should enjoy equal toleration, and that every state should establish a representative form of government.

453. Defects and Weaknesses of the Confederation. — The ties uniting the various states of this Confederation could hardly have been more lax. In this respect the league resembled that first formed by the American states under the Articles of Confederation after their separation from England.

One chief defect of the constitution of the league lurked in the provisions concerning the Federal Diet. The unwillingness of the several states, long accustomed to practical independence, to surrender any part of their sovereignty, had led to the insertion of the rule that no measure of first importance should be adopted by the Diet save by a unanimous vote. The inevitable result of this provision was that no measure of first importance was ever passed by the assembly, which became throughout Europe a byword for hopeless inefficiency.

Another defect in the federal government was that, as in the case of the American Federation, there existed no effective machinery for carrying out the acts of the Federal Diet. These amounted practically to nothing more than recommendations to the rulers of the several states, who paid no heed whatsoever to the mandates of the Diet unless these chanced to be in line with their own policies or inclinations.

But what contributed more than all else to render the federal scheme wholly unworkable was the presence in the league of two powerful and mutually jealous states, Austria and Prussia, neither of which was willing that the other should have predominance in the affairs of the Confederation. It was the rivalry between these two leading states which, as we shall see, was destined finally to disrupt the ill-conceived union and to create a wholly new order of things.

Of these two rival states Prussia, though at first she yielded nominal precedence to Austria, which had a great past and enjoyed a vast prestige at the European courts, was in reality the stronger and the more promising state. Her strength lay not only in her admirable administrative and military system but particularly in the essentially German character of her population. Austria was inherently weak because of the mixed non-German character of most of the territories that had been gradually united under the rule of the Hapsburgs. The greater part of their lands lay outside of the German Confederation,² and contained nearly twenty-five million Slavs, Magyars, Italians, and other non-German races.

This difference in the character of the populations of Prussia and the Austrian Empire foreshadowed their divergent destinies,—foreshadowed that Austria should lose and that Prussia should gain the leadership in German affairs.

454. Metternich and the Absolutist Reaction after 1815.—For a half century after the Congress of Vienna the history of Germany is the history of a dual movement, or perhaps it would be better to say two movements, one democratic and the other national in character. The aim of the first movement was the establishment of representative government in the different states of the Confederation; the aim of the second was German unity. These movements were essentially the same as those which we have seen creating in the Italian peninsula a free and united Italy. They were to have the same issue here in Germany,—the creation of a free and united German fatherland.

It was the democratic sentiment, the desire for free institutions and the modification of the old absolute governments by representative assemblies, which first made itself felt. Several of the princes of the smaller states, in particular of those states along the Rhine which had been most directly under French influence, yielding to the popular demand, granted

² See map after page 458.

their subjects constitutions, or created representative bodies of limited powers.

Metternich, who controlled the policies of the Austrian government, did not approve of the action of these liberal-minded rulers. He believed that any concession to the demands of the people for a share in the management of public affairs was sure to work evil and to result in social anarchy. Some events just now happening seemed to justify the fears of the Austrian minister. In any event they gained him great credit as a statesman of sound political judgment and remarkable foresight.

These disquieting events arose chiefly in connection with the universities. We have seen what nurseries of liberal and patriotic sentiments the German universities were during the epoch of the War of Liberation (par. 389). Since the driving out of the French invaders the democratic spirit had been nourished by the atmosphere of these institutions. The students had formed societies which were propagating centers of democratic ideas. In the year 1817 the associated clubs held a great festival at the Wartburg, in celebration at once of the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig and of the Reformation. The students indulged, as students will, in some noisy demonstrations, and gave expression to their feelings towards certain of the absolute rulers and their minions by making, in imitation of Luther's act, a bonfire of some books and pamphlets which contained sentiments of which they did not approve.

These boyish proceedings produced a panic at the courts of the absolute rulers. The assassination by a student fanatic of a certain Kotzebue, who was regarded as a German renegade and spy acting in the interest of the absolute governments, and who was supposed to be exerting a sinister influence upon the Tsar Alexander, added to the excitement.

Metternich took advantage of the terror which this specter of a German revolution had inspired to secure, at a conference of the representatives of the German princes at Carlsbad, the

adoption of certain resolutions which he himself had drawn up, bearing on the political situation. The Federal Diet, under Metternich's influence, sanctioned the resolutions (Sept. 20, 1819), and the substance of them was put in the form of decrees which the different governments were enjoined to see were carried into effect in their several domains.

These celebrated decrees called for a strict censorship of the press, and required that the professors in the universities should be closely watched as regards the instruction they were giving, and that the students' clubs should be effectually suppressed.

Metternich particularly impressed upon the different German courts the great danger they would incur should they yield to the popular clamor so far as to grant constitutions to their subjects. He bade them remember that all the terrible trouble in France had begun with the assembling of the States-General, and solemnly adjured them not to commit such an unpardonable error as Louis XVI committed in allowing that body to come together.

It was in the spirit of these Carlsbad decrees and of these admonitions of Metternich that the governments of most of the states of the German Confederation were carried on during the next decade. Liberty of teaching was at an end. Professors whose instruction tended in the least to liberalism were dismissed from their chairs. Government spies invaded the most sacred privacies of the individual. Several of the princes who had instituted representative government were frightened into withdrawing the constitutions they had granted, and were persuaded to return to the safe and tried system of government by the sole will of the sovereign. In the small states of South Germany alone did there exist any measure of freedom of speech and the least participation by the people in public affairs.

455. The Revolutions of 1830 : Some Gains for Constitutional Government. — We have seen what were the consequences of

the reactionary policy of the Bourbons in France and of the despots in Italy. Events ran exactly the same course in Germany. When the news of the February Revolution in Paris spread beyond the Rhine, a sympathetic thrill shot through Germany, and in places the liberal party made threatening demonstrations against their reactionary rulers.

Especially obnoxious to his people was Duke Charles of Brunswick, whose palace was destroyed and he himself driven into exile. His brother, into whose hands the government now passed, gave to the people the constitution demanded. In the following year (1831) Saxony also became a constitutional state.

Similar concessions were made by the rulers of several other small states. Thus a little was gained for free political institutions, though after the flutter of the revolutionary years the princes again took up their reactionary policy, and under the influence of Metternich did all in their power to check the popular movement and to keep governmental matters out of the hands of the people.

456. Formation of the Customs Union ; First Step towards German Unity (1828-1836). — It was just at this revolutionary epoch that the first step was taken in the formation of a real German nation.

Under the Act of Confederation of 1815 the members of the Germanic body were situated in respect to interstate trade almost precisely as the American colonies were under the Articles of Confederation of 1781. And as it was the necessity of some general regulations in regard to commerce that impelled the American states to form a closer union, so it was the same necessity which now led the loosely confederated states of Germany to enter into an arrangement known as the *Zollverein* or Customs Union. This was a sort of commercial treaty binding those states that became parties to it — by the year 1836 almost all the states of the Confederation save Austria had become members of the league — to adopt among

themselves the policy of free trade ; that is, there were to be no duties levied on goods passing from one state of the Union to another belonging to it.

Trade was thus left untrammelled, and the internal commerce of Germany greatly encouraged. But the greatest good resulting from the Union was that it taught the people to think of a more perfect national union. And as Prussia was the promoter and the center of the trade confederation, it accustomed the smaller states to look to her as their head and chief.

457. The Uprisings of 1848 : Further Gains for Constitutional Government. — The history of Germany from the uprising of 1830 to that of 1848 may be summarized by saying that during all these years the people were steadily growing more and more earnest in their demands for liberal forms of government, while most of the princes, strangely blind to the spirit and tendency of the times, were stubbornly refusing all concessions that should take from them any of their power as absolute rulers. In some instances the constitutions already granted were annulled or their articles were disregarded.

Finally, in 1848, news flew across the Rhine of the uprising in France against the reactionary government of Louis Philippe, and of the establishment by the French people of a new republic. The intelligence kindled a flame of excitement throughout Germany. The liberal party everywhere arose and demanded constitutional government.

Almost all the princes of the minor states yielded to the popular clamor, and straightway adopted the liberal measures and instituted the reforms demanded. In Austria and Prussia, however, the party of reform carried their point only after demonstrations that issued in bloodshed.

Especially in Austria did affairs at this epoch assume a most threatening aspect. At almost the same moment revolts broke out in every quarter of the empire, — in Italy, in Bohemia, in Hungary, and at the capital Vienna. All the non-German races made demands not only for representative institutions

but also for home rule or national government. The Austrian Empire seemed on the point of dissolution.

The circumstances of the uprising in the Italian provinces of the empire have been already briefly narrated in connection with the story of the struggle of the Italian people for independence and nationality ; concerning the revolution in Hungary we shall say something a little farther on. Here we need to note only the outcome of the insurrection at the heart of the empire, — in Vienna. The movement here was directed especially against Metternich, because he had so obstinately opposed all the demands of the liberals for self-government, and because he had by his perverse policy led the empire seemingly to the brink of ruin. So intense was the feeling against him that he was obliged to flee the country. He went to England, whither Louis Philippe had just preceded him.

The Emperor Ferdinand I abdicated in favor of his nephew Francis Joseph (Dec. 2, 1848), who granted the people a constitution and assented to the calling of a national assembly to be formed of representatives from all his hereditary dominions, chosen by popular vote.

At the Prussian capital Berlin there was serious fighting in the streets between the people and the soldiers, and the excitement was not quieted until the king, Frederick William IV, assured the people that their demands for constitutional government should be granted. In fulfillment of this promise the king granted a constitution, and on Feb. 6, 1850, took an oath to rule in accord with its provisions. Prussia thus joined the ranks of the constitutional states. This state was now to play in the unification of Germany a part similar to that played by the constitutional state of Piedmont in the unification of Italy.

The Revolution of 1848 thus effected at least something for the cause of popular government in Germany. It is true that after the excitement of the revolutionary movements had passed, many of the princes withdrew either wholly or in part

the constitutions they had granted;³ but it was not possible after this for these reactionary rulers to carry on their governments in quite such an arbitrary way as they had hitherto.⁴

458. The Constituent Assembly (1848-1849): Efforts for German Unity.—At this same time the growing desire for German nationality expressed itself in an attempt to bind the German states in a closer union by means of a real national parliament to take the place of the inefficient Diet created by the Act of Confederation in 1815. To this end there met in Frankfort, May 18, 1848, a Constituent Assembly, the members of which had been elected in the different states by popular vote, which, like the Constituent Assembly of 1789 in France, was charged with the duty of framing a national constitution for the German states.

But the assembly failed in its object. No agreement could be reached respecting a national constitution. It was the rivalry of Austria and Prussia that, more than anything else, prevented the end sought from being reached. Austria, through her unreasonable demands as to her place in the proposed union, drove the majority of the assembly into opposition to her. They voted that she with all her non-German territories should be left entirely out of the new federation, and offered the imperial crown to King Frederick William of Prussia.

Frederick William refused the proffered honor, mainly because he was too sincere a believer in the rights of sovereigns to receive the crown of the empire from any hands save those of his brother princes, — in any event not from the hands of a democratic assembly.

Austria and some of the other states now recalled their delegates, and soon the assembly fell to pieces, disappointing

³ The Austrian constitution was withdrawn in 1851.

⁴ In a domain aside from the governmental the revolutions of this epoch brought a very positive gain to Germany. In several of the states these movements swept away the last traces of the feudal servitude of the peasants, doing for them what the Revolution of 1789 had done for the French peasantry (par. 311).

the hopes of those who had looked to it for the unification of the Fatherland. But, although failing in its direct object, the assembly served to show how widespread and earnest was the feeling among the German states that they should draw together in a closer and firmer union.⁵

459. The Revolt in Hungary (1848-1849); Kossuth.—While these efforts after German unity were being made, the Austrian government was having serious trouble with its Hungarian subjects. Now the Hungarians had an ancient constitution somewhat like England's and possessed cherished traditions of free national government. But their Austrian rulers had been trying to govern them without regard to the national Diet, as Charles I tried to rule Englishmen without Parliament. But as we have said the spirit of freedom was strong among the Magyars, and just now this native sentiment of liberty was being reënforced by the infiltration of the liberal ideas of Western Europe.

Led by the distinguished statesman and orator Louis Kossuth, the Hungarians rose in revolt, first demanding liberal reforms

⁵ It is worth noting that just at this time, when the German states were endeavoring to form a real national union, Switzerland became a true federal state. The Congress of Vienna had reconstructed the Swiss Confederation in such a way as to leave the cantons united by lax federal ties, like those of the German Confederation. As in Germany so here there arose a party whose ideal was Swiss unity, that is to say, a stronger and more centralized federal government. To prevent this proposed centralization of power and to preserve cantonal sovereignty seven of the Catholic cantons formed an alliance known as the *Sonderbund* or Separate League. Civil war followed (the War of the Sonderbund, 1847). The Catholic party was defeated, and the federal constitution was revised so as to convert the loose confederation of cantons into a strong federal state, which in some respects is like that of the United States. This made Switzerland a real nation, one of the most typical and interesting of the federal states of the world. In 1874 a new constitution was framed, which still further increased the power of the federal government. Since that time the Swiss have been trying some interesting experiments in direct legislation by the people through devices known as the Initiative and the Referendum. These devices effect an important modification in that parliamentary or representative form of government worked out by England and during the past century adopted by so many states of the civilized world. See Lowell, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, vol. ii, chap. xii.

and the observance of the ancient constitution, and then finally declaring their complete independence of the Austrian crown (April 14, 1849). A memorable struggle now followed, in which the Hungarian patriots made a noble fight for freedom, but were overpowered and crushed by the combined Austrian and Russian armies, the Tsar having aided in the suppression of the revolt through fear lest the example of successful rebellion on his frontier should prove a dangerous incitement to his own discontented subjects.⁶

But the situation created by these violent means of repression could not be permanent. In the words of Kossuth, "To strike the sword out of the hand does not mean to appease the heart."

460. Prussia attempts to reorganize the German States with Austria excluded (1849-1851). — While the attention of Austria was directed to the suppression of the Hungarian rebellion, Prussia proposed a plan for the union of the purely German states under her own headship. Austria with her non-German territories was to be excluded from the new confederation. Most of the smaller states joined Prussia in this move, and a league called the Prussian Union was formed (1849).

Austria watched with the greatest concern this bold move of her rival for leadership in German affairs, and just as soon as the Hungarian trouble was composed she revived the old Federal Diet, which had been dissolved upon the meeting of the Constituent Assembly (par. 458), and took active measures to reëstablish her shaken hegemony. After two years of bickering, Prussia was compelled to abandon her scheme of German reorganization. The Prussian Union was dissolved. Things settled down again just as they had been, only with Austria stronger in the Federal Diet than ever before.

461. Bismarck, the Unifier of Germany. — There was neither help nor hope for Germany in Austria or in the preposterous Federal Diet at Frankfort which she dominated. The hope

⁶ Louis Kossuth escaped into Turkey. He died in exile at Turin in 1894.

of Germany was Prussia. To that state our eyes must now be turned. Henceforth Prussian history is German history.

In the year 1861 Frederick William IV of Prussia died, and his brother, already an old man of sixty-three, yet destined to be for almost a generation the central figure in the movement for German unity, came to the Prussian throne as William I. He soon called to his side Otto von Bismarck as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Bismarck was one of Germany's greatest sons, — the greatest since Frederick the Great or Luther. He was a man of titanic mould in body and intellect, of imperious will and iron resolution. He was the German Cromwell. He was like the English Puritan not only in his masterful personality but also in his sense of duty and his deep religious convictions, — traits of character reflected in his terse declaration, "We Germans fear God, and fear nothing else."

Bismarck believed that it was Prussia's mission to effect the unification of the German fatherland. This work he was convinced could be accomplished only through the Prussian royal house. Hence he was a royalist, in truth, almost an absolutist. He believed that to allow the royal power in Prussia to be reduced to the condition of the royal power in England would be to destroy the sole instrument by means of which German unity could be wrought out.

This conviction determined Bismarck's attitude towards the Prussian Parliament when it came in conflict with the royal power. He flouted it and trampled it under foot. He was known as the "Parliament tamer." Naturally he was distrusted and hated by the Liberals.

It was into the strong hands of this man that now passed the management of Prussian affairs. His appearance at the head of the Prussian government marks an epoch in history. "With that day," writes Sybel, speaking of Bismarck's accession to power, "a new era did in truth begin for Prussia and Germany and so for Europe."

Bismarck saw clearly enough how the vexed question between Austria and Prussia was to be settled, — “by blood and iron.” Austria’s power and influence must be destroyed and she herself forcibly expelled from Germany before the German states could be remoulded into a real national union.

462. The Reform of the Prussian Army ; Bismarck’s Conflict with the Prussian Parliament. — It had been King William’s policy to reform and strengthen the Prussian army. He had selected Bismarck as his Prime Minister because he knew he would carry out this policy in the face of the opposition of the Prussian House of Representatives. That body would not vote the necessary taxes. Bismarck held that it was their duty to make the necessary appropriations for the army, and when they persisted in withholding grants of money, he, backed by his sovereign and the House of Lords, raised without parliamentary sanction what money he needed for his army reforms.

It was a bold and dangerous procedure, and has been likened to that followed by Charles I and Strafford in England. Fortunately for King William and his imperious minister the policy proved highly successful, issuing in Prussia’s predominance in Germany and in German unity, — and the “Parliament tamer” and his master escaped the fate of the English king and his minister.

463. The Schleswig-Holstein War (1864). — The weapon which Bismarck had forged was used in three wars. The first of these was the Schleswig-Holstein War. Holstein was a German duchy held by the Danish king, just as the first sovereigns of the present dynasty in England held Hanover. When, in 1863, Frederick VII of Denmark died, the male line of the royal family became extinct, and it was held by the Germans that now this duchy and also Schleswig, for an old treaty was regarded as having made the duchies inseparable, should become entirely free of the Danish crown, just as Hanover dropped away from England upon the death of William IV and

the accession of Victoria in 1837. The dispute soon ripened into war between Austria and Prussia and the new Danish king, Christian IX. Of course Denmark was soon overpowered, and was forced to resign her claims to the duchies.

Straightway the duchies became a bone of contention between Austria and Prussia. Bismarck was bent on annexing them to Prussia, since they would be a most valuable possession for her as a prospective sea power, giving her as they would the harbor of Kiel and control of a proposed canal uniting the Baltic and the North Sea. Austria was determined that her rival should not get them unless she received compensation in some form, — a bit of Silesia, and the promise of Prussia's help in case she had difficulty with her troublesome non-German provinces.

There was endless controversy over the matter. Bismarck realized that Prussia could secure the coveted prize only through war with Austria, and to this extreme he was ready to go since a war would settle not only the question respecting the ownership of the duchies but also the larger question as to Austrian or Prussian predominance in Germany. The hopelessly entangled Gordian knot was to be cut by the sword.

464. The Austro-Prussian or Seven Weeks' War (1866). — Both Austria and Prussia began to arm. Bismarck secured the neutrality of France by permitting the Emperor Napoleon to believe that if Prussia secured additional territory by the war he would be allowed to appropriate Belgium or some Rhenish lands as a compensation.

He also made a ready ally of Italy by engaging that in the event of a successful issue of the war the new Italian kingdom should in return for its alliance receive Venetia (par. 447). Bids in the form of various proposals and promises were also made by Bismarck for the alliance of the smaller German states ; but almost all ranged themselves on the side of Austria, so that in spite of the Italian alliance, it seemed like an unequal contest into which Prussia was venturing, since her population

was not more than a third of that of the states which were likely to be arrayed against her.

But Bismarck had been preparing Prussia for the struggle which he had long foreseen, and now the little kingdom, with the best disciplined army in the world, equipped with breech-loading needle guns, and headed by the great commander Von Moltke, was to astonish the world by a repetition of her achievements under Frederick the Great.

The Prussian armies, numbering more than a quarter of a million of men, began to move about the middle of June. Saxony, Hesse-Cassel, Hanover, and Nassau were commanded to remain neutral, and were given twelve hours in which to decide what course they would adopt. None returned a reply, and forthwith the Prussian armies were marched into all the states.

The war thus opened was carried on at once in three quarters, — in the South German states, in the Austrian territory of Bohemia, and in Italy. We need follow only the campaign in Bohemia. Here on the 3d of July, 1866, was fought the great battle of Sadowa or Königgrätz, in which two hundred and twenty-two thousand Austrians were engaged with two hundred and twenty-one thousand Prussians. This was one of the great and decisive battles of history. It was Austria's Waterloo.

The Prussians pushing on towards Vienna, the Emperor Francis Joseph was constrained to sue for peace, and on the 23d of August the Treaty of Prague was signed.⁷

The long debate between Austria and Prussia was over. By the terms of the treaty, Austria consented to the dissolution of the old German Confederation, and agreed to allow Prussia to reorganize the German states as she might wish. At the

⁷ The fear of French intervention hastened the negotiations on the part of the Prussian court. Since the Emperor Napoleon as the price of his consent to Italian unity had received Savoy and Nice (par. 445), so now he thought to wring from Germany some Rhine lands as the price of his consent to German unity.

same time she surrendered Venetia to the Italian kingdom. The hindrances she had so long placed in the way both of German unity and of Italian unity were now finally removed.

465. Establishment of the North German Confederation (1867).—Now quickly followed the reorganization under the presidency of Prussia of the German states north of the Main into what was called the North German Confederation. There were twenty-one states in all, reckoning the three free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck.

The domains of Prussia were enlarged by the annexation of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, the free city of Frankfort, and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. These annexations gave the Prussian king nearly five million new subjects and united into a fairly compact dominion his heretofore severed and scattered territories.

A constitution was adopted which provided that all common concerns should be committed to a Federal Parliament or Diet, the members of the lower house of which were to be chosen by universal suffrage in the different states. The Prussian king was to be the hereditary executive of the Confederation, and the commander-in-chief of all the military forces of the several states composing the league.

Thus was a long step taken towards German unity. Bismarck's policy of "blood and iron," though seemingly rough and brutal, now promised to prove a cure indeed for all of Germany's troubles. Though so much had been effected, there was still remaining much to be desired. The states to the south of the Main—Baden, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt—were yet wanting to complete the unification of the Fatherland. Many patriots both north and south of the dividing line earnestly desired the perfect union of North and South. But the Catholics of the southern states were bitterly opposed to Prussia's being exalted to the chief place in Germany because she was Protestant, while many of the

democratic party were unwilling to see Germany reconstructed under the supremacy of Prussia on account of the repressive and autocratic character of her government.

But the chief obstacle, however, which had prevented the South German states from being brought into the new union was French jealousy. The Emperor Napoleon had insisted that the River Main should form the southern boundary of the Confederation of the North. He had thought that the South German states would form a union among themselves and look to him as their champion against Prussian aggression. Thus he hoped to be able to maintain the traditional position of France as arbiter of German affairs.

So the South German states remained out of the North German Confederation, but instead of looking to the Emperor Napoleon as their patron they entered into a secret alliance with the new league, which prepared the way for their admission to the union when the time should be ripe.

466. The Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871). — The Austro-Prussian War had laid the basis of a Franco-Prussian War. It has just been seen how German unity had come short of complete accomplishment partly through the officious intermeddling of the Emperor Napoleon. But it was intolerable to German patriots, now that the sentiment of German nationality was growing strong, that France should be allowed to dictate to Germans respecting their internal affairs, and should stand between them and their national destiny.

On the other hand, it seemed intolerable to the French that a strong German empire should be allowed to arise right on the frontier of France, and that by this new upstart power France should be shouldered from her historic position as arbiter of Europe. All her old jealous hatred of the House of Hapsburg was now transferred to the rising House of Hohenzollern. France awaited simply a pretext for attacking her new rival and preventing by force the consummation of German unity under Prussian headship.

She had not long to wait. In 1869 the throne of Spain became vacant (par. 433). It was offered to Leopold, a member of the Hohenzollern family. The Emperor Napoleon III affected to see in this a scheme on the part of the House of Hohenzollern to unite the interests of Prussia and Spain, just as Austria and Spain were united, with such disastrous consequences to the peace of Europe, under the princes of the House of Hapsburg. Even after Leopold, to avoid displeasing France, had declined the proffered crown, the Emperor Napoleon demanded of King William assurance that no member of the House of Hohenzollern should ever with his consent become a candidate for the Spanish throne.

This most unreasonable demand was made of King William by the French ambassador Benedetti at the little watering-place of Ems. The king courteously refused the demand, and then sent a telegram to Bismarck informing him of what had occurred, at the same time giving him permission to make such use of the message as he saw fit. Bismarck edited the telegram in such a way as to convey the impression that the French ambassador had been brusquely dismissed by King William, and then gave it out for publication. The French people were wild with rage. War was now inevitable.

The important thing to be noted here is the enthusiasm that the war awakened not only throughout the states of the North German Confederation but among the states of the South as well, which placed their armies at the disposal of King William. The cause was looked upon as a national one, and a patriotic fervor stirred the hearts of all Germans alike.⁸

On assuming command of the German forces King William used these words: "All Germany stands together under arms against a neighboring state, which has without excuse declared

⁸ Bismarck had made public Napoleon's request for Hesse and Rhenish Bavaria at the time of the Austro-Prussian War. These revelations had created a tremendous sentiment against France not only in the South German states but throughout all Germany.

war against us. We must defend our threatened Fatherland, our honor, our hearths, and homes. To-day I assume the supreme command over the united armies and confidently begin a struggle such as our fathers in former days brought to a glorious end."

Probably the world had never seen a more perfect instrument of war than Prussia had forged and now launched against France. In the matter of the mobilization and the transportation of the troops everything had been thought out and prearranged to the minutest detail. Nothing had been left to chance. Every emergency had been foreseen. It is said that of a hundred and fifty trains, loaded with a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, dispatched to the French frontier not one was a minute late. This was in striking contrast to the state of unreadiness and confusion on the French side, where regiments were sent forward without their arms, and bewildered generals were telegraphing hither and thither in a frenzied search for their lost commands.⁹

467. The Proclamation of the New German Empire (1871). — The astonishing successes of the German armies on French soil (par. 403) created among Germans everywhere such patriotic pride in the Fatherland that all the obstacles which had hitherto prevented anything more than a partial union of the members of the Germanic body were now swept out of the way by an irresistible tide of national sentiment.

⁹ There was a deep underlying cause of the superiority of the German army over the French which is worth noting. We have seen how, in the dark days which followed Jena in the time of the first Napoleon, the statesmen intrusted with devising means for Prussia's regeneration turned to education as the surest agency for the quickening and strengthening of the Prussian nation (par. 389). It was her system of education, quite as much as her system of universal military service, which had given Prussia her strength and which was now leading her to these high places. It is told how the Prussian soldiers on the way to Sadowa relieved the tedium of the march by discussing the Dialogues of Plato; and how in 1870 these same student soldiers, with philological leanings, found amusement in publishing a favorite song in thirty-two different languages. Beyond question these Prussian bayonets met Mazzini's requirement for bayonets, — that they should have ideas at their point.

While the siege of Paris was progressing, commissioners were sent by the southern states to Versailles, the headquarters of King William, to represent to him that they were ready and anxious to enter the North German Union. Thus in rapid succession Baden, Hesse, Württemberg, and Bavaria were received into the Confederation, the name of which was now changed to that of the German Confederation.

Scarcely was this accomplished when, upon the suggestion of the king of Bavaria, — who had been coached by Bismarck, — King William, who now bore the title of *President* of the Confederation, was given the title of *German Emperor*, which honor was to be hereditary in his family. On the 18th of January, 1871, within the Palace of Versailles, — the siege of Paris being still in progress, — amidst indescribable enthusiasm, the Imperial dignity was formally conferred upon King William, and Germany became a constitutional empire.¹⁰

Thus amidst the throes of war the free German nation was born. The German people, after long centuries of division and servitude, had at last found freedom and unity.¹¹

468. The Cession to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine. — Concerning the terms of the treaty between France and Germany we have already rehearsed the most essential facts (par. 403). The cession to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine

¹⁰ The new German Empire constitutes a federal state belonging to the same class of political organizations as the United States, Switzerland, Canada, and the newly formed Australian Commonwealth. Aside from the monarchical hereditary character of the federal executive and of the executive of each of the various principalities, it differs from our Union in there being no sort of equality in size between the states constituting the Empire, Prussia exceeding in population all the other states of the union taken together. (According to the census of 1900 the population of Prussia was 34,472,509; that of all the other states, including Alsace-Lorraine, was 21,894,669.) Again, it differs from our federal system by leaving to the different states in large measure the carrying out of the federal laws.

¹¹ There is, however, something lacking from the union. There are eight million persons of German speech and German blood in the Austrian empire. Whether these Germans shall ever come to form part of the German nation remains for the future to determine.

is the only matter connected with these momentous transactions upon which space will allow us here to comment anew.

In insisting upon the surrender of these provinces, which were and which still remain passionately French in sympathy and sentiment, although only partly French in blood, Bismarck has been severely censured, since this seems a gross violation of the modern principle of nationality, particularly as the inhabitants of the ceded territories were not allowed to have any voice in the question of their transference.

Generous treatment of the vanquished, it is claimed, such generous treatment as Bismarck himself accorded Austria after Sadowa, would have awakened the gratitude of the French, and have amply secured Germany against a war of revenge. But Bismarck reasoned that moral guarantees, such as French gratitude for lenient treatment after defeat, would prove worthless; that French wounded vanity would impel France again to attack Germany when a favorable opportunity occurred, and that consequently Germany must have material guarantees. "These guarantees," said Bismarck, "we can secure only by pushing the frontier, the starting point of French attacks, farther back to the West, and causing those fortresses which have hitherto threatened us to be placed as defensive bulwarks in the hands of Germany."

469. Later Events. — For nearly twenty years after the close of the Franco-Prussian War the policy of the new Empire was directed by Bismarck as the first Imperial Chancellor. It was his task to consolidate the Empire he had created, and to secure through wise diplomacy the results gained by war. We can indicate only two or three of the most noteworthy matters belonging to this period of the great Chancellor's rule.

Special interest attaches to the so-called *Kulturkampf*, which was a long, bitter struggle carried on by Bismarck with the Roman See. The papal party was hostile to the new German Empire because it gave predominance in Germany to Protestant Prussia. Very soon there was open conflict between

the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. Bismarck secured the passage of laws, both by the imperial and the Prussian Parliament, in restraint of the power of the Catholic clergy. The Pope declared the laws null and void. The fight grew in bitterness, and recalled to mind the struggle between Pope Gregory VII and the Emperor Henry IV. Bismarck declared, "We shall not go to Canossa."¹² But he did go, at least part way, for in order to secure Catholic support for certain of his policies, he entered into a compromise with the Papacy, and the strife between State and Church was finally stilled (1887).

In his foreign policy Bismarck's greatest achievement was the formation of what is known as the Triple Alliance (*Dreibund*) between the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, and Italy¹³ (1882). The chief objects of the Triple Alliance were to curb Russia's ambition in the Balkans and to hold France back from a war of revenge against Germany. Without doubt this league has been one of the most potent factors making for the peace of Europe during the last two decades.

In 1888 Emperor William I died, at the venerable age of ninety-one. His death moved profoundly the entire German nation. His reign had covered great years in German story, and he had gone with his people through many of the most trying passages in their history.

William I was followed by his son Frederick, who at the time of his accession was suffering from a fatal malady. He died after a short reign of three months, and his son came to the throne as Emperor William II (1888).

It was generally thought that the young sovereign would be completely under the influence of Bismarck. But soon the Emperor disclosed a very imperious will of his own. His relations with Bismarck became strained, and the aged Chancellor

¹² See *The Middle Ages*, par. 184.

¹³ The Triple Alliance replaced an earlier alliance known as the Alliance of the Three Emperors (*Dreikaiserbund*), embracing Germany, Russia, and Austria. This alliance came practically to an end in 1878, when causes of alienation between the allies arose at the Congress of Berlin (par. 481).

was brusquely dismissed (March 18, 1890). Many felt that the youthful Emperor had treated the creator of the Empire and the maker of the imperial fortunes of the House of Hohenzollern with gross ingratitude. On the other hand, the friends of the Emperor liken Bismarck to Wallenstein, and accuse him of "aiming at something like sovereign sway in a province appertaining to the Emperor."¹⁴

The young Emperor's rule since his dismissal of Bismarck has been a very personal one. He believes that the sovereign's will should be the highest law. He would have made an ideal divine-right king in those halcyon days for autocratic rulers when there were no representative assemblies. What has enabled him to maintain his arbitrary rule is the circumstance that the parties in the Federal Diet and in the Prussian Parliament are so numerous and so irreconcilably opposed to one another that they cannot unite against him. So long as this state of things exists the power of the crown will be likely to retain its autocratic character.

The remarkable growth, in spite of the opposition of the Emperor, of the party known as the Social Democrats, who advocate an extreme programme of social and industrial reform, is one of the most noteworthy facts connected with the domestic history of the Empire.¹⁵

One marked feature of Emperor William's foreign policy has been his cultivation of the friendship of the Sultan of Turkey. The motive actuating him here is his desire to secure from the Turkish government trade concessions for Germany in Asia

¹⁴ In his retirement at Friedrichsruh, an estate which was a gift to him from the grateful Emperor William I, Bismarck played the part of a "German Prometheus." He hurled defiance at all his enemies, and did not scruple to subject the policies of the Emperor and his ministers to the most caustic criticism. The ex-Chancellor died in 1898, being then in his eighty-fourth year.

¹⁵ In 1871 this party cast a vote of about 124,000; in 1903 its vote reached the surprising figure of over 2,911,000, more than a third of the total vote cast. It is now the second strongest party in the Empire.

Minor and Syria. But these matters connect themselves with the colonial policy of the Empire, and of this we shall have something to say in another place (par. 499).

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CHAPTER XXII

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AFTER 1866

470. The Reorganization of the Austrian Empire after Sadowa; the Compromise between Austria and Hungary. — The disaster of Sadowa did for Austria what the disaster of Jena did for Prussia, — it brought about its political and social regeneration.

Chastened by the bitter humiliation and realizing that the maintenance of the old traditional system of absolute government was henceforth impossible, the Emperor Francis Joseph was now ready to make concessions to the national aspirations of the Magyars, and to yield to the growing demands of his subjects for liberal reforms and constitutional government.¹ Soon after Sadowa he called to his aid the able Saxon statesman Count Beust and gave into his hands the task of reorganizing the shattered Empire, just as after Jena King Frederick William of Prussia intrusted to Baron vom Stein the readjustment of Prussian affairs (par. 389).

The first step and the most important one in the process of reorganization was the recognition by the Austrian court of the claims of the Magyars to the right of equality in the monarchy with the hitherto dominant German race. By an agreement known as the *Ausgleich* or Compromise the relations of Austria and Hungary in the reconstituted state were defined and regulated.² It provided for the division of the old empire into two

¹ A policy of reform and of reconciliation with Hungary had been adopted by Francis Joseph after the loss of Lombardy in 1859, but before definite results had been secured everything was broken in upon by the war with Prussia.

² The agreement was nominally an agreement between the Magyar nation and the House of Hapsburg, but since both Austria and Hungary were henceforth parliamentary constitutional states, the arrangement was practically an agreement between the two dominant races in the monarchy.

parts, now designated as the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom.³ Each state was to have its own parliament, the one sitting at Vienna and the other at Budapest, and each was to have complete control of its own internal affairs. Neither was to have the least precedence over the other.

The common interests of the two states, those embracing foreign affairs, the army, and finances, were to be regulated by a third peculiar parliament, the so-called "Delegations," composed of sixty delegates from each of the other two parliaments. The hereditary head of the Austrian state was to be also the constitutional king of Hungary.⁴

This celebrated compact was duly ratified by the parliaments of Hungary and Austria, and the long struggle between the Magyars and the House of Hapsburg was at an end.⁵ The Hungarian constitution was restored⁶ and Francis Joseph, whom the Magyars had hitherto steadily refused to recognize as their king, now took oath to observe all the ancient liberties of the Hungarian nation, and was at Pesth solemnly crowned King of Hungary amidst the joyous acclamations of his long-estranged subjects (1867).

471. The Dependent Races in the Monarchy; Federalism versus Dualism. — The Compromise of 1867 thus reconstructed the old Austrian Empire as a dual monarchy, with the Germans as the ruling race in the western half of the state, and with the Magyars as the ruling race in the eastern half. It

³ A small tributary of the Danube called the Leitha forms a section of the boundary between the two halves of the monarchy; the portion lying west of this stream (the Austrian Empire) is often designated as *Cisleithania*; the part lying east of it (the Hungarian Kingdom) as *Transleithania*. The official designation of the dual state is the *Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*.

⁴ Certain articles of this compact relating to finances and trade are temporary in character and call for renewal every ten years.

⁵ In the happy effects of the recognition by Austria of the justice of the claims of Hungary to autonomy, Gladstone found an argument in favor of his proposal of a separate parliament for Ireland (par. 426).

⁶ The same year (1867) the western half of the monarchy was also given a liberal constitution, and Austria-Hungary now definitely entered the ranks of constitutional states.

made no recognition whatsoever of the historic rights and liberties of the other races or nationalities of the monarchy, of which there are many. In truth, the confusion of races and tongues within the state could scarcely be greater. That is hardly a figure of speech which describes the Austro-Hungarian monarchy as a "European Tower of Babel." In the Austrian Parliament the oath is administered to the members in eight different languages.

Now in the eastern half of the monarchy the Magyars, who form only a minority of the population of the Hungarian kingdom,⁷ but who, like the English, are a people of extraordinary energy and of great pride of race, are holding all the non-Magyar races of the kingdom, with the exception of the Slavs of Croatia, who have secured some measure of self-government, in just such political serfdom as they themselves were subjected to before their emancipation by the events of 1866-1867. Their aim is to denationalize these peoples by forcing them to give up their own customs and language and to adopt Magyar customs and the Magyar language, to the end that Hungary may become a compact homogeneous Magyar nation.

It is the same in the other half of the monarchy. There a German minority⁸ is holding the Czechs in Bohemia and the Poles in Galicia in a state of subjection similar to that in which the Magyars are holding the non-Magyar races of Hungary.

Now these dependent nationalities claim that they have as good a right to self-government as have either the Germans or the Magyars. They complain bitterly that their rights should have been completely ignored by the dominant nations in the Compromise of 1867. Since then they have carried on a continuous struggle for race autonomy and for political equality in the reorganized monarchy.

The relations of Ireland to England, and the resulting

⁷ The census of 1900 gives the total number of inhabitants of Hungary as 19,254,559, of whom only 7,426,730 are returned as being of Hungarian race.

⁸ The total population of Austria according to the census of 1900 was 26,150,708; the number of Germans, 9,170,939.

agitation on the part of the Irish people for home rule, will convey some idea of the situation of things in the dual monarchy, and of the turbulence created in the state by the struggles of these subject races. In short, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has three or four Irish problems.

It would seem that these contentions must end either in the disruption of the monarchy, or in the recognition by the two dominant races of the justice of the claims of these dependent peoples, and the conversion of the dual monarchy into a federal union composed of as many states as there are different nations or well-defined ethnic groups composing the population of the monarchy. At the present moment the strongest bond uniting the different races of the monarchy is the great popularity of the reigning sovereign. The Emperor Francis Joseph has endeared himself in a remarkable degree to all classes of his subjects, and so long as he lives his personal ascendancy will doubtless secure the integrity of the monarchy.

472. Austria-Hungary and the Eastern Question. — In the external history of the new Austro-Hungarian state one of the most noteworthy matters connects itself with the acquisition by the dual monarchy in 1878 of the administrative control of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹ The virtual annexation of these territories by Austria is a matter of great moment, for the reason that this sets her well on the road to the excellent seaport of Salonica, on the Ægean, and interests her vitally in the Eastern Question, so far as that has to do with the disposition of the territories of the Ottoman Porte in Europe.

473. The International Phase of Austro-Hungarian Questions. — The affairs of Austria-Hungary are almost as much a matter of European concern as are those of the Ottoman Empire. This is so for the reason that most of the ethnic groups within the monarchy, with the exception of the Magyars, who constitute a compact and complete nation, are merely

⁹ Consult par. 481, and also map after p. 572.

detached areas of larger bodies of kindred peoples in adjoining lands, and that there is a tendency in these small groups to gravitate towards the larger masses of their kindred in these neighboring countries. Thus the Austrian Germans are drawn towards the new German Empire ; the Italians in Trieste and the Tyrol towards the Italian kingdom ; the Rumanians of Transylvania towards the principality of Rumania ; the Slavs of the South towards the Balkan Slav states, and the Slavs of the North, in times of special discontent, towards Russia. Or perhaps it would be more exact to say that these neighboring states covet these Austro-Hungarian lands of kindred race and await an opportunity to annex them. Hence they are all deeply interested in everything that concerns the stability or lack of stability of the polyglot monarchy.

And thus it comes that the words with which the historian Leger more than a decade ago closed his account of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy are as true to-day as when they were written : "The Austria of Francis I and Metternich is no more ; but at the same time it is surrounded by difficulties . . . and unless some unforeseen event occurs, the situation of the Austrian state must remain precarious, and its future inspire with great anxiety the minds of those who consider the maintenance of a powerful Danubian state necessary to the peace of Europe."

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CHAPTER XXIII

RUSSIA SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

474. The Russian Sovereigns and the French Revolution. — That Russia had anything to do with the French Revolution, came in touch with it either in the way of sympathy or of opposition, is due largely to Peter the Great. As we have learned, it was he who opened up Russia to the civilization of the West. Of his new capital St. Petersburg he said, “It is my window through which I shall watch Europe.” But, as has been remarked, a window serves other purposes besides affording an outlook, — it lets in light. Thus was Russia, for good or for ill, brought directly within the sphere of influence of the French Revolution.

Catherine II, as has been seen (par. 259), was an ardent disciple of the French philosopher Voltaire and of the Encyclopedists; but when the Revolution began to reduce to practice the theories of these writers, Catherine became frightened, caused the bust of Voltaire in her palace to be taken down, and set herself in violent opposition to the whole French movement.

Catherine's son and successor, Paul I (1796–1801), with the sure instinct of a born autocrat, hated the Revolution and all the ideas it represented. But when Napoleon came to the head of French affairs and began to exhibit his autocratic character, Paul was delighted, became his most ardent admirer, and proposed to him a scheme for the humiliation of England by the conquest of her East Indian possessions. The plan was a bold one. The attacking forces were to march to the Indies by two routes: a Russian army was to move through Khiva and Bokhara, and an allied Russian and French force

to march from the Caspian by the way of Herat and Kandahar.¹ What would have come of the project it is hard to divine had not the whole scheme been suddenly frustrated by the assassination of the Tsar.

Alexander I (1801–1825), who now came to the throne, was inconstant; at first he was the friend of Napoleon, then his enemy, again his friend and ally, and finally the one to call upon the nations of Europe to depose him as the disturber of the peace of the world.

475. The Tsar Alexander as a Liberal and as a Reactionist.—During the earlier years of his reign the Tsar Alexander was a zealous advocate of certain liberal ideas. It was due largely to his influence that the French secured a constitution upon the restoration of the Bourbons. He granted the Poles a liberal constitution. He freed the serfs in Livonia and Courland. He introduced many beneficent reforms into Russia, and even encouraged his subjects to hope they should have a constitution which should give them part in the government.

The Tsar Alexander was possessed of a deeply religious nature. A little after the middle of his reign he fell under the influence of the religious mystic Madame de Krüdener, and it was while under her influence that he organized the Holy Alliance, of which we have already learned the history.² When Alexander invited his fellow-sovereigns to join him in this league, he meant all that he said. But conspiracies among his own subjects, the ingratitude of the Poles, and the uprisings throughout Europe all tended to create in him a revulsion of feeling. His disposition underwent a complete change. From an ardent apostle of liberal ideas he was transformed into a violent absolutist, and spent all his latter years in aiding the despotic rulers of Spain, Italy, and Germany to crush every uprising among their subjects for political freedom.

¹ A Russian army 40,000 strong actually passed the Volga and started on its march across the Central Asian desert for India.

² See in particular pars. 396 and 432.

This reactionary policy of Alexander caused bitter disappointment among the liberals in Russia, the number of whom was large, for the Russian armies that helped to crush Napoleon came back from the West with many new and liberal ideas awakened by what they had seen and heard and experienced.

Alexander died in 1825. Metternich, in his *Memoirs*, thus writes of him: "His disposition was noble and his word was sacred; . . . but his mind and heart needed to be led and guided. He died of thorough weariness of life. . . . He deceived himself, and the discovery of his errors brought him to the grave."

476. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829.—Alexander was succeeded by his brother Nicholas I (1825-1855), "a terrible incarnation of autocracy." He carried out the later policy of his predecessor and strove to shut out from his empire all the liberalizing influences of Western Europe.

In 1828, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the Sultan through a stubborn insurrection in Greece,³ Nicholas declared war against the Ottoman Porte. The Sultan had just at this time rendered his empire almost defenseless by the destruction, on account of their turbulence and disobedience, of the janizaries, who for centuries had formed the chief strength of the Ottoman army.⁴ The Russian troops crossed

³ This was the struggle known as the War of Greek Independence (1821-1829). This war was a phase of the liberal and national movement which in the revolutionary year of 1821 agitated the Italian and Iberian peninsulas. The leaven of the French Revolution was at work here in the Greek peninsula also, producing a new unrest and awakening aspirations for a free and independent national life. The war was characterized by acts of horrible cruelty on the part of the Turks. In 1823 they massacred 40,000 of the Greek inhabitants of the island of Chios. This crime stirred the indignation of all Christendom. Lord Byron, the representative of the Philhellenic sentiment in England, devoted his life and fortune to the cause of Greek freedom. He died of fever at the siege of Missolonghi (1824). England, France, and Russia finally intervened. The Turko-Egyptian fleet was destroyed by the fleets of the allies in the bay of Navarino (1827). The year after this event began the Russian campaign in the Danubian provinces, as narrated in the text.

⁴ See *The Middle Ages*, par. 245.

the Balkans without serious opposition, and were marching upon Constantinople when the Sultan sued for peace. The Treaty of Adrianople brought the war to a close (1829).

By the terms of this treaty the Tsar Nicholas restored his conquests in Europe, but held some provinces in Asia which gave him control of the eastern shore of the Euxine. The Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were rendered virtually independent of the Sultan. All Greece south of Thessaly and Epirus was liberated, and along with most of the islands of the Ægean was formed into an independent kingdom under the joint guardianship of England, France, and Russia. Prince Otto of Bavaria accepted the crown, and became the first king of the little Hellenic state ⁵ (1832).

⁵ In 1862 a revolution brought to an end the reign of King Otto and placed Prince George of Denmark upon the throne (1863). The year following his accession the little kingdom was enlarged through the cession to it of the Ionian Islands by England, in whose hands they had been since the Congress of Vienna. In 1881 it received Thessaly and a part of Epirus by cession from Turkey. In 1897 the Greek government, through sympathy with the Greeks of the island of Crete, — who for the seventh time during the nineteenth century had risen in revolt against their Turkish oppressors and were seeking union with their free kinsmen of the mainland, — was led to engage rashly in a war with the Ottoman Porte. The little Greek army was quickly overpowered by the Turkish forces, and Greece was compelled to accede to a treaty which deprived her of a strip of northern Thessaly. But, through the intervention of the great powers, the Ottoman Porte was forced to withdraw its troops from Crete, which now became a self-governing Christian state, though still nominally subject to the suzerainty of the Sultan. The ultimate destiny of the island must be union with the Greek kingdom, which is likely, upon the final disruption of the Ottoman Empire, to receive further accessions of Greek lands.

The great past of the Greek race had caused the Philhellenes of Christendom to form extravagant expectations for liberated Greece. These expectations have not been fully met. It takes a long time for a people to recover its mental and moral tone after subjection for centuries to foreign domination as degrading and oppressive as that of which the Greeks were the victims. Yet under the régime of freedom substantial progress has been made. The population of the little kingdom rose from 612,000 in 1832 to 2,433,806 in 1896. Industry, trade, and commerce have revived. The Isthmus of Corinth has been pierced by a canal. Railroads have been built. Athens has taken on the appearance of a modern capital. Its university has an attendance of between two and three thousand students, — a good omen for the future.

Thus the result of the war was greatly to diminish the strength and influence of Turkey, and correspondingly to increase the power and prestige of Russia.

477. The Polish Revolt (1830-1832).—The Tsar Alexander, in accordance with a mandate of the Congress of Vienna (1815), reëstablished Poland as a constitutional kingdom dependent upon Russia in some such way as Ireland was subject to England previous to the Union in 1801. Under their constitution the Poles could manage their own finances and administer their local affairs; yet the Polish patriots were still impatient of the subjection of their country to the authority of the Tsar, for memories of the proud days of Poland's independence were kept fresh among them. Moreover, the agreement for local self-government was not faithfully kept by Russia.

The revolutionary movements of the year 1830 sent a wave of hope through Poland, and the people arose, set up a provisional government, and drove out the Russian garrisons. But the armies of the Tsar quickly poured over the frontiers of the revolted state, and before the close of the year 1831 the Polish patriots were once more under the foot of their Russian master.

It was a hard fate that awaited the unhappy nation. Their constitution was taken away, and Poland was made a province of the Russian Empire (1832). The Polish regiments, instead of being allowed to form an independent army as hitherto, were scattered in widely separated provinces. Everything in the nature of a weapon was taken away from the people, the peasant being deprived even of his scythe. Multitudes were banished to Siberia, while thousands more expatriated themselves, seeking an asylum in England, America, and other countries. Tsar Nicholas even attempted to root out the Polish language, the Russian being introduced into all the schools and made a requisite for holding any office whatever. Of all the peoples that rose for freedom in 1830, none suffered so cruel and complete an extinguishment of their hopes as did the patriot Poles.

478. Russia and the Revolutions of 1848.—Russia's chief part in the affairs of the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849 was to help Austria suppress the liberal movement in her dominions.

The uprising of 1848 in Paris sent an electric thrill throughout Europe. Poland, dismembered, bleeding, and prostrate, "quivered with excitement," but dared not and could not rise. Hungary, however, rose against Austria, and under the lead of the illustrious patriot Louis Kossuth, as has already been narrated (par. 459), made a noble fight for freedom. The Emperor of Austria asked and received aid of the Tsar Nicholas. An army of a hundred and ninety thousand Russians and three hundred thousand Austrians crushed the uprising. Hungary was made a second Poland.

479. The Crimean War (1853-1856).—A celebrated parable employed by the Tsar Nicholas in conversation with Sir George Hamilton Seymour, the English minister at St. Petersburg, throws a good deal of light upon the circumstances that led to the Crimean War. "We have on our hands," said the Tsar, "a sick man—a very sick man; I tell you frankly, it would be a great misfortune if he should give us the slip some of these days, especially if it happened before all the necessary arrangements were made."

Nicholas had cultivated friendly relations with the English government, and he now proposed that England and Russia, as the parties most directly interested, should divide the estate of the "sick man," by which phrase Turkey of course was meant. England was to be allowed to take Egypt and Crete, while the Turkish provinces in Europe were to be taken under the protection of the Tsar, which meant of course the complete absorption, in due time, of all Southeastern Europe into the Russian Empire. Nicholas indeed disclaimed any intention of appropriating Constantinople, but it was very evident that the Tsar would not long be content to leave in other hands that "key to the Russian house."

A pretense for hastening the dissolution of the sick man was not long wanting. A quarrel between the Greek and Latin Christians at Jerusalem about the holy places was made the ground by Nicholas for demanding of the Sultan the admission and recognition of a Russian protectorate over all Greek Christians in the Ottoman dominions, a guardianship which the Russians insisted was created by a celebrated clause of the Treaty of Kainardji, made between the Sublime Porte and Catherine the Great in 1774.

No independent and sovereign government could possibly accede to such a demand. It was indeed promptly rejected by the Sultan, and Nicholas prepared for war.

As the Tsar held himself out as the champion of the Greek Christian subjects of the Porte, — of whom there were at this time probably over ten millions, — by which pretension he hoped to arouse the entire Christian population of the Ottoman Empire to what might be regarded as a crusade of the Cross against the Crescent, the Sultan, in order that this portion of his subjects might be held to their allegiance, issued a solemn firman guaranteeing to all his Christian subjects the fullest protection in their religion; and then, calling upon Egypt and Tunis for their war contingents, he appealed to the Western powers for help. England and France responded to the appeal, and later Sardinia joined her forces to theirs (par. 443).

England fought to prevent Russia from getting through the Bosphorus to the Mediterranean and thus endangering her route to her Eastern possessions.

The French Emperor was actuated by a variety of motives, — a friendly feeling towards England, a desire to avenge Moscow, and a wish to render his recently established imperial throne attractive to the French people by surrounding it with the glamour of successful war.

Russia declared war towards the close of 1853; England and France, early the following year.

The main interest of the struggle, notwithstanding some naval operations in the Baltic and elsewhere, centered about Sevastopol, in the Crimea, Russia's great naval and military depot and the key to the Euxine. Around this strongly fortified place were finally gathered nearly two hundred thousand soldiers of the allies. The siege, which lasted eleven months, was one of the most memorable and destructive in history. The Russian general Todleben earned a great fame through his masterly defense of the works. The English "Light Brigade" earned immortality in its memorable charge at Balaklava. The French troops, through their dashing bravery, brought great fame to the Emperor who had sent them to gather glory for his throne.

Two strong redoubts, the Malakoff and the Redan, were the key to the Russian position. The English captured the Redan, but lost it again; the French, however, made a successful assault upon the Malakoff, and held it. The possession of this fortress by the enemy rendered Sevastopol untenable, and the Russians straightway evacuated the place, leaving it, however, a "second Moscow." The war was now soon brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris (March 30, 1856).

Every provision of the treaty had in view the maintenance of the integrity of the empire of the Sultan, and the restraining of the ambition of the Tsar. Russia was given back Sevastopol, but was required to give up some territory at the mouth of the Danube, whereby her frontier was pushed back from that river; to abandon all claims to a protectorate over any of the subjects of the Porte; to agree not to raise any more fortresses on the Euxine nor keep upon that sea any armed ships, save what might be needed for police service.⁶

Servia and the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia in European Turkey were given local self-government, but were

⁶ Russia repudiated this article of the treaty during the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. She has restored Sevastopol and its fortresses and is now maintaining a strong fleet of war ships on the Black Sea.

left under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte. The Christian population of the Turkish dominions were placed under the guardianship of the great powers, who were to see that the Sublime Porte fulfilled its promise of granting perfect civil and religious equality and protection to all its subjects.⁷

480. Emancipation of the Serfs (1858-1863). — The Tsar Alexander II (1855-1881), who came to the Russian throne in the midst of the Crimean War, abandoned the narrow, exclusive, and intolerant system of his predecessor Nicholas, and, reverting as it were to the policy of Peter the Great, labored for popular reform and for the introduction into his dominions of the ideas and civilization of Western Europe. The reform which will ever give his name a place in the list of those rulers who have conferred singular benefits upon their subjects was the emancipation of the serfs, a measure that had long been agitated and for which there was now a strong popular demand.

Serfdom had been a legalized system in Russia since the sixteenth century. It was in the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch (1584-1598) that the peasants, whose restless, semi-Tartar instincts led them to be constantly wandering from one place to another, much to their own disadvantage as well as to that of the country at large, were forced by an imperial edict to remain in one place and attend in a regular way to the tilling of the land. The order was in effect a decree against vagrancy.

Now, in order to render intelligible just what the imperial edict of emancipation did for the serfs, we must say a word respecting the former land system in Russia and the personal status of the serf. As to the first, the estate of the lord was divided into two parts, the smaller of which was reserved by

⁷ The general results of the war have been summarized substantially in these words: The Crimean War changed the Russian protectorate of the Christian population of the Ottoman Empire into a European protectorate; and, again, it made the disposition of the estate of the "sick man" a European, and not exclusively a Russian, affair.

the proprietor for his own use, the larger being allotted to his serfs, who formed a village community known as the *mir*.⁸

Besides working the village lands, the fruits of which were enjoyed by the serfs, the villagers were obliged to till the lands of the lord, three days in a week being the usual service required. The serfs were personally subject to the lord to the extent that he might flog them in case of disobedience, but he could not sell them individually as slaves are sold; yet when he sold his estate the whole community of serfs passed with it to the new proprietor. Exemption from the customary labor due the lord could be purchased by the payment of a certain sum of money, and enterprising serfs, doing this, entered into business for themselves in the towns, and often rose to positions of influence and distinction while still remaining nominally bondsmen.

We shall now understand what the edict of emancipation, which was issued in 1861, did for these semi-slaves. The owners of the peasant serfs were forced to give them the lands they had farmed for themselves, for which, however, they were to make some fixed return in labor or rent. The lands thus acquired became the common property of the village, being held as communal lands. All other serfs, such as house servants and operatives in factories, were to gain their freedom at the end of two years' additional service, during which time, however, they were to receive fair wages.

The Russian peasant has still some restrictions placed upon his movements. Thus, he cannot move from the village or

⁸ This social and economic group affords the key to much of the history of the Russian people. It is the Russian counterpart of the village of serfs on the mediæval manor of Western Europe. It is a cluster of a dozen or perhaps a hundred families,—a clan settled down to agricultural life. At the time of Peter the Great ninety-nine out of every hundred Russians were members of *mir*s. To-day almost nine-tenths of the people live in these little villages. At the time of the emancipation about one-half of these villages were found on the crown lands, the other half were subject to the Russian nobles in some such way as the little villages of serfs in Western Europe were once subject to the manorial lords. See *the Middle Ages*, par. 149.

mir to which he belongs without first having secured the consent of the community. Usually such a privilege is granted only upon the payment of a certain sum of money.

The measure of emancipation, so far as it touched the ownership of the land, was opposed by the aristocracy, while the masses of the people — it concerned personally over forty-five millions⁹ of them — were clamorously eager for its adoption. Alexander set a good example in freeing, by a series of special decrees, all the serfs of the crown lands, about twenty-three millions in number, who were given at once, and without any return being exacted, the lands they had so long tilled as nominal bondsmen. We say *nominal* bondsmen, for this class labored under only a few restrictions and were subject simply to the payment of a light rent.¹⁰

Besides the emancipation measure Alexander's name is associated with other reforms, the earlier part of his reign especially being characterized by a very liberal spirit. He reformed the administration of justice, conferred upon the districts into which the Empire was divided a certain degree of local self-government, abolished flogging in the army, built railroads, and fostered the education of the clergy.

This liberal policy was followed until a revolt of the Poles in 1863, when Alexander was led to adopt a more reactionary policy, a policy which persistently pursued has yielded bitter fruit in Nihilism.

⁹ "The unfree population of Russia amounted, at the time of the emancipation, to 45,863,068 individuals, divided into 23,300,000 crown peasants, 936,477 peasants of appanages, — institutions such as churches, schools, hospitals, mines, and factories, — 21,158,231 attached to the soil and belonging to proprietors, and 1,467,378 *dvorovuić*, or domestic servants." — RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, vol. iii, p. 217.

¹⁰ As in the case of the emancipation of the slaves in our Southern States, the emancipation of the Russian serfs has not met all the hopeful expectations of the friends of the reform. One cause of the unsatisfactory outcome of the measure is that the villagers did not get enough land, save in those districts where the earth is very rich, to enable them to support themselves by its tillage. Hence many of them have fallen into debt and become the victims of heartless usurers.

481. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878; the Treaty of Berlin; the Dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. — Anxiously as the Treaty of Paris had provided for the permanent settlement of the Eastern Question, barely twenty-two years had passed before it was again up before Europe, and Russia and Turkey were again in arms.

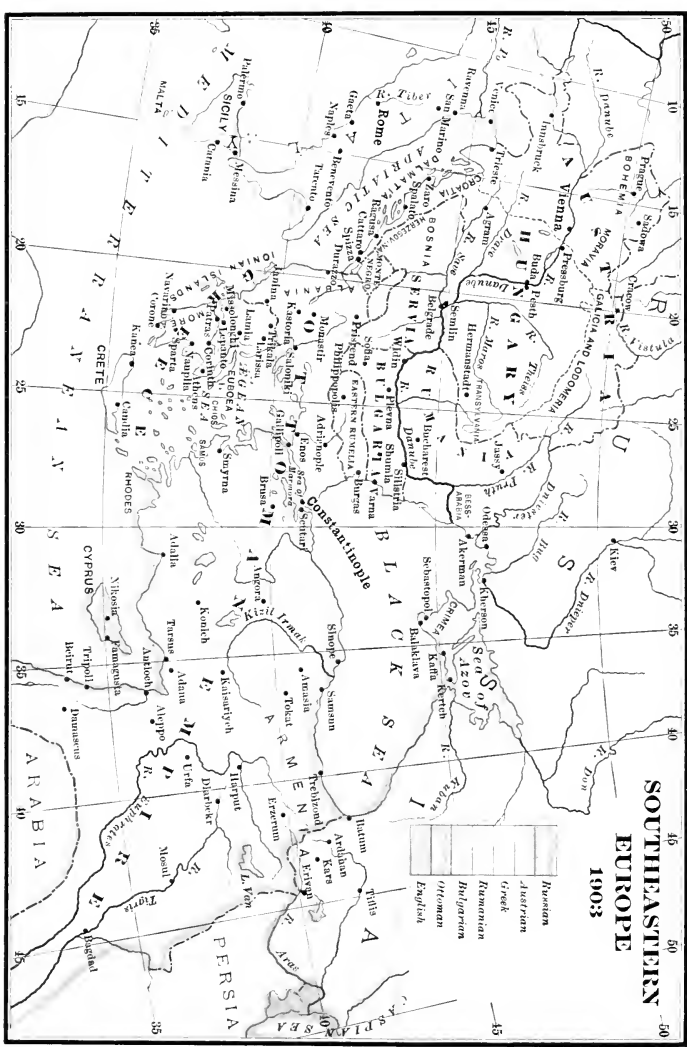
The Sultan could not or would not give to his Christian subjects that equal protection of the laws which he had solemnly promised should be given. The Mohammedans' hatred of the Christians was constantly leading to disturbance and outrage. In 1860 there occurred a great massacre of Christians in Syria by the Druses and Turks, which led to the intervention of the Western powers. In 1875 the Greek Christian population of Herzegovina and Bosnia, European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, goaded to desperation by the oppression of Turkish taxgatherers, rose in revolt.

Presently, inspired by the Herzegovinian and Bosnian movement, the Bulgarians arose. The English government, favorably disposed to the Sultan, urged him to deal promptly with the insurgents, lest a general European war be kindled. To suppress the revolt, the Turkish government now armed the Mohammedan population, these militiamen being known by what became the terrible name of "bashi-bazouks." The result was what are known as the "Bulgarian atrocities," massacres of men, women, and children, more revolting perhaps than any others of which history tells.

The greatest indignation was kindled throughout Europe. Servia and Montenegro declared war (1876). The Russian armies were set in motion (1877). Kars in Asia Minor and Plevna in European Turkey fell into the hands of the Russians, and the armies of the Tsar were once more in full march upon Constantinople, with the prospect of soon ending forever Turkish rule on European soil, when England intervened, sent her fleet through the Dardanelles, and arrested the triumphant march of the Russians.

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE 1903

<input type="checkbox"/>	Russian
<input type="checkbox"/>	Austrian
<input type="checkbox"/>	Greek
<input type="checkbox"/>	Rumanian
<input type="checkbox"/>	Bulgarian
<input type="checkbox"/>	Ottoman
<input type="checkbox"/>	English



The Treaty of Berlin ¹¹ (1878) adjusted once more the disorganized affairs of the Sublime Porte, and bolstered up as well as was possible the "sick man." But he lost a good part of his estate, for even his friends had no longer any hope either of his recovery or of his reformation. Out of those provinces of his dominions in Europe in which the Christian population was most numerous, there was created a group of wholly independent or half-independent states. The absolute independence of Rumania,¹² Servia, and Montenegro (which last state had really never bowed its neck to the Turkish conquerors) was formally acknowledged; Bulgaria, north of the Balkans, was to enjoy self-government, but was to pay a tribute to the Porte; Eastern Rumelia was to have a Christian governor, but was to remain under the dominion of the Sultan.¹³ The Balkans were thus made the northern boundary of the Turkish Empire in Europe.¹⁴

Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to administer, but were not actually severed from the Ottoman Empire.

¹¹ In this treaty the great powers revised the Treaty of San Stefano which Russia had concluded with Turkey, and which practically expelled the Ottoman Porte from Europe.

¹² Rumania embraces the two ancient provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. The principality was raised to the rank of a kingdom in 1881.

¹³ In 1885 Eastern Rumelia united with Bulgaria. Servia was greatly irritated by this aggrandizement of her rival, but was forced by Austria to acquiesce in the accomplished fact.

¹⁴ The career of the little principalities carved out of the lands liberated from the Ottoman yoke has been most turbulent. But this is not strange, since the long subjection of these regions to the barbarous rule of the Turk has prevented their sharing in the general progress of the rest of Christian Europe, and has left their peoples in the mediæval stage of civilization, — a fact startlingly emphasized by the recent assassination of the King and Queen of Servia (in 1903), the accounts of which crime read like a displaced chapter from the history of the Middle Ages. The little new-born states are fiercely jealous of one another, and their youthful democratic turbulence, taken in connection with an infinite variety of racial, dynastic, and religious dissensions and rivalries, to say nothing of the intrigues and ambitions of the neighboring powers, render the Balkan peninsula one of the political storm-breeding centers of Europe.

The island of Cyprus, by a secret arrangement between the Ottoman Porte and the English government, was ceded to England, "to be occupied and administered."¹⁵ In return for this England guaranteed the integrity of the Sultan's possessions in Asia.

Russia acquired some places (Ardahan, Kars, and Batum) in Armenia, which gave her fuller control of the eastern shores of the Euxine, and also received Bessarabia on the lower Danube, which territory she had been forced to give up at the close of the Crimean War, and which now again advanced her frontier to that river, a foothold upon which has been just such an object with the Tsars as a hold upon the Rhine has been with the French rulers.

In a word, Russia regained everything she had lost in the Crimean struggle, while Turkey was shorn of half her European possessions. There were left in Europe under the direct authority of the Sultan barely five million subjects, of which number about one-half were Christians.¹⁶

482. The Liberal Movement in Russia ; Nihilism and Terrorism. — We must now note a movement in Russian society more significant for Russian history and thus for general history than any of the wars of the Tsars or the diplomacy of the Muscovite court. This is the intellectual revolt of the educated Russian classes against the autocratic and repressive government of the Tsar.

¹⁵ This cession meant practically that Cyprus was to cease to be a part of the Ottoman Empire and to become British territory.

¹⁶ At the present writing (1903) these unredeemed lands, particularly the eastern portion of them popularly designated as Macedonia, are seething with revolt. Bulgaria fosters the discontent, hoping that in the general readjustment of frontiers which must necessarily follow the expulsion of the Turks from Europe she will be able to secure additional territory. But Austria is unwilling to see Bulgaria enlarged or strengthened, since this would set an obstacle in the way of her eastern expansion ; while Russia is opposed to any change in the present situation of things that would enhance the influence of Austria in the Balkans. And so the "unspeakable Turk" continues his oppressive rule over Christian lands in Europe.

This liberal movement is nothing else than the outworking in Russia of the ideas of the French Revolution. "In regard to the future consequences of this singular revolution," writes that keen observer, Arthur Young, "as an example to other nations, there can be no doubt but the spirit which has produced it will, sooner or later, spread throughout Europe, according to the different degrees of enlightenment amongst the common people." Without doubt the deepest cause of the liberal movement which is agitating Russia to-day must be sought in the awakening intelligence of the Russian nation.

But, if some definite experience and some definite date be sought for the beginnings of the movement, these may be found in the events of 1813-1815. In those years, as it has been put, the whole Russian army, like the great Tsar Peter, went on a pilgrimage to the West, and, like Peter, they got some new ideas. "The true and first propaganda of the revolt began," writes Edmund Noble, "when these travelling Russians carried back to their countrymen at home the story of what they had seen in Western Europe." This was simply a repetition of what had occurred in the case of those Frenchmen who in 1776 went to America to take part in the war of American Independence (par. 302).

Those carrying on this propaganda of liberalism are known as Nihilists. These Nihilists are the enlightened philosophers and democrats of Russia.¹⁷ They are found especially in the faculties and among the students of the universities. Their fundamental demands are for constitutional representative government, the reform of the judicial system, the abolition of the censorship of the press, and the removal of the restriction upon free discussion of public matters. In a word, they demand that the Russian people shall enjoy all those rights and immunities which the peoples of Western Europe have secured and are now enjoying.

¹⁷ Alphons Thun, *Geschichte der Revolutionären Bewegungen in Russland*.

This revolutionary propaganda is hindered and thwarted by the stolid ignorance of the Russian peasantry, who give to the Tsar a blind devotion, and regard his person and his office with a superstitious veneration. In the face of this inertness and blindness of the Russian masses, the leaders of the revolt are helpless,—all of which affords a fresh illustration of the truth that Revolution is impossible without Renaissance and Reformation. Russia, as regards the common people, has had neither. The Political Revolution awaits the intellectual revival and the moral reform.

At the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1878-1879, the liberal movement assumed a violent phase,—just as the Revolution in France did in 1793,—being then transformed into what is known as Terrorism. Nihilism took this form under the persecutions and repressions of the government. Terrorism, says in substance the historian Alphons Thun, is the product of a relentless battle between a despotic government and a party of desperate young men, neither of which shrinks from the use of any means however violent.¹⁸

The principle of these extreme Nihilists, or Terrorists, that assassination is a righteous means of political reform, was now acted upon. Many officers of the government were murdered as the “hell brood of despotism,” and various attempts were made upon the life of the Tsar. Stricter repressive measures were instituted, and at length Count Melikoff was appointed as a sort of dictator. Although he introduced many reforms in the administration of the government, yet he refused to change its form according to the demands of the Nihilists, so the dangerous opposition to the Tsar’s government continued unabated. Finally, on March 13, 1881, the Tsar Alexander was assassinated by means of a bomb.

¹⁸ Speaking of this transformation in the Nihilists, Leroy-Beaulieu says, “The men who at first seemed to take for their model the apostolate of a religion of peace, suddenly sought their inspiration in the examples of heathen antiquity.”

The son of the murdered Tsar, who now came to the throne as Alexander III, immediately instituted a still more sternly repressive system than that pursued by his father, whom he seemed to regard as the victim of the over-liberal policy of the earlier years of his reign. It was his determination to close his dominions against the entrance of all liberal or progressive ideas, political, religious, and scientific, of Western Europe. A rigid censorship of the press was established (1884), and the writings of such authors as Huxley, Spencer, Agassiz, Lyell, and Adam Smith were forbidden circulation.

Tsar Nicholas II, who upon the death of Alexander III in 1894 acceded to the throne, has pursued a like policy of absolutism and repression.¹⁹

There can be but one outcome to this contest between the "Autocrat of all the Russias" and his subjects. Either through

¹⁹ Like all autocrats the Tsars have aimed at the establishment of uniformity throughout their Empire. Their maxim has been, "One faith, one king, one law." The recent dealings of Tsar Nicholas with Finland will illustrate how all the non-Russian races of the Empire are made the victims of the policy of the Tsars to Russianize their dominions. Finland (compare par. 380) was ceded to Russia by Sweden in 1809. It formed a grand duchy of the Russian Empire. It had a liberal constitution which the Tsars had sworn to maintain, and which secured the Finns a full measure of local self-government. Under their constitution the Finns, who number about two million souls, were a loyal, contented and prosperous people. During the years 1899-1902 the Tsar Nicholas by a series of imperial decrees practically annulled the ancient Finnish constitution and reduced the country to the condition of an administrative district of the Empire. It is now governed autocratically by imperial edicts, which are carried out by Russian officials. The Russian language has been made the language of chief official use. In a word, Finland has been made a second Poland.

It is not simply compact, national communities like the Finnish people which are the victims of the policy of the Russian rulers to Russianize their Empire. The Jews, who form a large scattered element of the population of Russia, are, as a non-Russian and unorthodox race, looked upon with disfavor by the government and are subjected to a variety of mediæval disabilities and restrictions. This unhappy people are also the victims of a bitter popular race prejudice and hatred. — a feeling engendered by a variety of causes, racial, religious, and economic. This popular feeling, taken in connection with the hostile attitude of the government, has resulted in a series of local riots and disturbances, of which the most serious was the recent terrible massacre of the Jews of Kishinev (1903), which has called out indignant remonstrances from all parts of the civilized world.

wise concessions on the part of its rulers, or through the throes of a terrible revolution like that of 1789 in France, the Russian Empire will sooner or later come to possess a constitutional representative government. The Tsars of Russia are simply fighting the hopeless battle that has been fought and lost by the despotic sovereigns of every other European country, a battle which has the same invariable issue, — the triumph of liberal principles and the admission of the people to a participation in the government.²⁰

483. The Tsar Nicholas and the International Peace Conference. — Just as the nineteenth century was nearing its end the Tsar Nicholas surprised the world by proposing to all the governments having representatives at the Russian court the meeting of a conference “to consider means of insuring the general peace of the world and of putting a limit to the progressive increase of armaments which weigh upon all nations.”

There were those who doubted the Tsar's good faith in making this proposal; but there is no sufficient reason for calling in question his sincerity. His action, like that of his grandfather Alexander II in organizing the Holy Alliance (par. 475), was doubtless prompted by noble sentiments and genuine humanitarian feelings.

All the governments addressed accepted the proposal, and in 1899 the Convention met at The Hague in the Netherlands. The most important outcome of the deliberations of the body was the establishment of a permanent International Court of Arbitration to which all nations may have recourse for the settlement of interstate disputes.

The formation of this international court is a most noteworthy event. In the words of a recent writer, “It may be

²⁰ Another matter of supreme interest in nineteenth-century Russian history is the extraordinary expansion of the Russian Empire in Asia. Concerning this important phase of Russian history we shall say something in the following chapter, where we shall outline the general expansion movement of the European nations during the period of which we are treating.

possible that looking back a hundred years from now it will be seen that its establishment was the most important single event of modern times." Certain it is that the creation of the tribunal will hasten the coming of the time when the barbarous wager of battle between nations shall have become such a tradition of an outgrown past as is now the old wager of battle between individuals.²¹

Sources and Source Material. — *The Life and Letters of Madame de Krüdener*, by Clarence Ford. *The European Concert in the Eastern Question* (a collection of documents edited by Thomas Erskine Holland, Oxford, 1885). Contains the text not only of all the important treaties affecting the relations of Russia and the Ottoman Empire since 1826, but also of all those "treaties and other diplomatic acts which are the title-deeds of the states which have been wholly or partially freed by the European Concert from the sovereignty of the Porte." A few of the documents are in French. HAMLEY (E. B.), *The Story of the Campaign* (Boston, 1855). This is a graphic account of the Crimean War, "written in a tent in the Crimea," by an English officer. *The War Correspondence of the Daily News, 1877-1878*, 2 vols. GREENE (F. V.), *Report on the Russian Army and its Campaigns in Turkey in 1877-1878*. HOLLS (F. W.), *The Peace Conferences at The Hague*.

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²¹ See *The Middle Ages*, par. 58. Andrew Carnegie, recognizing the import of the work of the Convention for the peace of the world, has made a gift of \$1,500,000 for the erection at The Hague of a permanent home for the Court, — what is to be known as "The Temple of Peace."

CHAPTER XXIV

EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. CAUSES AND GENERAL PHASES OF THE EXPANSION MOVEMENT

484. Introductory. — In speaking of the establishment of the European colonies and settlements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we likened this expansion of Europe into Greater Europe to the expansion in antiquity of Greece into Greater Greece, and Rome into Greater Rome (par. 11). We have now to say something of the later phases of this wonderful outward movement of the European peoples.

In the first place we should note that it is this expansion movement which gives such significance to that intellectual, moral, and political development of the European peoples which we have been studying. This evolution might well be likened to the religious evolution in ancient Judea. That development of a new religion was a matter of transcendent importance because the new faith was destined not for a little corner of the earth but for all the world. Likewise the creation by Renaissance, Reformation, and Revolution of a new, rich, and progressive civilization in Europe is a matter of vast importance to universal history because that civilization has manifestly been wrought out not for a single continent or for a single race but for all the continents and for all mankind.

We are now to see how the bearers of this new culture have carried or are carrying it to all lands, and are communicating it to all peoples, thereby opening up a new era not alone in the history of Europe but in the history of the world.

485. The Fate of the Earlier Colonial Empires; Decline and Revival of Interest in Colonies. — The history we have narrated has revealed the fate of all the colonial empires founded by the various European nations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The magnificent Portuguese empire soon became the spoil of the Dutch and the English; France lost her colonial possessions to England; a great part of the colonies of the Dutch also finally fell into English hands; before the end of the eighteenth century England lost through revolution her thirteen colonies in North America; and in the early part of the nineteenth century Spain in like manner lost all her dependencies on the mainland of the New World.¹

After these discouraging experiences with their colonies the governments of Europe lost interest for awhile in possessions beyond the seas. Statesmen came to hold the doctrine that colonies are "like fruit, which as soon as ripe falls from the tree." The English minister Disraeli, in referring to England's colonial possessions, once used these words: "Those wretched colonies are millstones about our neck."

Before the close of the nineteenth century, however, there sprang up a most extraordinary revival of interest in colonies and dependencies, and the leading European states began to compete eagerly for over-the-sea possessions.

486. Causes of the Revived Interest in Colonies. — A variety of causes concurred to awaken or to foster this new interest in colonies. One cause is to be found in the rapid increase during the nineteenth century of the people of European stock. At the beginning of the century the estimated population of Europe (excluding Turkey) was about one hundred and sixty millions; at the end of the century it had risen to four hundred and thirty-six millions. During this same period the

¹ For notices of the rise and decline of the Portuguese empire, see pars. 5, 7 8 note 12, and 430 note 2; of the Dutch, pars. 133, 225, 347 note 47, and 493 note 15; of the French, pars. 150, 180, 282, and 361; of the English, pars. 75, 108, 191, and 283; and of the Spanish, pars. 12-14, 431, and 432.

number of people of European stock in the world at large rose from about one hundred and seventy millions to over five hundred millions.² This increase in numbers of the European peoples is one of the most important facts in modern history. It has caused Europe to overflow and to inundate the world. It has made the smallest of the continents the mother and nursery of nations.³

The political significance of this great outward movement, which almost unnoticed for a long time by European statesmen was creating a new Europe outside of Europe and shifting the center of gravity of the European world, at last attracted the attention of the governments of Europe and awakened an unwonted interest in colonies and dependencies.

A second cause is to be found in the industrial revolution which began in England towards the end of the eighteenth century (par. 286) and which gradually transformed the industrial life of all the more advanced nations. The enormous quantity of fabrics and wares of every kind, which the new processes of manufacture created, impelled traders to seek new outlets for their goods, and thus there arose a sharp competition among commercial classes in the different nations for the control of the markets in the uncivilized or semi-civilized lands beyond the frontiers of the European world, which the new and improved means of transportation had now brought within easy reach of the great manufacturing centers. In order to secure a monopoly of these markets for their subjects it was thought necessary by the European governments

² These earlier numbers must be regarded as mere approximations. We have no reliable figures for the beginning of the century. Census-taking is practically a nineteenth-century innovation, save in two or three countries.

³ The great tide of emigration which during the past century has flowed from Europe into the unoccupied places of the world was not set in motion by any single cause. With the pressure arising from the growing population of Europe, which may be regarded as the primary cause of the movement, there concurred a great variety of other causes, political, religious, and economic in their nature, such as have always been inciting or fostering causes in every great migration and colonization movement known to history.

to take possession of these lands or to establish protectorates over them.

A third cause, one which tended to give a general character to the colonial movement, was the manifest advantage that England was deriving from her colonial possessions, especially as revealed on the occasions of Queen Victoria's Golden and Diamond Jubilees in 1887 and 1897, when there passed along the streets of London imposing processions of representatives of all the races of the British Empire. This spectacle, unparalleled in modern times in its suggestions of imperial riches and power, produced a profound impression upon the witnessing nations. It stirred in them a spirit of emulation and made them eager to secure colonial possessions and dependencies that they too like England might rule over many lands and races.

Thus it came about through these and other influences that during the last fifteen or twenty years of the nineteenth century almost all the old colonizing peoples of Europe were exerting themselves to the utmost to build up new empires to take the place of those that were lost, while other nations that had never possessed colonies now also began to compete eagerly with those earlier in the field for over-the-sea possessions.

487. Stanley's Discoveries open up the "Dark Continent." — By the time, however, of this awakening of the governments of Europe to the importance of colonies almost all the lands outside of Europe suited to European settlement were closed against true colonizing enterprises by having been appropriated by England, or through their being in the control of independent states that had grown out of colonies planted by immigrants of European speech and blood. The makers of new empires had no longer the whole world before them from which to choose.

Africa, however, was still left. For a century intrepid explorers had been endeavoring to uncover the mysteries of that continent. Among these was the missionary-explorer

David Livingstone. He died in 1873. His mantle fell upon Henry M. Stanley, who a short time after the death of Livingstone set out on an adventurous expedition across Africa⁴ (1874-1877), in which journey he discovered the course of the Congo and learned the nature of its great basin. Not since the discoveries of the age of Columbus had there been any discoveries in the domain of geography comparable in importance to these of Stanley.

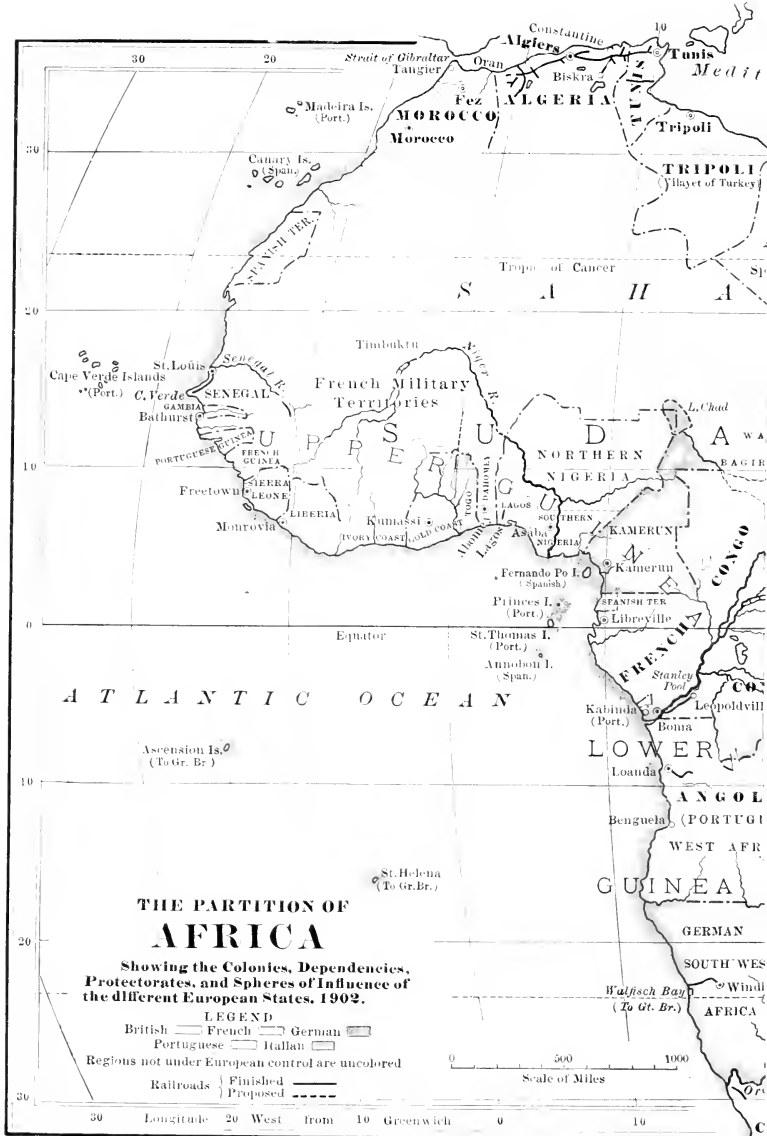
Stanley gave the world an account of his journey in a book bearing the title *Through the Dark Continent*. The appearance of this work marks an epoch in the history of Africa. It inspired innumerable enterprises, political, commercial, and philanthropic, whose aim was to exploit the natural resources of the continent and to open it up to civilization.

488. The Founding of the Congo Free State (1885). — One immediate outcome of the writings and discoveries of Stanley was the founding of the Congo Free State.

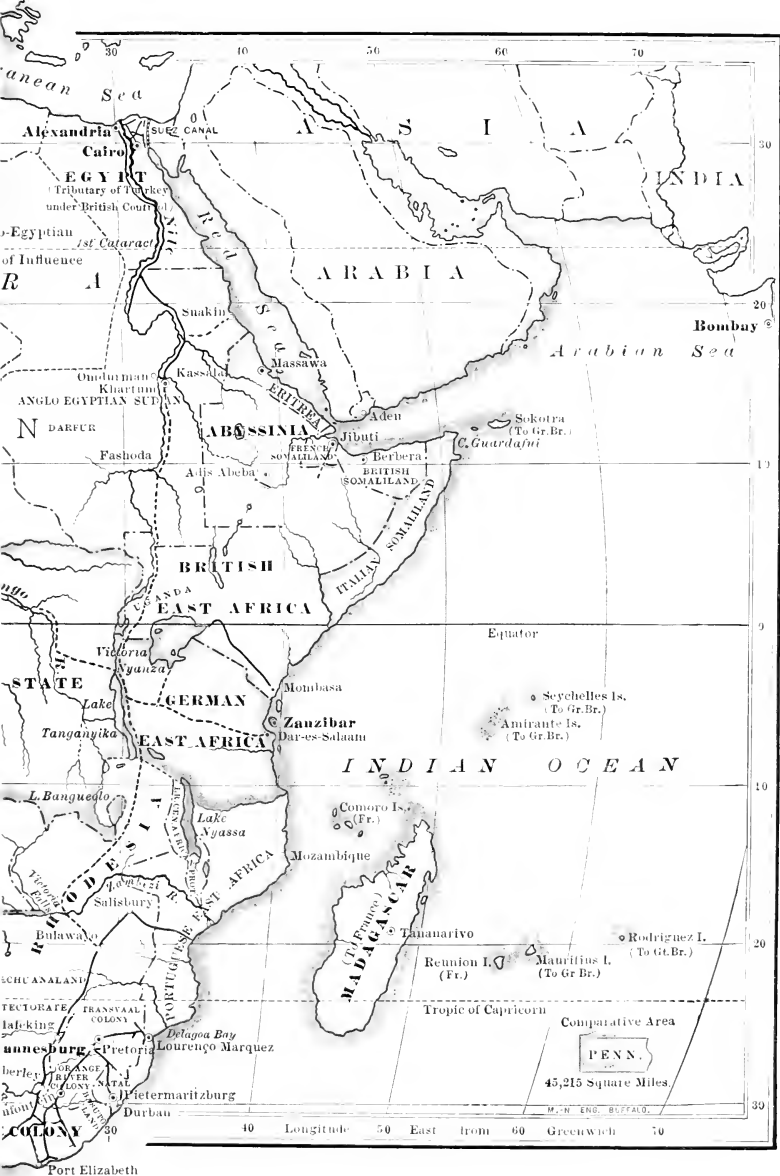
King Leopold II of Belgium was one of those whose imagination was touched by the vast possibilities of the African continent. He conceived the idea of establishing in the valley of the Congo a great state which should be a radiating center for the diffusion of the benefits of civilization over the Dark Continent. Through his efforts an International African Association was formed, under whose auspices Stanley, after his return from his second expedition, was sent out to establish stations in the Congo basin and to lay there the foundation of European order and government.

The Association had found in Stanley a remarkably able lieutenant. His work as an organizer and administrator was carried on almost continuously for five years (1879-1884), "long years of bitter labor," as he himself speaks of them. He made treaties with over four hundred and fifty native chiefs, who ceded to him their sovereign rights over their lands. He founded numerous stations along the banks of the

⁴ Stanley had made an earlier expedition (1871-1872) in search of Livingstone.



Cape Town
 C. of Good Hope



Congo and its tributaries. By these and like labors Stanley became the real founder of what is now known as the Congo Free State and earned a place among the great administrators and state builders of modern times.⁵

489. The Partition of Africa. — The discoveries of Stanley and the founding of the Congo Free State were the signal for a scramble among the powers of Europe for African territory. England, France, and Germany were the strongest competitors and they got the largest shares. In the short space of fifteen years Africa became a dependency of Europe. The only native states retaining their independence by the end of the nineteenth century were Abyssinia and Morocco, together with the negro republic of Liberia, the government of which is in the hands of American freedmen or their descendants.

This transference of the control of the affairs of Africa from the hands of its native inhabitants or those of Asiatic Mohammedan intruders to the hands of Europeans is without question the most momentous transaction in the history of that continent, and one which determines its future destiny.⁶

In the following sections of this chapter, in which we propose briefly to rehearse the part which each of the leading European states has taken in the general expansion movement, we shall necessarily have to speak of the part which each played in the partition of Africa, and tell what each secured.

⁵ The Congo Free State has an estimated population of thirty millions. King Leopold of Belgium is the head of the state, whose independence and sovereignty has been recognized by the United States and most of the governments of Europe. The state is not a Belgian colony; it is merely an appanage of the Belgian crown. A railroad projected by Stanley, two hundred and fifty miles in length, has been built around the falls of the Congo. This enterprise has brought into touch with civilization a vast region which throughout all the long period of history up to the time of Stanley's achievement had been absolutely cut off from communication with the civilized races of mankind.

⁶ Almost all the European states during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had maintained forts and stations on the African coast but they had not penetrated beyond the shore land. The whole interior of the continent, the "hinterland," as it is called, remained practically unknown and unvisited.

II. THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND

490. England in America ; the Dominion of Canada. — The separation of the thirteen American colonies from England in 1776 (par. 283) seemed to give a fatal blow to English hopes of establishing a great colonial empire in America. But half of North America still remained in English hands.

Gradually the attractions of British North America as a dwelling-place for settlers of European stock became known. Immigration, mostly from the British Isles, increased in volume, so that the growth of the country in population during the nineteenth century was phenomenal, rising from about a quarter of a million at the opening of the period to over five millions at its close.

One of the most important matters in the political history of Canada since the country passed under English rule is the granting of responsible government to the provinces in 1841. Up to that time England's colonial system was in principle like that which had resulted in the loss to the British Empire of the thirteen colonies. The concession marked a new era in the history of English colonization. The Canadian provinces now became in all home matters absolutely self-governing.⁷

The concession of complete self-government to the provinces was followed, in 1867, by the union of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in a federal state under the name of the Dominion of Canada.⁸ The constitution of the Dominion, save as to the federal principle, is modeled after the British, wherein it differs from the recently framed Australian constitution, which follows closely that of the United States.

⁷ The treaty-making power and matters of peace and war are still in the hands of the home government.

⁸ Later the confederation was joined by British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, and other provinces. Newfoundland has steadily refused to join the union.

The political union of the provinces made possible the successful accomplishment of one of the great engineering undertakings of our age. This was the construction of a transcontinental railroad from Montreal to Vancouver. This road has done for the confirming of the federal union and for the industrial development of the Dominion what the building of similar transcontinental lines has done for the United States.

By reason of its vast geographical extent, — its area is more than thirty-five times as great as that of the British Isles, — its inexhaustible mineral deposits, its unrivaled fisheries, its limitless forests, grazing lands, and wheat fields, its bracing climate, and above all its free institutions, the Dominion of Canada seems marked out to be one of the great future homes of the Anglo-Saxon race. What the United States now is, the Dominion seems destined at a time not very remote to become.

491. England in Australasia;⁹ **the proclamation of the Commonwealth of Australia** (1901). — About the time that England lost her American colonies the celebrated navigator Captain Cook reached and explored the shores of New Zealand and Australia (1769–1771). Disregarding the claims of earlier visitors to these lands, he took possession of the islands for the British crown.

The best use to which England could at first think to put the new lands was to make them a place of exile for criminals. The first shipload of convicts was landed at Botany Bay in Australia in 1788. But the agricultural riches of the new lands, their adaptability to stock raising, and the healthfulness of the climate soon drew to them a stream of English immigrants.

⁹ Australasia, meaning "south land of Asia," is the name under which Australia and New Zealand are comprehended. Here, as in South Africa, in Canada, and in India, England appeared late on the ground. The Spaniards and the Dutch had both preceded her. The presence of the Dutch is witnessed by the names New Holland (the earlier name of Australia) and New Zealand attaching to the greater islands.

In 1851 came the announcement of the discovery of fabulously rich deposits of gold, and then set in a tide of immigration such as the world has seldom seen.

Before the close of the century five flourishing colonies (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and West Australia), with an aggregate population, including that of the neighboring island of Tasmania, of almost four millions, had grown up along the fertile well-watered rim of the Australian continent, and had developed free institutions similar to those of the mother country.

The great political event in the history of these colonies was their consolidation, just at the opening of the twentieth century, into the Commonwealth of Australia, a federal union like our own.

The vast possibilities of the future of this new Anglo-Saxon commonwealth in the South Pacific has impressed in an unwonted way the imagination of the world. It is possible that in the coming periods of history this new Britain will hold some such place in the Pacific as the motherland now holds in the Atlantic.

492. England in Asia. — We have noted the founding of the British Empire in India.¹⁰ Throughout the nineteenth century England steadily advanced the frontiers of her dominions here and consolidated her power until by the close of the century she had brought either under her direct rule or under her suzerainty almost three hundred millions of Asiatics,¹¹ — much the largest number of human beings, so far as history knows, ever united under a single scepter.

We must here note how England's occupation of India and her large interests in the trade of Southern and Eastern Asia involved her during the century in several wars and shaped in great measure her foreign policies.

¹⁰ See par. 282, notes 18, 20, 21.

¹¹ By the census of 1901 the population of the British Indian Empire (this includes the feudatory states) was 294,461,056.

One of the earliest of these wars was that known as the First Afghan War of 1838-1842, into which she was drawn through her jealousy of Russia.¹²

At the same time England became involved in the so-called Opium War with China¹³ (1839-1842). As a result of this war England obtained by cession from China the island and port of Hong-Kong, which she has made one of the most important commercial and naval stations of her Empire. In 1901 over twenty-four thousand vessels entered the ports of the island.

Scarcely was the Opium War ended before England was involved in a gigantic struggle with Russia, — the Crimean War, already spoken of in connection with Russian history (par. 479). From our present standpoint we can better understand why England threw herself into the conflict on

¹² England's endeavor here was to maintain Afghanistan as a buffer state between her Indian possessions and the expanding Russian Empire. The war was marked by a great tragedy — the virtual annihilation in the wild mountain passes leading from India into Afghanistan of an Anglo-Indian army of 16,000 men. In a "punitive expedition" the English burned the chief bazaar of Cabul, and then withdrawing from the country left the Afghans — for a time — to themselves. There was a second Afghan war in 1879-1880. This was brought on by the English trespassing upon Afghan territory under the alleged necessity, created by the advance of Russia in Central Asia, of finding somewhere in Afghanistan a "scientific frontier" for the Indian Empire. The country was occupied by garrisons, but later the English troops were withdrawn and the "scientific frontier" was abandoned.

¹³ The opium traffic between India and China had grown into gigantic proportions and had become an important source of wealth to the British merchants and of revenue to the Indian government. The Chinese government, however, awake to the evils of the growing use of the narcotic, forbade the importation of the drug; but the British merchants, notwithstanding the imperial prohibition, persisted in the trade, and chiefly through the corrupt connivance of the Chinese officials succeeded in smuggling large quantities of the article into the Chinese market. Finally the government seized and destroyed all the opium stored in the warehouses of the British traders at Canton. This act, together with other "outrages," led to a declaration of war on the part of England. British troops now took possession of Canton, and the Chinese government, whose troops were as helpless as children before European soldiers, was soon forced to agree to the Treaty of Nanking. Besides the cession of Hong-Kong, several important ports were by this treaty opened to British traders, and the perpetuation of the nefarious traffic in opium was secured.

the side of Turkey. She fought to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in order that her own great rival, Russia, might be prevented from seizing Constantinople and the Bosphorus, and from that point controlling the affairs of Asia through the command of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The echoes of the Crimean War had barely died away before England was startled by the most alarming intelligence from the country for the secure possession of which English soldiers had borne their part in the fierce struggle before Sevastopol.

In 1857 there broke out in the armies of the East India Company what is known as the Sepoy Mutiny.¹⁴ Fortunately many of the native regiments stood firm in their allegiance to England, and with their aid the revolt was speedily crushed. As a consequence of the mutiny the government of India was by act of Parliament taken out of the hands of the East India Company and vested in the English crown. Since this transfer the Indian government has been conducted on the principle that "English rule in India should be for India."

¹⁴ The causes of the uprising were various. The crowd of deposed princes was one element of discontent. A widespread conviction among the natives, awakened by different acts of the English, that their religion was in danger, in connection with an old prophecy of the Hindu soothsayers that just one hundred years from the battle of Plassey (par. 282) the English power in India would be overthrown, was another of the causes that led to the rebellion. There were also military grievances of which the native soldiers complained.

The mutiny broke out simultaneously at different points. By preconcerted signals the native regiments arose against their English officers and slew them. The atrocities committed by the rebels at Cawnpur sent a thrill of horror throughout the civilized world. Nana Sahib had slain the garrison and crowded about two hundred English women and children, the families of the murdered soldiers, into a small chamber. They were spared the fate of the prisoners in the Black Hole of Calcutta (par. 282, note 20), but only to meet a more terrible one. Fearing that the English forces, advancing by forced marches under General Henry Havelock, would effect a rescue of the prisoners, Nana Sahib employed five assassins, some of them butchers by trade, to go into the room with their swords and knives and kill them all. The work required two hours. Then the bodies were dragged out and flung into a neighboring well, where they were found by the rescuing party, which arrived just too late to prevent the tragedy.

Within the last four decades the country has undergone in every respect a surprising transformation. The railways begun by the East India Company have been extended in every direction and now cover the peninsula as with a network, while projected lines are being drawn on the one side towards China, and on the other across Afghanistan, Persia, and Arabia to Alexandria in Egypt. All the chief cities are united by telegraph lines. Irrigation works on a vast scale have been constructed. Public schools have been opened and universities and colleges founded. Between seven and eight hundred newspapers published in the different native dialects are sowing western ideas broadcast among the people. The introduction of European science and civilization is rapidly undermining many of the old superstitions and customs, particularly the ancient system of caste.

There are without question offsets to these good results of English rule in India ; nevertheless it is one of the most important facts of modern history, and one of special import as bearing on our present study, that nearly three hundred millions of the population of Asia should thus have passed, whether for better or for worse, under the rule and wardship of a European nation.

493. England in South Africa ; Boer and Briton. — England has played a great part in the partition of Africa, and as usual has got the lion's share of the spoils, not as to the size of her portion but as to its real value.

Her first appearance upon the continent in Egypt and at the Cape was brought about through her solicitude for her East India possessions and the security of her routes thither. Later she joined in the scramble of European powers for African territories for their own sake.

The Dutch had preceded the English in South Africa. They began their settlement at the Cape about the middle of the seventeenth century in the great days of Holland. During the French Revolution and again during Napoleon's

ascendancy the English took the Dutch colony under their protection. After the downfall of Napoleon in 1814 the colony was ceded to England by the Netherlands.¹⁵

The Dutch settlers refused to become reconciled to the English rule. In 1836 a large number of these aggrieved colonists took the heroic resolve of abandoning their old homes and going out into the African wilderness in search of new ones. This was a resolution worthy of their ancestry, for these African Pilgrims were descendants of those Dutch patriots who fought so heroically against Philip II, and of Huguenot refugees who in the seventeenth century fled from France to escape the tyranny of Louis XIV (par. 177).

This migration is known as "The Great Trek."¹⁶ The immigrants journeyed from the Cape towards the northeast, driving their herds before them and carrying their women and children and all their earthly goods in great clumsy ox carts. Beyond the Orange River some of the immigrants unyoked their oxen and set up their homes, laying there the basis of the Orange Free State; the more intrepid "trekked" still farther to the north, across the Vaal River, and established the republic of the Transvaal.

Two generations passed, a period filled for the little republics, surrounded by hostile African tribes, with anxieties and fighting. Then there came a turning point in their history. In the year 1885 gold deposits of extraordinary richness were discovered in the Transvaal. Straightway there began a tremendous inrush of miners and adventurers from all parts of the globe.

A great portion of these newcomers were English-speaking people. As aliens—*Uitlanders*, "outlanders," they were called

¹⁵ After the loss of the Cape settlement the island of Java was the most important colonial possession remaining to the Dutch. Gradually they got possession of the greater part of the large island of Sumatra, in which they had early established factories. These two islands form the heart of the Dutch East Indies of to-day, which embrace a native population of about 36,000,000.

¹⁶ *Trek* is Dutch for "migration" or "journey."

—they were excluded from any share in the government, although they made up two-thirds of the population of the little state and paid the greater part of the taxes. They demanded the franchise. The Boers, under the lead and inspiration of the sturdy President of the Transvaal, Paul Krüger, refused to accede to their demands, urging that this would mean practically the surrender of the independence of the Republic and its annexation to the British Empire.

The controversy grew more and more bitter and soon ripened into war between England and the Transvaal (1899). The Orange Free State joined its little army to that of its sister state,—an act in which James Bryce declares there was “an heroic quality not surpassed by anything in the history of the classical peoples.”¹⁷

At the outset the Boers, who are very expert with their rifles, were everywhere successful, inflicting one disastrous defeat after another upon the English forces, while the world looked on in amazement. The British Empire in Africa was threatened with destruction. England was stirred as she had not been stirred since the Sepoy Mutiny in India. An army of three hundred thousand men, gathered from all parts of the British Empire, was hastily thrown into South Africa, and the supreme command intrusted to the able and experienced general, Lord Roberts.

After the maintenance of the war for over two years the last of the Boer bands surrendered (1902). As the outcome of the war both of the republics were annexed to the British Empire under the names of the Transvaal Colony and Orange River Colony.

These new acquisitions, taken in connection with Cape Colony, Natal, and the various protectorates and dependencies which England has established in West, East, and Central

¹⁷ The total European or white population of the two little republics that thus threw down the gage of battle to the most powerful empire of modern times was only a little over 300,000.

Africa,¹⁸ form a vast empire, a considerable portion of which is well suited to European settlement.

A political ideal of English statesmen is the union of all the English and Anglo-Dutch colonies and states of South Africa into a great federation like the Canadian and Australian. This was a favorite project of the late South African statesman, Cecil Rhodes, one of the most masterful men of his generation. Such a federation must be the ultimate destiny of these colonies; and if only the present bitter antagonism between Boer and Briton die away here, as the once like antagonism between French and Briton has died away in Canada, such a federal state could not fail of having a great future. Said the English general, Lord Kitchener, to the people of Cape Town on the occasion of his leave-taking of them, "You have the making of nothing less than a new America in the Southern Hemisphere."

It is impossible to form any adequate idea of the impulse which a powerful South African state of Anglo-Dutch stock—a rare blend of races—would exert on the material, the political, and the social development of the whole continent.

Another important project of the English is the building of a Cape-to-Cairo railroad. This, like the political scheme of a federation, was also a favorite project of Cecil Rhodes. Already his dream has been in great part realized. The projected line has now (1903) been carried northward from Cape Town over fifteen hundred miles, almost to the celebrated Victoria Falls on the Zambesi; while at the other end of the continent the road has been pushed up the Nile from Cairo to Khartum, a distance of over thirteen hundred miles (including a little over two hundred miles of river navigation above Assuan). This railway when completed, as it without doubt will be at no very remote date, will be a potent factor in the opening up to civilization of the Dark Continent.

¹⁸ An idea of the situation and extent of these can best be gained by the use of the map after page 584.

494. England in Egypt.—In 1876 England and France established what was in effect a dual protectorate over Egypt in order to secure against loss their subjects who were holders of Egyptian bonds.¹⁹ Six years later, in 1882, there broke out in the Egyptian army a mutiny against the authority of the Khedive. France declining to act with England in suppressing the disorder, England moved alone in the matter. The result of her intervention was the establishment of an English protectorate over the country.

In 1885 a second expedition had to be sent out to the same country. The Sudanese, subjects of the Khedive, encouraged by the disorganized condition of the Egyptian government, had revolted and were threatening the Egyptian garrisons in the Sudan with destruction. An Anglo-Egyptian army pushed its way up the Nile to the relief of Khartum, where General Gordon, the modern English knight-errant, was in command of the Egyptian troops and trying — to use his own phrase — to “smash the Mahdi,” the military prophet and leader of the Sudanese Arabs. The expedition arrived too late, Khartum having fallen just before relief reached the town. Gordon perished with most of his followers.

The English troops were now recalled and the Sudan was abandoned to the rebel Arabs. For over a decade this southern land remained under the cruel rule of the Mahdi and his successor. The country was devastated by fire and sword, and Egypt was continually harassed by raids of the dervishes.

Finally in 1896 the English sent up the Nile another expedition under General Kitchener for the recovery of the lost territory. The undertaking was successful, and the Eastern Sudan and a vast territory embracing the basin of the Nile

¹⁹ Egypt was at that time and still is nominally an hereditary principality under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte. Practically it was then an independent state and now is virtually a part of the British Empire; for no one doubts that the present English protectorate will in time be converted into absolute dominion. English statesmen are beginning to regard Egypt as an indispensable link in England's chain of stations uniting her Asian empire to the home land.

and its tributaries were again brought under the rule of the Khedive, that is to say, under the administrative control of England (1898).

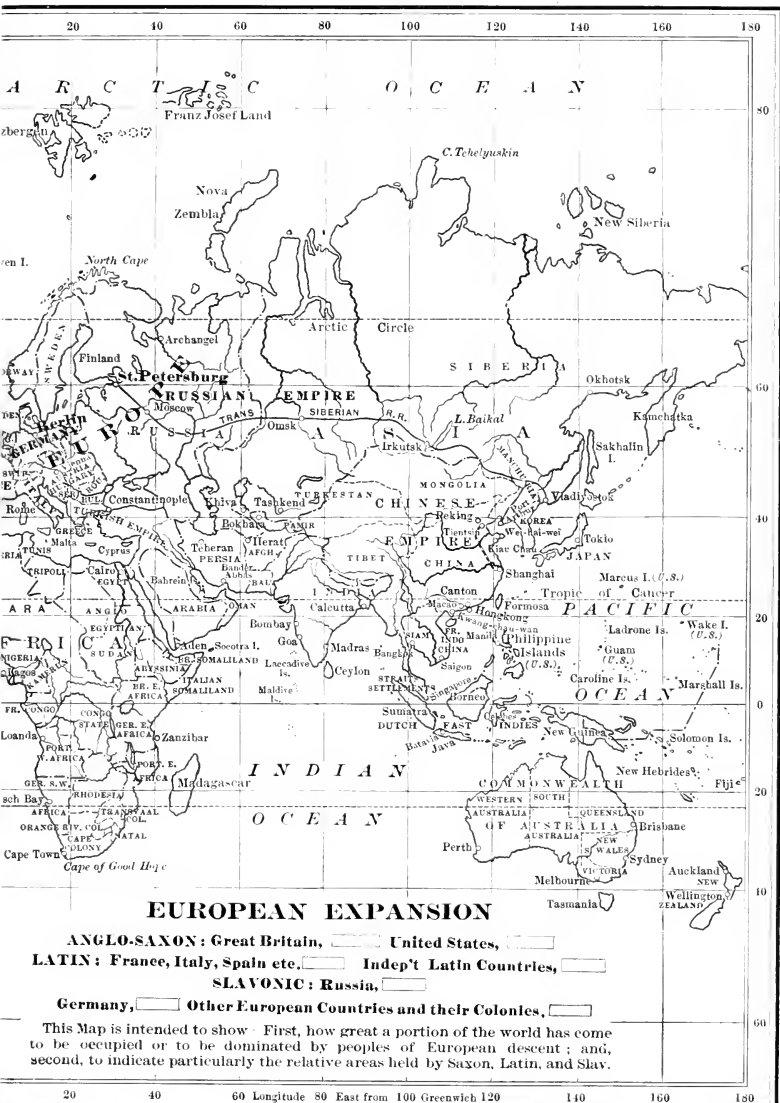
No part of the world has benefited more by European control than Egypt. When England assumed the administration of its affairs it was in every respect one of the most wretched of the lands under the rule, actual or nominal, of the Turkish Sultan. In twenty years everything has undergone an amazing transformation. The country is now, according to the claims of eminent English authority, more prosperous than at any previous period of its history, not excepting the time of the rule of the Pharaohs.

This high degree of prosperity has been secured mainly through England's having given Egypt the two things declared necessary to its prosperity — "justice and water."

An important agent in the restoration of Egypt has been the railway referred to in the preceding paragraph, which has been carried up the Nile to Khartum. From Khartum radiating lines are projected east, west, and south, which when completed will make a vast region well suited to cotton and wheat raising and possessing a population of many millions, not only tributary to the material wealth of the world but also a part of the growing area of civilization.

But the most beneficent work thus far of the English in Egypt has been the construction of an irrigation or storage dam across the Nile at the first cataract (at Assuan). This is one of the greatest engineering achievements of modern times. The dam retains the surplus waters of the Nile in flood times and releases them gradually during the months of low water. This constant supply of water for irrigation purposes will, it is estimated, increase by a third the agricultural capabilities of Egypt not only by greatly augmenting the area of fertile soil but by making it possible on much of the land to raise two and even three crops each year.





20 40 60 Longitude 80 East from 100 Greenwich 120 140 160 180

III. THE EXPANSION OF FRANCE

495. France in Africa. — At the opening of the nineteenth century France possessed only fragments of a once promising colonial empire.²⁰ From the long Napoleonic wars she emerged too exhausted to give any attention for a time to interests outside of the home land.

When finally she began to look about her for over-the-sea territories to make good her losses in America and Asia, it was the North African shore which on account of proximity (it is only twenty-four hours distant by steam from the southern ports of France), climate, and products naturally attracted her attention.

This region possesses great agricultural resources. In ancient times it was one of the richest grain tribute-paying provinces of the Roman Empire. Its climate is favorable for Latin European settlement. It is really geographically a part of Europe, "the true Africa beginning with the Sahara." Its annexation to France, so the French argue, would be simply its restoration to the continent of which it is climatically and historically an extension.

In the year 1830 France began the conquest of Algeria.²¹ The subjugation of the country was not effected without much hard fighting with the native tribes and a great expenditure in men and money. But the work was finally accomplished and an encouraging beginning thus made in the creation of a new French colonial empire.

In the year 1881, under the pretext of defending her Algerian frontier against the raids of the mountain tribes of

²⁰ In the New World she held the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off the coast of Newfoundland and several islets in the West Indies. In India she had retained a few stations on the coast. In Africa she possessed the colony of Senegal.

²¹ Algeria was at this time under the nominal suzerainty of the Turkish Sultan but he could do nothing in the way of protecting his vassal, the Dey of Algiers, on account of the exhausted state of the Ottoman Empire produced by the Greek revolt and the Russian war (par. 476).

Tunis on the east, France sent troops into that country and established a protectorate over it. This act of hers deeply offended the Italians, who had had their eye upon this district, regarding it as belonging to them by virtue of its geographical position as well as its historical traditions.²²

These North African territories form the most promising portion of France's new colonial empire. The more sanguine of her statesmen entertain hopes of ultimately creating here a new home for the French people,—a sort of New France. In any event it seems certain that all these shore lands, which in the seventh century were severed from Europe by the Arabian conquests, are now again permanently reunited to that continent and are henceforth to constitute virtually a part of the European world.

Besides these lands in North Africa, France possesses a vast domain in the region of the Senegal and lays claim to all the Sahara lying between her colony of Senegal and Algeria. She also holds extensive territories just north of the Congo Free State, embracing part of Central Sudan.²³ The island of Madagascar also forms a part of the French-African empire.

²² The Italians' resentment at being anticipated here by the French government is one of the roots which nourish to-day their ill-will towards France, and which contributed to drive the Italian government into the Triple Alliance (par. 469). Disappointed in not getting Tunis, the Italians attempted to secure a foothold in Africa on the Red Sea coast. They seized here a district and organized it under the name of the Colony of Eritrea; but they had hard luck almost from the first. The coast is hot and unhealthy and inland is the kingdom of Abyssinia. Over this the Italians attempted to establish a protectorate; but unfortunately for them Abyssinia does not regard herself as one of the uncivilized or moribund states over which it is necessary for Europeans to extend their protection. King Menelik of that country inflicted upon the Italian army a most disastrous defeat (1896). Since then the Italians have done very little in the way of developing their African possessions.

²³ The French were anxious to extend their authority eastward to the Nile, and in order to secure a claim to that region an expedition under Major Marchand made an adventurous march through Central Africa to the Nile and raised the French flag at Fashoda. It was just at the time of the reconquest of the Sudan by the English (par. 494) that the French thus appeared upon the Upper Nile. But French ambitions here crossed English interests. The English could not

It is to be feared that France will not find in Africa any such valuable possessions as in the eighteenth century she lost to England in America and Asia. Yet she has entered upon the work of opening up and developing her African empire with characteristic enthusiasm and expansiveness of plans. She has projects that aim at the redemption, by means of artesian wells, of extensive tracts of the Sahara which have a supply of subterranean waters. Thousands of wells have already been sunk in the arid lands back of the fertile Algerian coast and extensive groves of date palms thereby called into existence. It is thought not impracticable to create a line of these oases across the Sahara from the city of Constantine in Algeria to Timbuktu in the Sudan, and thus to facilitate the construction of a projected Trans-Saharan railway.

496. France in Asia. — In the year 1862 France secured a foothold near the mouth of the Cambodia River in Indo-China and has since then steadily enlarged her possessions until now she holds in those quarters territories (embracing Cochin-China, Cambodia, Anam, and Tonking) which exceed in extent the home land.

A chief aim of the French in this region is to secure the trade of Southern China. To this end they are projecting the extension northward into China, at a cost of \$20,000,000, of the system of railways they have already constructed. A concession for this great work has been secured from the Chinese government.

With these ample African and Asiatic territories France feels in a measure consoled for her losses in the past, and dreams of a brilliant career as one of the great colonizing powers of Europe. •

permit the upper regions of the Nile to be held by a hostile power, for the reason that the government which controls the Upper Nile holds Egypt at its mercy, since it would not be an impossible engineering feat to direct into the desert or to hold back in reservoirs the flood waters of the Nile and thereby bring all Egypt to ruin. After some sharp diplomatic exchanges between the French and English governments the French gave up all claim to any part of the Nile valley, and the "Fashoda incident," as it was called, was closed.

France has, however, one great handicap as a colonizing state. She has not, what both England and Germany have, a rapidly increasing population at home. Nor have her citizens that restless, adventurous spirit of the Anglo-Saxons which has driven them as conquerors and settlers into the remotest parts of the earth and made England the mother of innumerable colonies and states.

IV. THE EXPANSION OF GERMANY

497. German Emigrants lost to Germany. — No country of Europe during the expansion movement of the nineteenth century has supplied a greater number of emigrants for the settlement of transoceanic lands than Germany. But Germany has not until recently possessed under her own flag any over-the-sea territories, and consequently the vast number of emigrants she has sent out have sought homes in the United States, in the different English colonies, in the Spanish and Portuguese republics of South America, and even in the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire. In the United States and in the English colonies these German settlers have usually after the first generation lost their German traits and have become in effect Americans and Englishmen. Thus it happens that although Germany has during the century sent out vast swarms of emigrants no true Greater Germany has grown up outside of Europe.

Stimulated by the patriotic war of 1870-1871 against France, and the consolidation of the German Empire, German statesmen began to interest themselves in colonial matters and to dream of making Germany a world power. To this end it was deemed necessary to secure for Germany colonies where the German emigrants might live under the German flag, and, instead of contributing to the growth and prosperity of rival states, should remain Germans and constitute a part of the German nation.

498. Germany in Africa. — Consequently when the competition came for African territory Germany entered into the struggle with great zeal and got a fair share of the spoils.

In 1884 she declared a protectorate over a large region on the southwest coast of the Continent just north of the Orange River, and thus lying partly in the temperate zone. This region she has opened up to civilization by the construction of a railroad over two hundred and thirty miles in length running from the west coast inland.

At almost the same time she established two smaller protectorates in the tropic belt farther to the north. On the East African coast she seized a great territory, twice as large as Germany itself, embracing a part of the celebrated "Lake District." These upland regions are well adapted to European settlement and must in time be filled by people of European descent.

499. Germany in Asia. — The hopes of many German expansionists are centered in Western Asia rather than in Africa. Thousands of Germans have crowded into Asia Minor and Syria and have come to form in some districts an important element of the industrial and trading population. We have already noted the anxiety of the reigning German Emperor to establish friendly relations with the Turkish Sultan (par. 469). It is said to be his hope that ultimately Asia Minor and Syria will come to form a part of the German Empire. Certainly if the present process of the Germanization of those regions continues it is not at all unlikely that a large part of Western Asia will come eventually into some such relation to Germany as Egypt now sustains to England.

One of the most important projects of the Germans in these Asian regions is the extension of the Anatolian Railway, now under German control, from Konieh in Asia Minor down the Euphrates valley to Bagdad on the Lower Tigris. Such a line under German control would greatly enhance German influence in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Besides providing a new

and shorter route to India, — the route used by the ancient peoples, — it would open up to civilization the wonderfully fertile regions which formed the heart of the early and populous empires of Assyria and Babylonia. The restoration of these lands from their present artificial sterility would give back to mankind some of the choicest portions of their heritage, long given over to desolation and neglect.²⁴

German expansion presses not only on the Turkish Empire but also upon the Chinese Empire. In 1897 Germany, on the pretext of protecting German missionaries in China, seized the port of Kiau-Chau, and forced its practical cession from the Chinese government. This is a spot of great importance commercially and politically. The German government aims to make this colony a true German settlement and the outgoing point of German power and influence in the Far East. Several railroads reaching out into the neighboring Chinese territory are in process of construction. The "sphere of influence" which Germany has thus marked out for herself here, unless there shall come to China, as there has come to Japan, an awakening of the sense of nationality, is likely sometime to become a sphere of actual dominion.²⁵

V. THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIA

500. Russia as the Modern Rome. — Russia has large and numerous inland lakes and seas and vast rivers but she lacks seaboard. Her efforts to reach the sea in different directions is, as we have learned, the key to much of her history. It is

²⁴ Along with this railway project is being discussed a proposal for the restoration of the ancient irrigation works of the Tigris and Euphrates region. It is estimated by Sir William Willcocks that \$100,000,000 expended in the restoration of the irrigation system of the ancient Babylonians would bring a return of at least \$300,000,000. What has already been done for Egypt by the building of the great storage Nile dam at Assuan will almost certainly at no remote date be repeated here in what was formerly the "Asian Egypt."

²⁵ Besides the colonial possessions we have named, Germany holds a number of islands and groups of islands in the Pacific.

this which has given a special character to Russian expansion, — which has made it a movement by land instead of by sea, as in the case of all the other European states that have had a part in the great expansion movement.

The expansion of Russia is one of the most striking features of the great European development which we are following. Her conquests and colonizations have put her in possession of about one-seventh of the habitable earth, and made her one of the most potent political factors in the modern world.

Patriotic English writers are fond of comparing England's Empire to that of ancient Rome and the *Pax Britannica* to the *Pax Romana*. In the view of patriotic Russians these English patriots wholly misconceive England's real place in the modern world. To them Russia is the representative of the old Roman Empire, the heir of her traditions, of her world-wide sway, while England is the modern Carthage with the fate of old Carthage awaiting her in conflict with the modern Rome.

501. Russian Expansion in Asia; her Three Lines of Advance. — Russia has steadily gravitated towards the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and the Pacific. Only in Europe has her glacier-like movement been much impeded by the obstacles placed in her path by the jealousy of the other European powers. She made no material territorial gains in Europe, aside from the acquisition of Finland, during the nineteenth century, notwithstanding that she fought in three great wars for this end and shattered into fragments a great part of the Turkish Empire which lay between her and the goal of her ambition.

But in Asia the additions which Russia has made to her empire since the opening of the nineteenth century are not only immense in extent but most important to her politically and commercially. These annexations will best be remembered if we bear in mind the three chief objects Russia has had in view in her Asiatic acquisitions. These have been

(1) the securing of an outlet on the Persian Gulf; (2) the opening of an overland route to India; and (3) the securing of ice-free ports on the Pacific.

In pursuit of the first object, Russia, during the nineteenth century, conquered and absorbed the Caucasus and the Transcaucasian region. She dominates Northern Persia, and it is surmised that she has secretly secured from the Persian government the lease of Bender Abbas on the Persian Gulf and the concession for the construction of a railway across Persia from the Caspian Sea to this southern port.²⁶

Thus Russia's expansion in this quarter has given her a commanding position in Western Asia which makes her a formidable competitor with Germany and England for the political control of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Persia.

After Russia's failure in the Crimean War and in the war of 1878 against Turkey to secure Constantinople, she began "searching in the deserts of Central Asia for the key to the Bosphorus"; that is to say, Russia's policy was to push her outposts within striking distance of India, not with a view to wresting that country from England, but with the object of gaining a strong position from which she might sometime dictate terms to England respecting the disposition of the estate of the "sick man" of the Bosphorus.²⁷

During the latter half of the nineteenth century Russia steadily pushed forward her boundaries in Central Asia. She conquered or conciliated the tribes of Turkestan and advanced

²⁶ But England stands guard here just as she does at the Dardanelles. She has declared a sort of "Monroe Doctrine" for the Persian Gulf and warns off Russia and all other powers. She has good ground for her action, for the establishment of a Russian naval station on the Persian Gulf would destroy the security of England's route to India by way of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.

²⁷ This was the political motive actuating Russia in making her acquisitions in these regions. There were of course many other grounds for her activity. She wanted to secure lands for the settlement of her peasant colonists; she must needs in self-defense establish order among the restless and plundering tribes on her frontier; and she wanted to open up a route by which to reach the markets of India and draw to herself at least a part of the trade of British India.

her frontier in this quarter far towards the south — close up against Afghanistan. In the very heart of the continent her outposts are now established upon the lofty table-lands of the Panirs, “the Roof of the World.” Here her frontier and that of the British Empire are only twenty miles apart. The apprehension with which Russia’s steady advance in these regions has been viewed by England is shown by the constant efforts she has made to prevent Russian influence from becoming dominant in Afghanistan and to increase her own influence in that quarter.²⁸

In the extreme eastern part of Asia Russia has obtained from China the lease of Port Arthur (1898), one of the most important Asiatic harbors on the Pacific, and has recently occupied the large Chinese province of Manchuria, which occupation it is generally believed will end in the actual annexation of that magnificent domain to the Russian Empire.

Manchuria is probably better adapted to European settlement than any other thinly-peopled region in Asia, and can hardly fail to become, if it remain in Russian hands, the chief center of European population in Eastern Asia.

Thus in her expansion Russia has not only subjugated the wild nomadic tribes of Northern and Central Asia, but she has also wrested territories from the three semi-civilized states of the continent, Turkey, Persia, and China, and still crowds heavily upon all these countries, besides threatening to absorb the buffer state of Afghanistan. She overshadows Europe and dominates Asia. It is not a matter of wonder that the steady growth of this “Colossus of the North” awakens the apprehension of the rulers of India.

The outward movement we have traced has given Russia a physical basis which insures her a rapid and unimpeded development. It has made her a competitor for a place among the three or four probable world powers of the future. It has made pertinent the question, Will Slav or Saxon mould the

²⁸ See par. 492, note 12.

destinies of the coming time? As it is, Russia, with her population of a hundred and thirty millions, lacks only a common school system with compulsory education to make her a chief force in the world of to-day.

502. The Trans-Siberian Railway. — Russia's most noteworthy undertaking in connection with her Asiatic empire is the building of the Trans-Siberian railway, which now unites St. Petersburg with Port Arthur, the new Russian port on the Pacific. This is one of the most gigantic enterprises of its kind of our age.

The building of this road has done as much as any other single achievement of the past century to make the world small. Its effects upon the political relations in the Far East will be profound. It will cause Russia to face the Pacific. It will make accessible to Russian settlers the vast fertile regions of Southern Siberia, and will render that country a part of the civilized world; for though it may be true as to the past that "civilization has come riding on a gun carriage," now it comes riding on a locomotive.

VI. THE EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

503. The Growth of the United States a Part of the Great European Expansion Movement. — At first view it might seem that the growth of our own country should not be given a place in the present chapter. But the expansion of the United States is as truly a part of European expansion as is the increase of the English race in Canada, or in Australasia, or in South Africa. The circumstance that the development here has taken place since the severance of all political ties binding this country to the motherland is wholly immaterial. The Canadian, Australian, and African developments have as a matter of fact been expansion movements from practically secondary and independent centers of European settlement.

Hence to complete our survey of the movement which

has put in possession or in control of the European peoples so much of the earth, we must note — we can simply note — the expansion during the past century of the great American Commonwealth.

504. How the Territorial Acquisitions of the United States and its Growth in Population have contributed to assure the Predominance of the Anglo-Saxon Race in Greater Europe. — Six times during the nineteenth century the United States materially enlarged her borders.²⁹ These gains in territory were in the main at the expense of a Latin race, the Spanish. They have not therefore resulted in an actual increase in the possessions of the European peoples, but have simply contributed to the predominance, or have marked the growing predominance, in this new-forming European world of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Of even greater significance than the territorial expansion of the United States during the past century is the amazing growth of the Republic during this period in population and in material and intellectual resources. At the opening of the century the white population of the United States was a little over four millions; at the end of the century it had risen to over sixty-seven millions. This is the largest aggregate of human force and intelligence that the world has yet seen. Even more impressive than its actual are its potential capacities. With practically unlimited room for expansion

²⁹ Just at the end of the century the territorial expansion of the United States assumed a character altogether unlike that which up to that time it had retained. All our chief earlier acquisitions were lands contiguous to our previous possessions, were unoccupied or practically unoccupied, were adapted to European settlement, and were secured with the intention of making them into territories which might ultimately be carved into states and made an integral part of the Federal Union. But in 1898, as an outcome of our war with Spain, we acquired Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. In the latter islands we came into possession of lands already peopled with an Asiatic race, and moreover lands unfitted for settlement by people of Teutonic stock. The acquisition by the United States of these Asiatic tropical dependencies has created for our government and our people many problems which still remain unsolved.

by reason of the territorial acquisitions we have noted, it is impossible adequately to realize into what, during the coming centuries, the American people will grow.

This remarkable growth of an English-speaking nation on the soil of the New World has contributed more than anything else, save the expansion of Great Britain into Greater Britain, to lend impressiveness and import to the movement indicated by the expression "European expansion."

VII. SITUATIONS AND PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE EUROPEAN RACE EXPANSION

505. Shall China be partitioned?—The outward movement of the European peoples which we have now traced in broad outlines has raised several of the most serious problems that civilization has ever faced, and has created situations well calculated while awakening profound apprehensions to create also vast hopes.

One of the problems raised is altogether like the old (and yet ever new) problem—the so-called "Eastern Question." It is, What shall be done with the "sick man" of the Farther East? Shall China be partitioned?

This question we repeat has been raised by the great European race expansion and can be understood only when viewed as a result of the pressure of the Occidental upon the Oriental world. In the following paragraphs we shall endeavor in the briefest way possible to put in their causal and logical relations the series of events forming the antecedents and the causes of the present situation in Eastern Asia.

506. The Awakening of Japan.—Bearing directly upon the question of the future of China is the recent wonderful awakening of Japan. At the middle of the nineteenth century Japan was "the hermit nation." She jealously excluded foreigners and refused to enter into diplomatic relations with

the Western powers. But in the year 1854 Commodore Perry of the United States secured from the Japanese government concessions which opened the country to Western influences, under which Japan soon awoke to a new life.

During the last half century the progress made by Japan on all lines, political, material, and intellectual, has been something without a parallel in history. She has transformed her ancient feudal divine-right government into a representative constitutional system modeled upon the political institutions of the West. She has adopted almost entire the material side of the civilization of the Western nations, and has eagerly absorbed their sciences.

But what has taken place, it should be carefully noted, is not a Europeanization of Japan. The new Japan is an evolution of the old. The Japanese to-day in their innermost life, in their deepest instincts and in their modes of thought, are an Oriental people aroused to a new life by the stimulus which has come from contact with a vital, growing civilization which had life and energy to impart.

507. Chino-Japanese War of 1894; a Mongolian Monroe Doctrine. — In 1894 came the war between Japan and China. Among the various causes of this war was Japan's desire to get possession of Corea, a country under the weak suzerainty of China, and thus to make sure that it should not fall into Russian hands.

Again, like Sardinia when she sent her contingent to aid France and England in the Crimean War, Japan wished to show the world what she was capable of doing and to secure through proved worthiness membership in the family of civilized nations.

Still again, realizing that greed of territory would lead the European powers sooner or later to seek the partition of China and the political control of the Mongolian lands of the Farther East, Japan wished to stir China from her lethargy, make herself her adviser and leader, and thus get

in a position to control the affairs of Eastern Asia. In a word she was resolved to set up a sort of Monroe Doctrine in her part of the world, which should close Mongolian lands against European encroachments and preserve for Asiatics what was still left of Asia.

The war was short and decisive. It was a fight between David and Goliath. China with her great inert mass was absolutely helpless in the hands of her tiny antagonist. With the Japanese army in full march upon Peking the Chinese government was forced to sue for peace. Japan would now have received the coveted territory of Corea and perhaps other cessions of Chinese lands had not Russia, France, and Germany jealously intervened. They compelled Japan to accept a money indemnity in lieu of territory on the continent. She was permitted, however, to take possession of the island of Formosa, hitherto a Chinese province.

508. China in Process of Dismemberment; the Boxer Uprising (1900).—The march of the little Japanese army into the heart of the huge Chinese Empire was in its consequences something like the famous march of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the great Persian Empire. It revealed the surprising weakness of China, — a fact known before to all the world but never so perfectly realized as after the Japanese exploit, — and marked her out for partition. The process of dismemberment began without unnecessary delay.

Germany seized the port of Kiau-Chau, as already noted, and forced from China a ninety-nine years' lease of it and some adjoining territory (January, 1898).

Then Russia asked and received a twenty-five years' lease of Port Arthur (March, 1898). Thereupon England demanded and received from China Wei-Hai-Wei (April, 1898), to be held by England "as long as Russia should hold Port Arthur."

France viewed these cessions to Germany, Russia, and England with natural jealousy, and immediately sought and

got from China as compensation a ninety-nine years' lease of the Bay of Kwang-Chau-Wan (April, 1898).

Italy was now reported to have made demands upon the Chinese government for something as compensation to her for what the other powers had received. The press in Europe and America began openly to discuss the impending partition of the Chinese Empire and to speculate as to how the spoils would be divided.

Suddenly the whole Western world was startled by the intelligence that the legations or embassies of all the European powers at Peking were hemmed in and besieged by a Chinese mob aided by the imperial troops. Then quickly followed a report of the massacre of all the Europeans in Peking.

Strenuous efforts were at once made by the various Western nations, as well as by Japan, to send an international force to the rescue of their representatives and the missionaries and other Europeans with them, should it chance that any were still alive. Not since the Crusades of the Middle Ages had so many European nations joined in a common undertaking. There were in the relief army Russian, French, English, American, and German troops, besides a strong Japanese contingent.

The relief column fought its way through to Peking and forced the gates of the capital. The worst had not happened, and soon the tension of the Western world, which had lasted for six weeks, was relieved by the glad news of the rescue of the beleaguered little company of Europeans.

All which it concerns us now to notice is the place which this passage in Chinese history holds in the story of European expansion which we have been rehearsing. The point of view to which our study has brought us reveals this to us at once.

The Chinese insurrection was an almost blind and instinctive effort on the part of the Chinese to set a limit to the

encroachments of the Western races, to prevent the dismemberment of their country, to preserve China for the Chinese. All the various causes that have been assigned for the uprising are included in this general underlying cause.

If then we view the revolt as a supreme effort on the part of the Chinese race to maintain its independence and to exclude all foreign influences from its life and culture, and if at the same time we bear in mind how deep is the reverence of the Chinese for their own past, then we shall realize in some measure the nature and the seriousness of the situation which European expansion has created in the Farther East.

509. Will the World be Europeanized? The Present Situation viewed in the Light of the History of Similar Situations in the Past. — It is not simply a Chinese situation which we face here but a world situation. Civilization in its advance has reached what James Bryce in his lecture on "The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind" calls a crisis, the probable issue of which can best be read in the light afforded by the issue of similar crises in the history of the past.

Three times in the historic period previous to the present epoch, strong prolific races, pushing out their borders, have created situations like the one the world now faces. The outcome each time teaches the truth which the philosopher-historian Laurent in his plea for the rights of nations and races so eloquently urges, namely, that no race is great enough to absorb all other races.

In the third century before the Christian era the most striking feature presented by the historical arena was the expansion of the Greek race. Hellas had expanded into Greater Hellas and was pressing hard upon the Oriental world. That world seemed on the point of being Hellenized. Fortunately that is not what happened. The best elements of Greek and Oriental life and thought blended. The result was a

composite product which we call Græco-Oriental civilization, — a culture which bore in its bosom the germs of a new world-religion.

About the beginning of our era another like situation had been created by the expansion of a people who regarded it as their mission to conquer and to rule the world. Rome had expanded into Greater Rome. The Græco-Oriental world seemed on the point of being Romanized. What really took place was the blending of the two civilizations which had come into contact. The resulting culture we call the Græco-Roman.

Again, in the fourth and fifth centuries of our era a new and vigorous race, the German race of the North, began in its outward movement to press upon the then decadent Græco-Roman world of the South. That world seemed on the point of being Germanized. What actually took place was this: the two races and cultures blended. We indicate the composite character of the new civilization which arose by calling it the Romano-German.

And now for the fourth time history repeats itself. The Aryan-speaking peoples of Europe, increasing wonderfully in numbers, are filling the earth with their progeny and are pressing hard upon the Oriental nations. Will the result be the Europeanizing of Asia? That is not to be desired. In the words of Captain Mahan, what is to be hoped for is "a renewed Asia and not another Europe." The enrichment brought to civilization by a renewed Japan should teach us the possible worth to the common life of the world of a renewed China and a renewed India.

It is true that in the purely scientific and material spheres there is nothing in the possession of either the Hindus or the Chinese that can be offered as a substitute for what the European peoples possess and are now giving to the world. But in other life-spheres it is different. The Orient, which has given the world all its great religious faiths, may not yet have exhausted its moral and spiritual life. It may well be that, as

Professor Reinsch says, quoting with approval Lord Curzon, "The whole cast of thought that characterizes the West, its ideals and principles, may be modified by the intimate contact with the Orient into which it is now brought by imperial expansion."

The student of the past will not only recognize how good are the grounds for such an opinion, but he will also hopefully forecast that the issue of the expansion of Europe and the contact of the Christian West with the Confucian and Buddhistic East will be to give a new and richer content to civilization and a fresh impulse to the true progress of humanity.

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CONCLUSION

THE NEW AGE ; INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

510. The Age of Material Progress or the Industrial Age.—History has been well likened to a grand dissolving view. While one age is passing away another is coming into prominence.

During the last hundred years the features of a new age have distinctly appeared. The battles now being waged in the religious and political world are only faint echoes of the great battles of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. A new movement of human society has begun. Civilization has fairly entered upon what may be called the Industrial Age or the Age of Material Progress.

We have already noted the beginnings of this new age in the industrial revolution effected by the great inventions which marked the latter part of the eighteenth century (par. 286). In the decade between 1830 and 1840 the industrial development thus initiated received a great impulse through the bringing to practical perfection of several of the earlier inventions and by new discoveries and fresh inventions. Prominent among these were the steam railway, the electric telegraph, and the ocean steamship. In the year 1830 Stephenson exhibited the first really successful locomotive. In 1836 Morse perfected the telegraph. In 1838 ocean steamship navigation was first practically solved.¹

These and other inventions which have grown out of them have brought about momentous changes in the social and the political world.² But it is only the revolution which they have

¹ These inventions may be compared, in their relations to the new industrial age, to the three great inventions or discoveries, namely, printing, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass, which ushered in the Modern Age. See *page 22*.

² Thus, for illustration, they are directly or indirectly drawing the population of the civilized parts of the world into great cities and thereby changing wholly

wrought in the industrial domain to which we would now direct attention. And the significant fact for us here to note is that through the application of these inventions to the processes of manufacture and to the thousand other industries and activities of mankind the productive forces of society have been almost incalculably increased. Probably more things contributive to human well-being can now be produced in a single day than were produced in ten or twenty days at the opening of the century. In some important branches of manufacture the productive power of the workman, aided by machinery, has been increased a hundred- and even a thousand-fold.

This enormous augmentation of the power of production is one of the most significant features of the new age, and the one, as we shall see in a moment, which creates and gives distinctive character to its chief problem.

The history of this age of industry, so different from any preceding age, cannot yet be written, for no one can tell whether the epoch is just opening or is already well advanced.³ We shall have finished the task set ourselves when we have merely stated the leading problem which this remarkable

the conditions of life for vast multitudes of people. Again, the increased facilities for travel, by bringing men together and familiarizing them with new scenes and different forms of society and belief, are making them more liberal and tolerant. Still again, by the virtual annihilation of time and space, governmental problems are being solved. A chief difficulty in maintaining a federation of states widely separated has already been removed and such extended territories as those of the United States made practically as compact as the most closely consolidated European state. England with her scattered colonies may now, Professor Seeley thinks, well enough become a World-Venice with the oceans for streets. In truth, the telegraph, the telephone, the steamship, and the railway have laid the basis of the future possible federation of the world.

³ It may well be that we have already seen the greatest surprises of the age, so far as great inventions and discoveries are concerned, and that the epoch is nearing its culmination. "It is probable," says Professor Richard T. Ely, "that as we, after more than two thousand years, look back upon the time of Pericles with wonder and astonishment, as an epoch great in art and literature, posterity two thousand years hence will regard our era as forming an admirable and unparalleled epoch in the history of industrial invention." — *French and German Socialism in Modern Times*.

industrial development has created, and indicated the solution of that problem which the Socialists have proposed.

511. The Labor Problem. — Beyond controversy the great problem of the epoch, one involving many others, is the so-called Labor Problem. This, plainly stated, is, How are the products of the world's industry to be equitably distributed?

The condition of modern industrial society is this. Through the employment of the forces of nature and the use of improved machinery, economic goods, that is, products adapted to meet the physical wants of men, can be produced in almost unlimited quantities. But this increase in society's productive power has brought little or no corresponding augmentation of material well-being to the laboring classes. Owing to some defect in our industrial system a few secure a disproportionate share of its benefits.⁴ Great monopolies or trusts are created and fabulous fortunes are amassed by a few fortunate individuals, while perhaps the majority of the laborers for wages, with their toil lightened comparatively little or not at all, receive almost nothing beyond the means of narrow and bare subsistence.

This inequitable distribution of wealth, of material well-being, this practical exclusion of the masses from the greater part of the benefits and enjoyments of modern civilization, is creating everywhere the most dangerous discontent among the laboring classes and is awakening among philanthropists and statesmen the greatest solicitude and apprehension.

512. Socialism or Social Democracy. — The proposed solution of the problem which has awakened most thought and

⁴ According to a recent estimate 125,000 families of the wealthy class in the United States hold \$33,000,000,000 of the total wealth of the nation, while 5,500,000 families of the poorer class possess only \$800,000,000. To put it in another way, in every one hundred families of the nation one family holds more than the remaining ninety-nine. Nearly half the families of the nation are classed as "propertyless," that is, as having nothing save clothing and household furniture. See Spahr, *An Essay on the Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (1896), p. 69.

created most debate is that offered by the Socialists or Social Democrats.⁵ In order to do away with the evils and inequalities of the present harsh system of competition Socialists would supersede it by a system of coöperation. This change they would bring about through common or government ownership of all the means of production. Just as our own government — state, city, or national — now owns schoolhouses and controls education, owns and conducts the post office, municipal water works, and other public utilities, so would they have the government by the gradual extension of its functions come into possession of the railways, the telegraph,⁶ the mines, mills, factories, forests, the land, — in a word, of all the means of production, of all those things upon which or in connection with which human labor is spent in order to satisfy human wants and to meet human desires.

The Socialists maintain that only under such a system as this — which would do away with private capital, though not with private property — can the present exploitation of labor by capital be made impossible and every man secured reasonable participation in the benefits of the gifts of nature and of the new inventions and discoveries which are rendering nature with all her mighty forces man's willing servant.

Socialists lay great emphasis on this, namely, that what they propose is not only in line with the trend of things in the existing industrial system but also in harmony with the great historic movements of the past centuries. They maintain that the democratization of wealth⁷ is the logical

⁵ Compare par. 469, n. 15.

⁶ In many of the countries of Europe the railways and the telegraph are already largely in the hands of the government.

⁷ It should be carefully noted that democracy in wealth does not mean communism, which denies individual rights in property, any more than democracy in religion means atheism, or democracy in politics anarchy. It simply looks to such a reform of the present economic system as shall secure to every man an equitable proportion of the material goods which his labor helps to create, or "an apportionment of well-being according to labor performed."

issue of the democratization of knowledge, of religion, and of government by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Political Revolution. For them the coming Industrial Revolution⁸ is the next and necessary phase of the progressive course of civilization.

⁸ It will be noted that to the term "Industrial Revolution" as used by the Socialists there attaches a wholly different meaning from that which it carries when used by the political economists (par. 286). What the latter call the "Industrial Revolution" is to the Socialist only an antecedent of the real Revolution,—which is still to come.

INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE.—In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed to be clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus: ā, like *a* in *grāy*; ǣ, like ā, only less prolonged; ǣ̃, like *a* in *hǣve*; ä, like *a* in *fär*; ȁ, like *a* in *all*; ē, like *ee* in *meet*; ě, like ē, only less prolonged; ě̃, like *e* in *ěnd*; ê, like *e* in *thêre*; ě̃, like *e* in *ěrr*; ĭ, like *i* in *pĭne*; ĭ̃, like *i* in *pĭn*; ō, like *o* in *nôte*; ǫ̃, like ō, only less prolonged; ǫ̃̃, like *o* in *nôt*; ô, like *o* in *ôrb*; ōō, like *oo* in *mōon*; ū, like *u* in *ūse*; ü, like the French *u*; *c* and *ch*, like *k*; ç, like *s*; ġ, like *g* in *ġet*; ġ̃, like *j*; ş, like *z*; çh, as in German *ach*; Ğ, small capital, as in German *Hamburg*; ñ, like *ni* in *minion*; ñ denotes the nasal sound in French, being similar to *ng* in *song*.

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